



HISTORY

OF

SPANISH LITERATURE.

VOL. I.

HISTORY

OF

SPANISH LITERATURE

BY

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But in other parts of the work a corresponding, and even more than a corresponding, amount of new matter has been introduced, which will, it is believed, be accounted of greater interest than the early poetry it displaces. The lives of Garcilasso de la Vega, the poet, and of Luis de Leon, the persecuted scholar, have been rewritten and enlarged, from materials not known to exist, or at least not published, when the earlier editions of this History appeared. The lives of Cervantes, of Lope de Vega, and of not a few others, have, in the same way and from the same causes, received additions or corrections. Above a hundred authors of inferior importance, no doubt, but, as I suppose, worthy of a notice they had not before received, have now found their appropriate places, generally in the notes, but sometimes in the text. And discussions, which, taken together, are of no small amount, have been introduced respecting books already examined with more or less care, but now examined afresh. There are accordingly but few consecutive pages in this History of Spanish Literature, as it is now presented to the public, which do not bear witness to what, I hope, may be accounted improvements, and what are certainly considerable changes in the work as it has heretofore been published, whether in the United States or in Europe.

The sources of these additions and changes have been very various. The most important and the most numerous are the results of a regular and large increase of my own collection of Spanish books, and especially of such as are become rare. After this, I owe much to the libraries in Europe, both public and private, which I visited anew in 1856 and 1857; — in England, the British Museum, where Mr. Panizzi has done so much to render that vast storehouse of knowledge accessible and useful; the library at Holland House, tapestried with recollections

of its accomplished founder; the precious collection of the Duc d'Aumale, at Orleans House on the Thames; that of Mr. Stirling, author of the faithful History of the Arts and Artists of Spain; and that of Mr. Ford, always to be remembered for his Handbook; Lord Taunton's, at Gray's Stoke-Poges, small in numbers, but, I suppose, the most complete in the world on Lope de Vega's plays; Lord Stanhope's, at Chevening, begun above a century and a half ago by his great ancestor, whose career in Spain he has so well illustrated; Mr. Chorley's, in Chester Square, London; and Mr. Turner's, in Regent's Park, — all of which were opened to me with a kindness which sometimes made me feel as if I might use them like my own.

On the Continent, too, — in Germany, Italy, and France, — I found resources, not unfrequently, where I least looked for them. The Royal Library at Berlin, admirably administered by Dr. Pertz, the historian; the Royal Library at Dresden, where Dr. Klemm seemed to know the place of every book it contained; the Imperial Library at Vienna, with its two principal Curators, Baron Bellinghausen and Dr. Ferdinand Wolf, who have done so much for Spanish literature, and who found in this very library the means for doing it; St. Mark's at Venice; the Ambrosian and the Institute's at Milan; the public libraries of Modena, Parma, and Bologna; the Magliabecchi and the Grand Duke's at Florence; the Sapienza at Rome, and, above all, the Vatican, for which the Cardinal Secretary of State gave me especial indulgences; — all and each of these libraries contained something for my purpose, and the last two what can hardly be found elsewhere. And, finally, in Paris I resorted to the Imperial Library, and to the libraries of the Arsenal and St. Geneviève, with less profit, indeed, than I had hoped, though still, by the kind aid of M.

Taschereau, M. Montaiglon, and M. de Brotonne, not without advantage.

It is, however, I believe, a fact, that nowhere in the world is there a truly rich and satisfactory collection of books in elegant Spanish literature; for, in Spain, the libraries that in the least partook of a public character were so long kept under ecclesiastical supervision of the most rigorous sort, that poetry and fiction, until lately, have with difficulty been permitted to find shelter in them at all; while, out of Spain, I have not been able to hear of any collection that deserves to be called tolerably complete. The best, perhaps, is that of Vienna, much of it obtained, with care, two centuries ago, when the relations between Spain and the German Empire were still intimate and important; but to all the other great libraries of Europe outside the Pyrenees, Spanish books seem to have come, when they came at all, as at Prague, Munich, and Wolfenbüttel, only through some accident now forgotten, or else through the excitement of some temporary fashion, as in France during the reigns of Louis XIII. and XIV., when repeated marriages between the two crowns brought what was cultivated in the society of both countries into unwonted relations. No doubt, each of the collections I have mentioned is worth a pilgrimage to one who is in earnest pursuit of whatever is best in the literature of Spain, because what is best is generally old and often rare; but, after all, no one of them will enable him to look over the entire field of his chosen studies, nor will the whole, taken together, do for him what, in the case of the greater institutions, he might perhaps reasonably ask from each of them.

He must, therefore, after having visited the rest of Europe, go to Spain. Perhaps, like Schack, who has so thoroughly investigated the Spanish drama, he must go there twice. At any rate, he must examine the Royal

Library at Madrid, which, though it dates only from 1711, and was long after that of little consequence, has lately made important additions to its collections in the polite literature of the country. He must go to the Escorial, dark as it always was, and now decaying, but where, from the days of Mendoza, the statesman, historian, and poet, precious treasures have been hidden away. He must visit the library which the scholar-like son of Columbus left, marked with his own learning, to the Cathedral of Seville. And he must get access to the private collections of the house of Ossuna, of the Marques de Pidal, of Don Pascual de Gayangos, of the venerable Duran, and perhaps others. All but three of these that I have enumerated, whether in Spain or out of it, I have seen in the course of different visits to Europe during the last five and forty years, — many of them twice and some three times. I hope, therefore, that much has not escaped me which I ought to have discovered and used. That something has, I may well fear. A traveller cannot always choose the happiest moment for his researches in a strange city; nor can he always be sure of finding librarians intelligent and good-natured enough to open for him the obscure recesses of their collections.

But to the resources of my own library, which, in consequence of the favoring circumstances explained in my earlier Preface, is not ill provided with books in Spanish literature, and to my inquiries among the larger libraries of Europe, should now be added what I owe to my accomplished and learned annotators and translators. I refer especially to the very ample notes of Don Pascual de Gayangos, of the University of Madrid, in the Spanish translation of this History published at Madrid by him and Don Enrique de Vedia between 1851 and 1856, and to the German translation by Dr. N. H. Julius, of Hamburg, published at Leipzig in 1852, and enriched

not only with notes by himself, but with others by Dr. Ferdinand Wolf, the Austrian scholar already alluded to. From the results of their labors, carefully prosecuted, as they were, in the best libraries of Spain and Germany, I have taken — with constant acknowledgments, which I desire here gratefully to repeat — everything that, as it has seemed to me, could add value, interest, or completeness to the present revised edition. Its preparation has been a pleasant task, scattered lightly over the years that have elapsed since the first edition of this work was published, and that have been passed, like the rest of my life, almost entirely among my own books. That I shall ever recur to this task again, for the purpose of further changes or additions, is not at all probable. My accumulated years forbid any such anticipation; and therefore, with whatever of regret I may part from what has entered into the happiness of so considerable a portion of my life, I feel that I now part from it for the last time. *Extremum hoc munus habeto.*

PARK STREET, BOSTON, February, 1863.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

In the year eighteen hundred and eighteen I travelled through a large part of Spain, and spent several months in Madrid. My object was to increase a very imperfect knowledge of the language and literature of the country, and to purchase Spanish books, always so rare in the great book-marts of the rest of Europe. In some respects, the time of my visit was favorable to the purposes for which I made it; in others, it was not. Such books as I wanted were then, it is true, less valued in Spain than they are now, but it was chiefly because the country was in a depressed and unnatural state; and, if its men of letters were more than commonly at leisure to gratify the curiosity of a stranger, their number had been materially diminished by political persecution, and intercourse with them was difficult because they had so little connection with each other, and were so much shut out from the world around them.

It was, in fact, one of the darkest periods of the reign of Ferdinand the Seventh, when the desponding seemed to think that the eclipse was not only total, but "beyond all hope of day." The absolute power of the monarch had been as yet nowhere publicly questioned; and his government, which had revived the Inquisition and was not wanting in its spirit, had, from the first, silenced the press, and, wherever its influence extended, now threat-

ened the extinction of all generous culture. Hardly four years had elapsed since the old order of things had been restored at Madrid, and already most of the leading men of letters, whose home was naturally in the capital, were in prison or in exile. Melendez Valdes, the first Spanish poet of the age, had just died in misery on the unfriendly soil of France. Quintana, in many respects the heir to his honors, was confined in the fortress of Pamplona. Martinez de la Rosa, who has since been one of the leaders of the nation as well as of its literature, was shut up in Peñon on the coast of Barbary. Moratin was languishing in Paris, while his comedies were applauded to the very echo by his enemies at home. The Duke of Rivas, who, like the old nobles of the proudest days of the monarchy, has distinguished himself alike in arms, in letters, and in the civil government and foreign diplomacy of his country, was living retired on the estates of his great house in Andalusia. Others of less mark and note shared a fate as rigorous; and, if Clemencin, Navarrete, and Marina were permitted still to linger in the capital from which their friends had been driven, their footsteps were watched and their lives were unquiet.

Among the men of letters whom I earliest knew in Madrid was Don José Antonio Conde, a retired, gentle, modest scholar, rarely occupied with events of a later date than the times of the Spanish Arabs, whose history he afterwards illustrated. But, far as his character and studies removed him from political turbulence, he had already tasted the bitterness of a political exile; and now, in the honorable poverty to which he had been reduced, he not unwillingly consented to pass several hours of each day with me, and direct my studies in the literature of his country. In this I was very fortunate. We read together the early Castilian poetry, of which he knew more than he did of the most recent, and to which his

thoughts and tastes were much nearer akin. He assisted me, too, in collecting the books I needed; — never an easy task where bookselling, in the sense elsewhere given to the word, was unknown, and where the Inquisition and the confessional had often made what was most desirable most rare. But Don José knew the lurking-places where such books and their owners were to be sought; and to him I am indebted for the foundation of a collection in Spanish literature, which, without help like his, I should have failed to make. I owe him, therefore, much; and, though the grave has long since closed over my friend and his persecutors, it is still a pleasure to me to acknowledge obligations which I have never ceased to feel.

Many circumstances, since the period of my visit to Spain, have favored my successive attempts to increase the Spanish library I then began. The residence in Madrid of my friend, the late Mr. Alexander Hill Everett, who ably represented his country for several years at the court of Spain; and the subsequent residence there, in the same high position, of my friend Mr. Washington Irving, equally honored on both sides of the Atlantic, but especially cherished by Spaniards for the enduring monument he has erected to the history of their early adventures, and for the charming fictions, whose scene he has laid in their romantic country; — these fortunate circumstances naturally opened to me whatever facilities for collecting books could be afforded by the kindness of persons in places so distinguished, or by their desire to spread among their countrymen at home a literature they knew so well and loved so much.

But to two other persons, not unconnected with these statesmen and men of letters, it is no less my duty and my pleasure to make known my obligations. The first of them is Mr. O. Rich, formerly a Consul of the

United States in Spain; the same bibliographer to whom Mr. Irving and Mr. Prescott have avowed similar obligations, and to whose personal regard I owe hardly less than I do to his extraordinary knowledge of rare and curious books, and his extraordinary success in collecting them. The other is Don Pascual de Gayangos, Professor of Arabic in the University of Madrid, — certainly in his peculiar department among the most eminent scholars now living, and one to whose familiarity with whatever regards the literature of his own country the frequent references in my notes bear a testimony not to be mistaken. With the former of these gentlemen I have been in constant communication for many years, and have received from him valuable contributions of books and manuscripts collected in Spain, England, and France for my library. With the latter, to whom I am not less largely indebted, I first became personally acquainted when I passed in Europe the period between 1835 and 1838, seeking to know scholars such as he is, and consulting, not only the principal public libraries of the Continent, but such rich private collections as those of Lord Holland in England, of M. Ternaux-Compans in France, and of the venerated and much-loved Tieck in Germany; all of which were made accessible to me by the frank kindness of their owners.

The natural result of such a long-continued interest in Spanish literature, and of so many pleasant inducements to study it, has been — I speak in a spirit of extenuation and self-defence — *a book*. In the interval between my two residences in Europe I delivered lectures upon its principal topics to successive classes in Harvard College; and, on my return home from the second, I endeavored to arrange these lectures for publication. But when I had already employed much labor and time on them, I found — or thought I found — that the tone of discussion

which I had adopted for my academical audiences was not suited to the purposes of a regular history. Destroying, therefore, what I had written, I began afresh my never unwelcome task, and so have prepared the present work, as little connected with all I had previously done as it, perhaps, can be, and yet cover so much of the same ground.

In correcting my manuscript for the press I have enjoyed the counsels of two of my more intimate friends; of Mr. Francis C. Gray, a scholar who should permit the world to profit more than it does by the large resources of his accurate and tasteful learning, and of Mr. William H. Prescott, the historian of both hemispheres, whose name will not be forgotten in either, but whose honors will always be dearest to those who have best known the discouragements under which they have been won, and the modesty and gentleness with which they are worn. To these faithful friends, whose unchanging regard has entered into the happiness of all the active years of my life, I make my affectionate acknowledgments, as I now part from a work in which they have always taken an interest, and which, wherever it goes, will carry on its pages the silent proofs of their kindness and taste.

PARK STREET, BOSTON, December, 1849.

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HISTORY

OF

SPANISH LITERATURE.

FIRST PERIOD.

THE LITERATURE THAT EXISTED IN SPAIN BETWEEN THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE PRESENT WRITTEN LANGUAGE AND THE EARLY PART OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH; OR FROM THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY TO THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH.

HISTORY

OF

SPANISH LITERATURE.

FIRST PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.—ORIGIN OF SPANISH LITERATURE IN TIMES OF GREAT TROUBLE.

In the earliest ages of every literature that has vindicated for itself a permanent character in modern Europe, much of what constituted its foundations was the result of local situation and of circumstances seemingly accidental. Sometimes, as in Provence, where the climate was mild and the soil luxuriant, a premature refinement started forth, which was suddenly blighted by the influences of the surrounding barbarism. Sometimes, as in Lombardy, and in a few portions of France, the institutions of antiquity were so long preserved by the old municipalities, that, in occasional intervals of peace, it seemed as if the ancient forms of civilization might be revived and prevail; — hopes kindled only to be extinguished by the violence amidst which the first modern communities, with the policy they needed, were brought forth and established. And sometimes both these causes were combined with others, and gave promise of a poetry full of freshness and originality, which, however, as it advanced, was met by a spirit more vigorous than its own, beneath whose predominance its language was forbidden to rise above the condition of a local dialect, or became merged in that of its more fortunate rival; a result which we early recognize alike in Sicily, Naples, and Venice, where the authority of the great Tuscan mas-

Origin of the modern literatures.

ters was, from the first, as loyally acknowledged as it was in Florence or Pisa.

Like much of the rest of Europe, the south-western portion, now comprising the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, was affected by nearly all these different influences. Favored by a happy climate and soil, by the remains of Roman culture, which had lingered long in its mountains, and by the earnest and passionate spirit which has marked its people through their many revolutions down to the present day, the first signs of a revived poetical feeling are perceptible in the Spanish peninsula even before they are to be found, with their distinctive characteristics, in that of Italy. But this earliest literature of modern Spain, a part of which is Provençal, and the rest absolutely Castilian or Spanish, appeared in troubled times, when it was all but impossible that it should be advanced freely or rapidly in the forms it was destined at last to wear. For the masses of the Christian Spaniards filling the separate states, into which their country was most unhappily divided, were then involved in that tremendous warfare with their Arab invaders, which, for twenty generations, so consumed their strength, that, long before the cross was planted on the towers of the Alhambra, and peace had given opportunity for the ornaments of life, Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, had appeared in the comparative quiet of Lombardy and Tuscany, and Italy had again taken her accustomed place at the head of the elegant literature of the world.

Origin in Spain.

Under such circumstances, a large portion of the Spaniards, who had been so long engaged in this solemn contest, as the forlorn hope of Christendom, against the intrusion of Mohammedanism[1] and its imperfect civilization into Europe, and who, amidst all their sufferings, had constantly looked to Rome, as to the capital seat of their faith, for consolation and encouragement, did not hesitate again to acknowledge that Italian supremacy in letters to which, in the days of the Empire, their allegiance had

[1] August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Ueber Dramatische Kunst, Heidelberg, 1811, 8vo, Vorlesung, XIV.

been complete. A school formed on Italian models naturally followed; and though the rich and original genius of Spanish poetry received less from its influence ultimately than might have been anticipated, still, from the time of its first appearance, its effects are too important and distinct to be overlooked.

Of the period, therefore, in which the history of Spanish literature opens upon us, we must make two divisions. The first will contain the genuinely national poetry and prose produced from the earliest times down to the reign of Charles the Fifth; while the second will contain that portion which, by imitating the refinement of Provence or of Italy, was, during the same interval, more or less separated from the popular spirit and genius. Both, when taken together, will fill up the period in which the main elements and characteristics of Spanish literature were developed, such as they have existed down to our own age.

Two divisions.

In the first division of the first period, we are to consider the origin and character of that literature which sprang, as it were, from the very soil of Spain, and was almost entirely untouched by foreign influences.

First division.

And here, at the outset, we are struck with a remarkable circumstance, which announces something, at least, of the genius of the coming literature, — the circumstance of its appearance in times of great confusion and violence. For, in other portions of Europe, during those disastrous troubles that accompanied the overthrow of the Roman power and civilization, and the establishment of new forms of social order, if the inspirations of poetry came at all, they came in some period of comparative quietness and security, when the minds of men were less engrossed than they were wont to be by the necessity of providing for their personal safety, and for their most pressing physical wants. But in Spain it was not so. There the first utterance of that popular feeling which became the foundation of the national literature was heard in the midst of the extraordinary contest which the Chris-

tian Spaniards, for above seven centuries, urged against their Moorish invaders; so that the earliest Spanish poetry seems but a breathing of the energy and heroism which, at the time it appeared, animated the great mass of the Spanish Christians throughout the Peninsula.

Its characteristics.

Indeed, if we look at the condition of Spain in the centuries that immediately preceded and followed the formation of its present language and poetry, we shall find the mere historical dates full of instruction. In 711 Roderic rashly hazarded the fate of his Gothic and Christian empire on the result of a single battle against the Arabs, then just forcing their way into the western part of Europe from Africa. He failed; and the wild enthusiasm which marked the earliest age of the Mohammedan power achieved almost immediately the conquest of the whole of the country that was worth the price of a victory. The Christians, however, though overwhelmed, did not entirely yield. On the contrary, many of them retreated before the fiery pursuit of their enemies, and established themselves in the extreme north-western portion of their native land, amidst the mountains and fastnesses of Biscay and Asturias. There, indeed, the purity of the Latin tongue, which they had spoken for so many ages, was finally lost, through that neglect of its cultivation which was a necessary consequence of the miseries that oppressed them. But still, with the spirit which so long sustained their forefathers against the power of Rome, and which has carried their descendants through a short but hardly less fierce contest against the power of France, they maintained, to a remarkable degree, their ancient manners and feelings, their religion, their laws, and their institutions; and, separating themselves by an implacable hatred from their Moorish invaders, they there, in those rude mountains, laid deep the foundations of that national character which has subsisted down to our own times.[2]

Arab conquest.

[2] Augustin Thierry has in a few words finely described the fusion of society that originally took place in the north-western part of Spain, and on which the civilization of the country still rests: "Reserrés dans ce coin de terre, devenu pour eux toute la patrie, Goths et Romains, vainqueurs et vaincus, étrangers et indigènes, maîtres et

As, however, they gradually grew inured to adversity, and understood the few hard advantages which their situation afforded them, they began to make incursions into the territories of their conquerors, and to seize for themselves some part of the fair possessions once entirely their own. But every inch of ground was defended by the same fervid valor by which it had originally been won. The Christians, indeed, though occasionally defeated, generally gained something by each of their more considerable struggles; but what they gained could be preserved only by an exertion of bravery and military power hardly less painful than that by which it had been acquired. In 801 we find them already possessing a considerable part of Old Castile. But the very name now given to that country, from the multitude of castles with which it was studded, shows plainly the tenure by which the Christians from the mountains were compelled to hold these early fruits of their courage and constancy.[3] A century later, or in 914, they had pushed the outposts of their conquests to the chain of the Guadarrama, separating New from Old Castile; and they may, therefore, at this date, be regarded as having again obtained a firm foothold in their own country, whose capital they established at Leon.

Christian struggles.

From this period the Christians seem to have felt assured of final success. In 1085 Toledo, the venerated head of the old monarchy, was wrested from the Moors, who had then possessed it three hundred and sixty-three years; and in 1118 Saragossa was recovered: so that, from the beginning of the twelfth century, the whole Peninsula, down to the Sierra of Toledo, was again occupied by its former masters, and the Moors were pushed back into the southern and western provinces, by which they had originally entered. Their power, however, though thus reduced within limits comprising scarcely more than one-third of its extent when it was greatest, seems still to

esclaves, tous unis dans le même malheur, oublièrent leurs vieilles haines, leur vieil éloignement, leurs vieilles distinctions; il n'y eut plus qu'un nom, qu'une loi, qu'un état, qu'un langage; tous furent égaux dans cet exil." — Dix Ans d'Études Historiques, Paris, 1836, 8vo, p. 346.

[3] Manuel Risco, La Castilla y el mas Famoso Castellano, Madrid, 1792, 4to, pp. 14-18.

have been rather consolidated than broken; and, after three centuries of success, more than three other centuries of conflict were necessary before the fall of Granada finally emancipated the entire country from the loathed dominion of its misbelieving conquerors.

But it was in the midst of this desolating contest, and at a period, too, when the Christians were hardly less distracted by divisions among themselves than worn out and exasperated by the common warfare against the common enemy, that the elements of the Spanish language and poetry, as they have substantially existed ever since, were first developed. For it is precisely between the capture of Saragossa, which insured to the Christians the possession of all the eastern part of Spain, and their great victory on the plains of Tolosa, which so broke the power of the Moors that they never afterwards recovered the full measure of their former strength,[4] — it is precisely in this century of confusion and violence, when the Christian population of the country may be said, with the old chronicle, to have been kept constantly in battle array, that we hear the first notes of their wild national poetry, which come to us mingled with their war-shouts, and breathing the very spirit of their victories.[5]

Battle of Tolosa.

[4] Speaking of this decisive battle, and following Arabic authorities, Conde says: "This fearful rout happened on Monday, the fifteenth day of the month Safer, in the year 609 [A. D. 1212]; and with it fell the power of the Moslems in Spain, for nothing turned out well with them after it." (Historia de la Dominacion de los Árabes en España, Madrid, 1820, 4to, Tom. II. p. 425.) Gayangos, in his more learned and yet more entirely Arabic "Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain" (London, 1843, 4to, Vol. II. p. 323), gives a similar account. The purely Spanish historians, of course, state the matter still more strongly; Mariana, for instance, looking upon the result of the battle as quite superhuman. — Historia General de España, 14a impresion, Madrid, 1780, fol., Lib. XI. c. 24. Perhaps, however, the safest account of the whole, and the most trustworthy exhibition of its consequences to Spanish civilization, are to be found in Aschbach, Geschichte der Almoraviden und Almohaden, Frankfurt, Band II. 1837, Buch v. kap. 2, and the Beilagen.

[5] "And in that time," we are told in the old "Crónica General de España" (Zamora, 1541, fol., f. 275), "was the war of the Moors very grievous; so that the kings, and counts, and nobles, and all the knights that took pride in arms, stabled their horses in the rooms where they slept with their wives; to the end that, when they heard the war-cry, they might find their horses and arms at hand, and mount instantly at its summons." "A hard and rude training," says Martinez de la Rosa, in his graceful romance of "Isabel de Solis," recollecting, I suspect, this very passage, — "a hard and rude training, the prelude to so many glories and to the conquest of the world, when our forefathers, weighed down with harness, and their swords always in hand, slept at ease no single night for eight centuries." — Doña Isabel de Solis, Reyna de Granada, Novela Histórica, Madrid, 1839, 8vo, Parte II. c. 15.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE SPANISH AS A WRITTEN LANGUAGE.—POEM OF THE CID.—ITS HERO, SUBJECT, LANGUAGE, AND VERSE.—STORY OF THE POEM.—ITS CHARACTER.—ST. MARY OF EGYPT.—THE ADORATION OF THE THREE KINGS.—BERCEO, THE FIRST KNOWN CASTILIAN POET.—HIS WORKS AND VERSIFICATION.—HIS SAN DOMINGO DE SILOS.—HIS MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN.

THE oldest documents known to exist with ascertained dates in the Spanish language come from the reign of Alfonso VII. The first of them is a charter of Oviedo, in 1145, and the other is the confirmation of a charter of Avilés, in 1155;—neighboring cities in Asturias, and therefore in that part of Spain where we should naturally look for the first intimations of a new dialect.[1] They are important, not only because they exhibit the new dialect just emerging from the corrupted Latin, little or not at all affected by the Arabic infused into it in the southern provinces, but because they are believed to be among the very oldest documents ever written in Spanish, since there is no good reason to suppose that language to have existed in a written form even half a century earlier.

Earliest written Spanish.

How far we can go back towards the first appearance of poetry in this Spanish, or, as it was oftener called, Castilian dialect, is not so precisely ascertained. But we know that we can trace Castilian verse to a period surprisingly near the date of the documents of Oviedo and of Avilés. It is, too, a remarkable circumstance, that we can thus trace it by works both long and interesting; for, though ballads, and the other forms of popular poetry, by which we mark indistinctly the beginning of almost every other literature, are abundant in

[1] See Appendix (A.), on the History of the Spanish Language.

the Spanish, we are not obliged to resort to them, at the outset of our inquiries, since other obvious and decisive monuments present themselves at once.[2]

Poem of the Cid.

The first of these monuments in age, and the first in importance, is the poem commonly called, with primitive simplicity and directness, "The Poem of the Cid." It consists of above three thousand lines, and can hardly have been composed later than the year 1200. Its subject, as its name implies, is taken from among the adventures of the Cid, the great popular hero of the chivalrous age of Spain; and the whole tone of its manners and feelings is in sympathy with the contest between the Moors and the Christians, in which the Cid bore so great a part, and which was still going on with undiminished violence at the period when the poem was written. It has, therefore, a national bearing and a national character throughout.[3]

[2] Don Pascual de Gayangos, in his notes on the Spanish translation of this History (Tom. I. 1851, pp. 491–494), has printed a few notices of the earliest *jongleurs* and minstrels, gathered from the papers of Señor Floranes Robles, in the collections of the Spanish Academy. They are as follows:

Eleventh century, latter part.—The marriage of the Cid's daughters occurred, and in his Chronicle, c. 228, and in the Crónica General, "Juglares" are said to have graced the ceremony; a similar statement being also made in both these chronicles concerning the marriage of the daughters of Alfonso VI., which occurred in 1095. But it should be observed that both the chronicles which are the authority for these statements were written after 1250.

1145. Padre Burriel says there is a *privilegio* of Alfonso VII., to which a witness subscribes as "Poeta."

1170 *circa*. The Latin poet who describes the conquest of Almeria, which occurred in 1147, speaks of poetry at that siege of a popular sort.

1197. There is a witness to a "Privilegio," who subscribes himself as "Trovador."

1230. A witness to a public document subscribes himself "Gilbertus Poeta."

1236. Several persons appear with similar attributes at the *Repartimiento* following the conquest of Seville.

1252–1284. The Crónica General of Alfonso the Wise and his Partidas refer to "Cantares de Gesta," and to "Cantigas," "Rimas," and "Ditados."

So far as these citations are of consequence to any question of the earliest Spanish literature, I think I have noticed them sufficiently elsewhere. But they are in truth of little moment. None of them dates so far back as the Fueros of Oviedo and Avila, except the citation of the "Poeta" as a witness to the Privilegio of Alfonso VII., which is of exactly the same date with the Fuero of Oviedo, but it does not appear whether the "Poeta" in question wrote in Latin or in the dialect then forming, though I suppose he wrote in Latin. The others, being all of later date than both the Fueros, are of even less consequence.

[3] The date of the only early manuscript of the Poem of the Cid is in these words: "Per Abbat le escribio en el mes de Mayo, en Era de Mill è CC..XLV años." There is a blank made by an erasure between the second C and the X, which has given rise to the question whether this erasure was made by the copyist because he had accidentally put in a letter too much, or whether it is a subsequent erasure, that ought to be filled, — and, if filled, whether with the conjunction *è*, or with another C; in short, the question is whether this manuscript should

The Cid himself, who is to be found constantly commemorated in Spanish poetry, was born in Burgos, about the year 1040, and died in 1099 at Valencia, which he had rescued from the Moors.[4] His original name was Ruy Diaz, or Rodrigo Diaz; and he

The Cid.

be dated in 1245 or in 1345. (Sanchez Poesias Anteriores, Madrid, 1779, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 221.) But Gayangos has examined the MS., and has no doubt that it should be 1345. This year, 1345, *of the Spanish era*, according to which the calculation of time is commonly kept in the elder Spanish records, corresponds to our A. D. 1307, — a difference of thirty-eight years, — the reason for which may be found in a note to Southey's "Chronicle of the Cid" (London, 1808, 4to, p. 385), without seeking it in more learned sources.

The date of *the poem itself*, however, is a very different question from the date of *this particular manuscript* of it; for the *Per Abbat* referred to is merely the copyist, whether his name was Peter Abbat or Peter the Abbot. (Risco, Castilla, etc., p. 68.) This question — the one, I mean, of the age of *the poem itself* — can be settled only from internal evidence of style and language. Two passages, vv. 3014 and 3735, have, indeed, been alleged (Risco, p. 69, Southey's Chronicle, p. 282, note) to prove its date historically; but, after all, they only show that it was written subsequently to A. D. 1135. (V. A. Huber, Geschichte des Cid, Bremen, 1829, 12mo, p. xxix.) The point is one difficult to settle; and none can be consulted about it but natives or *experts*. Of these, Sanches places it at about 1150, or half a century after the death of the Cid (Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. p. 223), and Capmany (Eloquencia Española, Madrid, 1786, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 1) follows him. Marina, whose opinion is of great weight (Memorias de la Academia de Historia, Tom. IV. 1805, Ensayo, p. 34), places it thirty or forty years before Berceo, who wrote 1220–1240. The editors of the Spanish translation of Bouterwek (Madrid, 1829, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 112) agree with Sanchez, and so does Huber (Gesch. des Cid, Vorwort, p. xxvii.). To these opinions may be added that of Ferdinand Wolf, of Vienna (Jahrbücher der Literatur, Wien, 1831, Band LVI. p. 251), who, like Huber, is one of the acutest scholars alive, in whatever touches Spanish and Mediæval literature, and who places it about 1140–1160. Many other opinions might be cited, for the subject has been much discussed; but the judgments of the learned men already given, formed at different times in the course of half a century from the period of the first publication of the poem, and concurring so nearly, leave no reasonable doubt that it was composed as early as the year 1200.

Mr. Southey's name, introduced by me in this note, is one that must always be mentioned with peculiar respect by scholars interested in Spanish literature. From the circumstance that his uncle, the Rev. Herbert Hill, a scholar, and a careful and industrious one, was connected with the English Factory at Lisbon, Mr. Southey visited Spain and Portugal in 1795–6, when he was about twenty-two years old, and, on his return home, published his Travels, in 1797; — a pleasant book, written in the clear, idiomatic English that always distinguishes his style, and containing a considerable number of translations from the Spanish and the Portuguese, made with freedom and spirit rather than with great exactness. From this time he never lost sight of Spain and Portugal, or of Spanish and Portuguese literature, as is shown, not only by several of his larger original works, but by his translations, and by his articles in the London Quarterly Review on Lope de Vega and Camoens; especially by one in the second volume of that journal, which was translated into Portuguese, with notes, by Müller, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, and so made into an excellent compact manual for Portuguese literary history. Müller was, at one time, preacher to a Protestant German Church in Lisbon, but received too small a salary to live upon. Subsequently he turned Catholic, became instructor to one of the Royal Princes of Portugal, and, on the death of his pupil, was made captain of a frigate, with the rank of colonel. He died in 1814. (See a curious book, entitled Die Deutschen in Spanien und Portugal, u. s. w., von W. Stricker, Leipzig, 1850, 8vo. p. 201.)

4 The Arabic accounts represent the Cid as having died of grief, at the defeat of the

was by birth one of the considerable barons of his country.[5] The title of *Cid*, by which he is almost always

Christians near Valencia, which fell again into the hands of the Moslem in 1100. (Gayangos, Mohammedan Dynasties, Vol. II. Appendix, p. xliii.) It is necessary to read some one of the many lives of the Cid in order to understand the Poema del Cid, and much else of Spanish literature. I will, therefore, notice four or five of the more suitable and important. 1. The oldest is the Latin "Historia Didaci Campidocti," written before 1238, and published as an Appendix in Risco, the MS. of which was, for a time, supposed to be lost; but which is now (1858) probably returned to its home in Spain. (See note of Gayangos to the Spanish translation of this history, Tom. I. pp. 494–5, and notes of Julius to the German translation, Tom. II. pp. 661 and 806.) 2. The next is the cumbrous and credulous one by Father Risco, 1792. 3. Then we have a curious one by John von Müller, the historian of Switzerland, 1805, prefixed to his friend Herder's Ballads of the Cid. 4. The classical Life, by Manuel Josef Quintana, in the first volume of his "Vidas de Españoles Célebres" (Madrid, 1807, 12mo). 5. That of Huber, 1829; acute and safe. The best of all, however, is the old Spanish "Chronicle of the Cid," or Southey's Chronicle, 1808; — the best, I mean, for those who read in order to enjoy what may be called the literature of the Cid; — to which may be added a pleasant little volume, by George Dennis, entitled, "The Cid; a Short Chronicle founded on the Early Poetry of Spain," London, 1845, 12mo.

Some of the poetical stories about the Cid, that never ought to have been believed, were doubted as early as the middle of the fifteenth century (see "Loores de los Claros Varones de España," a *Poem* by Fernan Perez de Guzman, copla 219), and many others of them are now at a glance seen to be incredible. But the ground taken by Masdeu (Hist. Critica de España, Tom. xx., through the whole volume, but especially at p. 370), and by Dunham (History of Spain and Portugal, Vol. II. Appendix), who maintain that such a personage as the Cid *never existed*, is quite absurd. If, however, anybody should still be inclined to this extraordinary piece of scepticism, he has only to read Dozy, "Recherches sur l'Histoire politique etc. de l'Espagne pendant le moyen age" (Leyde, 1849, 8vo, Vol. I.); — a most important book for the mediæval and Arabic History of Spain. In it (pp. 320 to the end of the volume) the learned author shows from Arabic documents, nearly or quite contemporary with the Cid (pp. 329, 356), much more than we before knew of that hero's history and adventures, leaving no doubt that the great outline which we already possessed is the true one. At the same time, however, he shows us the Cid stained with the crimes and cruelty of his age, as Conde had partly done before; — crimes which did not injure that hero in the eyes of his contemporaries, but which almost entirely disappear in the poetical accounts of him, from which, in modern times, we chiefly gather his character. (Conde, Dominacion, Tom. II. p. 183. Dozy, Recherches, Tom. I. pp. 183, 355, 375, 402, 567, 581, 695, 705.)

All the authorities of the least consequence for the history and adventures of the Cid are carefully enumerated in Duran, Romancero General, Tom. II. 1851, p. 664, note 67.

[5] Rodrigo Diaz or Diez meant Rodrigo the son of Diego, just as his father's name, Diego Lainez, meant Diego the son of Lain, and Alvaro Nuñez de Lara meant Alvaro the son of Nuño, of the house of Lara; — *ez* being a patronymic ending of the names to which it was attached. (See Geronymo, Gudiel, Familia de los Girones, folio, Alcalá, 1577, f. 2. a. and Diccionario de la Academia, 1737, verb. *Patronymico.*) This ending, with its varieties, *az*, *es*, *is*, etc., can be traced back, both in Spain and Portugal, by *Latin* documents to the eleventh century: as Froilanez and Froilas, the son of Froila; Velasques and Velasquez, the son of Velasco; Sanchiz and Sanchez, the son of Sancho, etc. But, in process of time, these endings lost their original meaning, and became merely parts of family names, as in the familiar case of Antonio Perez, the victim of Philip the Second, whose father, the translator of the Odyssey, was Gonçalo Perez, and whose son bore the same name. Whence the earliest usage of *ez* as a patronymic came, is not settled. Padre Burriel (Paleographia Española, 1758, p. 15) thinks that it possibly "came from the North;" and J. A. Schmeller (Königliche Baierische Akademie, Philos. — Philol. Klasse, Band V. 1849, pp. 213–231) undertakes to prove

known, is often said to have come to him from the remarkable circumstance that five Moorish kings or chiefs acknowledged him in one battle as their *Seid*, or their lord and conqueror;[6] and the title of *Campeador*, or Champion, by which he is hardly less known, though it is commonly assumed to have been given to him as a leader of the armies of Sancho the Second, has long since been used almost exclusively as a mere popular expression of the admiration of his countrymen for his exploits against the Moors.[7] At any rate, from a very early period he has been called *El Cid Campeador*, or The Lord Champion. And in many respects he well deserved the honorable title; for he passed almost the whole of his life in the field against the oppressors of his country, suffering, so far as we know, scarcely a single defeat from the common enemy, though, on more than one occasion, he was exiled and sacrificed by the Christian princes to whose interests he had attached himself, and, on more than one occasion, was in alliance with the Mohammedan powers, in order, according to a system then received among the Christian princes of Spain, and thought justifiable, to avenge the wrongs that had been inflicted on him by his own countrymen.

But, whatever may have been the real adventures of his life, over which the peculiar darkness of the period when they were achieved has cast a deep shadow,[8] he comes to

that it did, relying chiefly on Ulfilas' translation of the Gospels, in the fourth century, to make out his case. But such an inflection as this patronymic ending is not in the genius of the Gothic languages; and, when it occurs in Ulfilas, it seems to me to have been borrowed directly from the Greek and Latin; — his Abraham*is*, for instance, being as clearly a classical genitive case as Tydid*is*. At any rate, this ending is admitted to have reached the modern Spanish through the Latin of the Middle Ages, and need, therefore, be traced no further back. One peculiar use of it, however, deserves notice. It was sometimes added to express homage or reverence to the father. Thus: Alfonso the Wise occasionally called himself Alfonso Fernandez, in honor of his father, Ferdinand III. But instances of this seem to have been rare. (Mondejar, Memorias de Alonso el Sabio, 1777, p. 478.)

6 Chrónica del Cid, Burgos, 1593, fol., c. 19.

7 Huber, p. 96. Müller's Leben des Cid. in Herder's Sämmtliche Werke, zur schönen Literatur und Kunst, Wien, 1813, 12mo, Theil III. p. xxi. See also Dozy, Recherches (Vol. I. 1849, 416–423), for the meaning of Campeador.

8 "No period of Spanish history is so deficient in contemporary documents." — Huber, Vorwort, p. xiii. The consequence is that the Cid of the early popular traditions, whether as he is found in the Poema del Cid, in the ballads, or even in the old chronicles, is much of a poetical figure, and unlike the personage presented to us by history, who, however heroic, was marked by the violence and rudeness of his time, —

us in modern times as the great defender of his nation against its Moorish invaders, and seems to have so filled the imagination and satisfied the affections of his countrymen, that, centuries after his death, and even down to our own days, poetry and tradition have delighted to attach to his name a long series of fabulous achievements, which connect him with the mythological fictions of the Middle Ages, and remind us almost as often of Amadis and Arthur as they do of the sober heroes of genuine history.[9]

The Poem of the Cid partakes of both these characters. It has sometimes been regarded as wholly, or almost wholly, historical.[10] But there is too free and romantic a spirit in it for history. It contains, indeed, few of the bolder fictions found in the subsequent chronicles and in the popular ballads. Still, it is essentially a poem; and in the spirited scenes at the siege of Alcocer and at the Cortes, as well as in those relating to the Counts of Carrion, it is plain that the author felt his license as a poet. In fact, the very marriage of the daughters of the Cid has been shown to be all but impossible; and thus any real historical foundation seems to be taken away from the chief event which the poem records.[11] This, however, does

fighting not unfrequently against the Christians, destroying their churches, &c. See Dozy (Recherches, Tom. I. 1849, pp. 320–399 and 650–656), who thinks that he was thus fitted to become what he has since become in Castilian poetry.

[9] It is amusing to compare the Moorish accounts of the Cid with the Christian. In the work of Conde on the Arabs of Spain, which is little more than a translation from Arabic chronicles, the Cid appears first, I think, in the year 1087, when he is called "The Cambitur [Campeador] who *infested* the frontiers of Valencia." (Tom II. p. 155.) When he had taken Valencia, in 1094, we are told, "Then the Cambitur — *may he be accursed of Allah!* — entered in with all his people and allies." (Tom. II. p. 183.) In other places he is called "Roderic the Cambitur," — "Roderic, Chief of the Christians, known as the Cambitur," — and "the Accursed;" — all proving how thoroughly he was hated and feared by his enemies. He is nowhere, I think, called Cid or Seid by Arab writers; and the reason why he appears in Conde's work so little is, probably, that the manuscripts used by that writer relate chiefly to the history of events in Andalusia and Granada, where the Cid did not figure at all. The tone in Gayangos' more learned and accurate work on the Mohammedan Dynasties is the same. When the Cid dies, the Arab chronicler (Vol. II. App., p. xliii.) adds, "May God not show him mercy!"

[10] This is the opinion of John von Müller and of Southey, the latter of whom says, in the Preface to his Chronicle (p. xi.), "The Poem is to be considered as metrical history, not as metrical romance." But Huber, in the excellent Vorwort to his Geschichte (p. xxvi.), shows this to be a mistake; and in the introduction to his edition of the chronicle (Marburg, 1844, 8vo, p. xlii.) shows further that the poem was certainly not taken from the old Latin Life, which is generally received as the foundation for what is historical in our account of the Cid.

[11] Mariana is much troubled about the history of the Cid, and decides nothing (Historia, Lib. X. c. 4). Sandoval con-

not at all touch the proper value of the work, which is simple, heroic, and national. Unfortunately, the only ancient manuscript of it known to exist is imperfect, and nowhere informs us who was its author. But what has been lost is not much. It is only a few leaves in the beginning, one leaf in the middle, and some scattered lines in other parts. The conclusion is perfect. Of course, there can be no doubt about the subject or purpose of the whole. It is the development of the character and glory of the Cid, as shown in his achievements in the kingdoms of Saragossa and Valencia; in his triumph over his unworthy sons-in-law, the Counts of Carrion, and their disgrace before the king and Cortes; and, finally, in the second marriage of his two daughters with the Infantes of Navarre and Aragon; the whole ending with a slight allusion to the hero's death, and a notice of the date of the manuscript.[12]

MS. of the Poem of the Cid.

But the story of the poem constitutes the least of its claims to our notice. In truth, we do not read it at all for its mere facts, which are often detailed with the minuteness and formality of a monkish chronicle; but for its living pictures of the age it represents, and for the vivacity with which it brings up manners and interests so remote from our own experience, that, where they are attempted in formal history, they come to us as cold as the fables of mythology. We read it because it is a contemporary and spirited exhibition of the chivalrous times of Spain, given occasionally with

Story of the Poem.

troverts much, and entirely denies the story of the Counts of Carrion (Reyes de Castilla, Pamplona, 1615, fol., f. 54);—and Ferreras (Synopsis Histórica, Madrid, 1775, 4to, Tom. V. pp. 196–198) endeavors to settle what is true and what is fabulous, and agrees with Sandoval about the marriage of the daughters of the Cid with the Counts. Southey (Chronicle, pp. 310–312) argues both sides, and shows his desire to believe the story, but does not absolutely succeed in doing so.

[12] The poem was originally published by Sanchez, in the first volume of his valuable "Poesías Castellanas Anteriores al Siglo XV." (Madrid, 1779–90, 4 Tom. 8vo; reprinted by Ochoa, Paris, 1842, 8vo.) It contains three thousand seven hundred and forty-four lines, and, if the deficiencies in the manuscript were supplied, Sanchez thinks the whole would come up to about four thousand lines. But he saw a copy made in 1596, which, though not entirely faithful, showed that the older manuscript had the same deficiencies then that it has now. Of course there is little chance that they will ever be supplied. The edition of Sanchez is said not to be so correctly printed as it should have been, and the *fac-simile* of the MS. on which it is founded, given by the Spanish translators of Bouterwek (Tom. I. p. 112), is declared to be so inaccurate as to afford no just idea of it. See the Spanish translation of this History, Madrid, Tom. I. 1851, p. 495.

an Homeric simplicity altogether admirable. For the story it tells is not only that of the most romantic achievements, attributed to the most romantic hero of Spanish tradition, but it is mingled continually with domestic and personal details, that bring the character of the Cid and his age near to our own sympathies and interests.[13] The very language in which it is told is the language he himself spoke, still only half developed; disencumbering itself with difficulty from the characteristics of the Latin; its new constructions by no means established; imperfect in its forms, and ill furnished with the connecting particles in which so much of the power and grace of all languages resides; but still breathing the bold, sincere, and original spirit of its times, and showing plainly that it is struggling with success for a place among the other wild elements of the national genius. And, finally, the metre and rhyme into which the whole poem is cast are rude and unsettled: the verse claiming to be of fourteen syllables, divided by an abrupt cæsural pause after the eighth, yet often running out to sixteen or twenty, and sometimes falling back to twelve;[14] but

Its character.

13 I would instance the following lines on the famine in Valencia during its siege by the Cid:

Mal se aquexan los de Valencia que non sabent ques' far;
De ninguna part que sea no les viene pan;
Nin da consejo padre à fijo, nin fijo à padre:
Nin amigo à amigo nos pueden consolar.
Mala cuenta es, Señores, aver mengua de pan,
Fijos e mugieres verlo morir de fambre.
vv. 1183-1188.

Valencian men doubt what to do, and bitterly complain
That, wheresoe'er they look for bread, they look for it in vain.
No father help can give his child, no son can help his sire;
Nor friend to friend assistance lend, or cheerfulness inspire.
A grievous story, Sirs, it is, when fails the needed bread;
And women fair, and children young, in hunger join the dead.

From the use of *Señores*, "Sirs," in this passage, as well as from other lines, like v. 734 and v. 2291, I have thought the poem was either originally addressed to some particular persons, or was intended — which is most in accordance with the spirit of the age — to be recited publicly.

The Cid, it should be remembered, owed much of the great space he filled in the admiration of his countrymen and contemporaries to a circumstance that brings him near to our own sympathies. I mean his bold spirit in maintaining the old national rights and *fueros*. Huber notices this in his Preface (p. liv.), and, I suppose, was thinking of the Chronicle (chap. 110), where the Cid is recorded to have stood up, if not for popular rights as we now understand them, at least for such rights as were then in contest with the crown; just as the English Barons stood up against King John, when they wrung from him the Magna Charta.

14 For example:

Ferran Gonzalez non viò alli dos' alzase nin camara abierta nin torre. — v. 2296.

Feme ante vos yo è vuestras fijas,
Infantes son è de dias chicas. — vv. 268, 269.

Some of the irregularities of the versification may be owing to the copyist, as we have but one manuscript to depend upon; but they are too grave and too abundant to be charged, on the whole, to any account but that of the original author.

always bearing the impress of a free and fearless spirit, which harmonizes alike with the poet's language, subject, and age, and so gives to the story a stir and interest, which, though we are separated from it by so many centuries, bring some of its scenes before us like those of a drama.

The first pages of the manuscript being lost, what remains to us begins abruptly, at the moment when the Cid, just exiled by his ungrateful king, looks back upon the towers of his castle at Bivar, as he leaves them. "Thus heavily weeping," the poem goes on, "he turned his head and stood looking at them. He saw his doors open and his household chests unfastened, the hooks empty and without pelisses and without cloaks, and the mews without falcons and without hawks. My Cid sighed, for he had grievous sorrow; but my Cid spake well and calmly: 'I thank thee, Lord and Father, who art in heaven, that it is my evil enemies who have done this thing unto me.'"

He goes, where all desperate men then went, to the frontiers of the Christian war; and, after establishing his wife and children in a religious house, plunges with three hundred faithful followers into the infidel territories, determined, according to the practice of his time, to win lands and fortune from the common enemy, and providing for himself meanwhile, according to another practice of his time, by plundering the Jews as if he were a mere Robin Hood. Among his earliest conquests is Alcocer; but the Moors collect in force, and besiege him in their turn, so that he can save himself only by a bold sally, in which he overthrows their whole array. The rescue of his standard, endangered in the onslaught by the rashness of Bermuez, who bore it, is described in the very spirit of knighthood.[15]

[15] Some of the lines of this passage in the original (vv. 723, etc.) may be cited, to show that gravity and dignity were among the prominent attributes of the Spanish language from its first appearance.

Embrazan los escudos delant los corazones,
Abaxan las lanzas apuestas de los pendones.
Enclinaron las caras de suso de los arzones,
Iban los ferir de fuertes corazones,
A grandes voces lama el que en buen ora nasceð :
"Ferid los, cavalleros, por amor de caridad,
Yo soy Ruy Diaz el Cid Campeador de Bibar,"
etc.

Their shields before their breasts, forth at once they go,
Their lances in the rest, levelled fair and low,
Their banners and their crests waving in a row,
Their heads all stooping down toward the saddle bow;
The Cid was in the midst, his shout was heard afar,
"I am Ruy Diaz, the champion of Bivar;
Strike amongst them, Gentlemen, for sweet Mercy's sake!"
There where Bermuez fought amidst the foe they brake,
Three hundred bannered knights, it was a gallant show.
Three hundred Moors they killed, a man with every blow;
When they wheeled and turned, as many more lay slain;
You might see them raise their lances and level them again.
There you might see the breast-plates how they were cleft in twain,
And many a Moorish shield lie shattered on the plain,
The pennons that were white marked with a crimson stain,
The horses running wild whose riders had been slain.[16]

The poem afterwards relates the Cid's contest with the Count of Barcelona; the taking of Valencia; the reconcilement of the Cid to the king, who had treated him so ill; and the marriage of the Cid's two daughters, at the king's request, to the two Counts of Carrion, who were among the first nobles of the kingdom. At this point, however, there is a somewhat formal division of the poem,[17] and the remainder is devoted to what is its prin-

[16] This and the two following translations were made by Mr. J. Hookham Frere, one of the most accomplished scholars England has produced, and one whom Sir James Mackintosh has pronounced to be the first of English translators. He was, for some years, British Minister in Spain, and, by a conjectural emendation which he made of a line in *this very poem*, known only to himself and the Marquis de la Romana, was able to accredit a secret agent to the latter in 1808, when he was commanding a body of Spanish troops in the French service on the soil of Denmark; — a circumstance that led to one of the most important movements in the war against Bonaparte. (Southey's History of the Peninsular War, London, 1823, 4to, Tom. I. p. 657.) The admirable translations of Mr. Frere from the Poem of the Cid are to be found in the Appendix to Southey's Chronicle of the Cid; itself an entertaining book, made out of free versions and compositions from the Spanish Poem of the Cid, the old ballads, the prose Chronicle of the Cid, and the General Chronicle of Spain. Mr. Wm. Godwin, in a somewhat singular "Letter of Advice to a Young American on a Course of Studies" (London, 1818, 8vo), commends it justly as one of the books best calculated to give an idea of the age of chivalry.

A German translation of the whole poem, in the measure of the original, with short notes, was published at Jena in 1850 (8vo, pp. 119), with the title "Das Gedicht vom Cid, u. s. w., von O. L. B. Wolff." It is not so accurate as it should be; but the Preface is sensible, and of the whole poem the author says, aptly, "It bears the truest impress of a period when words went for little, and deeds were everything."

It is proper I should add here that, except where it is otherwise especially stated, I am myself responsible for the translations made in these volumes.

[17] This division, and some others less distinctly marked, have led Tapia (Historia de la Civilisacion de España, Madrid, 1840 12mo, Tom. I. p. 268) to think that the whole poem is but a congeries of ballads,

cipal subject, the dissolution of this marriage in consequence of the baseness and brutality of the Counts; the Cid's public triumph over them; their no less public disgrace; and the announcement of the second marriage of the Cid's daughters with the Infantes of Navarre and Aragon, which, of course, raised the Cid himself to the highest pitch of his honors, by connecting him with the royal houses of Spain. With this, therefore, the poem virtually ends.

The most spirited part of it consists of the scenes at the Cortes summoned, on demand of the Cid, in consequence of the misconduct of the Counts of Carrion. In one of them, three followers of the Cid challenge three followers of the Counts, and the challenge of Munio Gustioz to Assur Gonzalez is thus characteristically given:

Assur Gonzalez was entering at the door,
With his ermine mantle trailing along the floor;
With his sauntering pace and his hardy look,
Of manners or of courtesy little heed he took;
He was flushed and hot with breakfast and with drink.
"What ho! my masters, your spirits seem to sink!
Have we no news stirring from the Cid, Ruy Diaz of Bivar?
Has he been to Riodivirna, to besiege the windmills there?
Does he tax the millers for their toll? or is that practice past?
Will he make a match for his daughters, another like the last?"
Munio Gustioz rose and made reply:—
"Traitor, wilt thou never cease to slander and to lie?
You breakfast before mass, you drink before you pray;
There is no honor in your heart, nor truth in what you say;
You cheat your comrade and your lord, you flatter to betray;
Your hatred I despise, your friendship I defy!
False to all mankind and most to God on high,
I shall force you to confess that what I say is true."
Thus was ended the parley and challenge betwixt these two.[18]

as the Iliad has sometimes been thought to be, and as there is little doubt the Nibelungenlied really is. But such breaks occur so frequently in different parts of it, and seem so generally to be made for other reasons, that this conjecture is not probable. (Huber, Chrónica del Cid, p. xl.) Besides, the whole poem more resembles the Chansons de Geste of old French poetry, and is more artificial in its structure than the nature of the ballad permits.

18 Asur Gonzalez entraba por el palacio;
Manto armino è un Brial rastrando:
Bermeio viene, ca era almorzado.
En lo que fabló avie poco recabdo.
"Hya varones, quien vió nunca tal mal?
Quien nos darie nuevas de Mio Cid, el de Bibar?
Fues' á Riodouirna los molinos picar,
E prender maquilas como lo suele far';
Quil' darie con los de Carrion à casar'?"
Esora Muno Gustioz en pie se levantó:
"Cala, alevoso, malo, è traydor:
Antes almuerzas, que bayas à oracion;

The opening of the lists for the six combatants, in the presence of the king, is another passage of much spirit and effect.

The heralds and the king are foremost in the place.
They clear away the people from the middle space ;
They measure out the lists, the barriers they fix,
They point them out in order and explain to all the six :
"If you are forced beyond the line where they are fixed and traced,
You shall be held as conquered and beaten and disgraced."
Six lances' length on either side an open space is laid ;
They share the field between them, the sunshine and the shade.
Their office is performed, and from the middle space
The heralds are withdrawn and leave them face to face.
Here stood the warriors of the Cid, that noble champion ;
Opposite, on the other side, the lords of Carrion.
Earnestly their minds are fixed each upon his foe.
Face to face they take their place, anon the trumpets blow ;
They stir their horses with the spur, they lay their lances low,
They bend their shields before their breasts, their face to the saddle-bow.
Earnestly their minds are fixed each upon his foe.
The heavens are overcast above, the earth trembles below;
The people stand in silence, gazing on the show.[19]

These are among the most characteristic passages in the poem. But it is throughout striking and original. It is, too, no less national, Christian, and loyal. It breathes

A los que das paz fartas los aderredor.
Non dices verdad amigo ni à Señor,
Falso à todos è mas al Criador.
En tu amistad non quiero aver racion.
Facertelo decir, que tal eres qual digo yo."
Sanchez, Tom. I. p. 359.

This passage, with what precedes and what follows it, may be compared with the challenge in Shakspeare's "Richard II.," Act IV.

[19] Los Fieles è el rey enseñaron los moiones.
Librabanse del campo todos aderredor :
Bien gelo demostraron à todos seis como son,
Qué por y serie vencido qui saliese del moion.
Todos las yentes esconbraron aderredor
De seis astas de lanzas que non legasen al moion.
Sorteabanles el campo, ya les partien el sol :
Salien los Fieles de medio, ellos cara por cara son.
Desi vinien los de Mio Cid à los Infantes de Carrion,
Ellos Infantes de Carrion à los del Campeador.
Cada uno dellos mientes tiene al so.
Abrazan los escudos delant' los corazones :
Abaxan las lanzas abueltas con los pendones ;
Enclinaban las caras sobre los arzones :
Batien los cavallos con los espolones :
Tembrar querie la tierra dod eran movedores.
Cada uno dellos mientes tiene al sŏ.
Sanchez, Tom. I. p. 368.

A parallel passage from Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" — the combat between Palamon and Arcite (Tyrwhitt's edit. v. 2601) — should not be overlooked.

"The heraudes left hir priking up and down,
Now ringen trompes loud and clarioun,
There is no more to say, but est and west,
In gon the speres sadly in the rest ;
In goth the sharpe spore into the side :
Ther see men who can just and who can ride."

And so on twenty lines further, both in the English and the Spanish. But it should be borne in mind, when comparing them, that the Poem of the Cid was written two centuries earlier than the "Canterbury Tales" were.

everywhere the true Castilian spirit, such as the old chronicles represent it amidst the achievements and disasters of the Moorish wars; and has very few traces of an Arabic influence in its language, and none at all in its imagery or fancies. The whole of it, therefore, deserves to be read, and to be read in the original; for it is there only that we can obtain the fresh impressions it is fitted to give us of the rude but heroic period it represents: of the simplicity of the goverments, and the loyalty and true-heartedness of the people; of the wide force of a primitive religious enthusiasm; of the picturesque state of manners and daily life in an age of trouble and confusion; and of the bold outlines of the national genius, which are often struck out where we should least think to find them. It is, indeed, a work which, as we read it, stirs us with the spirit of the times it describes; and as we lay it down and recollect the intellectual condition of Europe when it was written, and for a long period before, it seems certain that, during the thousand years which elapsed from the time of the decay of Greek and Roman culture, down to the appearance of the "Divina Commedia," no poetry was produced so original in its tone, or so full of natural feeling, graphic power, and energy.[20]

Its high merits.

[20] The change of opinion in relation to the Poema del Cid, and the different estimates of its value, are remarkable circumstances in its history. Bouterwek speaks of it very slightingly, — probably from following Sarmiento, who had not read it, — and the Spanish translators of Bouterwek almost agree with him. F. v. Schlegel, however, Sismondi, Huber, Wolf, and nearly or quite all who have spoken of it of late, express a strong admiration of its merits. There is, I think, truth in the remark of Southey (*Quarterly Review*, 1814, Vol. XII. p. 64): "The Spaniards have not yet discovered the high value of their metrical history of the Cid as a poem. They will never produce anything great in the higher branches of art till they have cast off the false taste which prevents them from perceiving it."

Of all poems belonging to the early ages of any modern nation, the one that can best be compared with the Poem of the Cid is the Nibelungenlied, which, according to the most judicious among the German critics, dates, in its present form at least, about half a century after the time assigned to the Poem of the Cid. A parallel might easily be run between them, that would be curious.

In the Jahrbücher der Literatur, Wien, 1846, Band CXVI., M. Francisque Michel, a scholar to whom the literature of the Middle Ages owes much, published, for the first time, what remains of an old poetical Spanish chronicle, — "Crónica Rimada de las Cosas de España," — on the history of Spain from the death of Pelayo to Ferdinand the Great; — the same poem that is noticed in Ochoa, "Catálogo de Manuscritos" (Paris, 1844, 4to, pp. 106–110), and in Huber's edition of the Chronicle of the Cid, Preface, App. E.

It is a curious, though not important, contribution to our resources in early Spanish literature, and one that immediately reminds us of the old Poem of the Cid. It begins with a prose introduction on the

Three other poems, anonymous like that of the Cid, have been placed immediately after it, because they are found together in a single manuscript assigned to the thirteenth century, and because the language and style of at least the first of them seem to justify the conjecture that carries it so far back.[21]

state of affairs down to the time of Fernan Gonzalez, compressed into a single page, and then goes on through eleven hundred and twenty-six lines of verse, when it breaks off abruptly in the middle of a line, as if the copyist had been interrupted, but with no sign that the work was drawing to an end. Nearly the whole of it is taken up with the history of the Cid, his family and his adventures, which are sometimes different from those in the old ballads and chronicles. Thus, Ximena is represented as having three brothers, who are taken prisoners by the Moors, and released by the Cid; and the Cid is made to marry Ximena, by the royal command, against his own will; after which he goes to Paris, in the days of the Twelve Peers, and performs feats like those in the romances of chivalry. This, of course, is all new. But the old stories are altered and amplified, like those of the Cid's charity to the leper, which is given with a more striking air, and of Ximena and the king, and of the Cid and his father, which are partly thrown into dialogue, not without dramatic effect. The whole is a free version of the old traditions of the country, apparently made in the fifteenth century, after the fictions of chivalry began to be known, and with the intention of giving the Cid rank among their heroes.

The measure is that of the long verses used in the older Spanish poetry, with a cæsural pause near the middle of each, and the termination of the lines is in the *asonante* a–o. (See Chap. VI., and the notes to it.) But in all this there is great irregularity; — many of the verses running out to twenty or more syllables, and several passages failing to observe the proper *asonante*. Everything indicates that the old ballads were familiar to the author, and from one passage I infer that he knew the old poem of the Cid:

Veredes lidiar a profia e tan firme se dar,
Atantos pendones obrados alçar e abaxar,
Atantas lanças quebradas por el primor quebrar,
Atantos cavallos caer e non se levantar,
Atanto cavallo sin dueño por el campo andar.
vv. 805–809.

The preceding lines seem imitated from the Cid's fight before Alcocer, in such a way as to leave no doubt that its author had seen the old poem:

Veriedes tantas lanzas premer è alzar;
Tanta adarga à foradar è pasar;
Tanta loriga falsa desmanchar;
Tantos pendones blancos salir bermeios en sangre;
Tantos buenos cavallos sin sos duenos andar.
vv. 734–738.

Since the preceding remarks on the *Crónica Rimada* were published, Duran has reprinted the whole poem carefully, with a preface and notes, in the second volume of his Romancero, 1851, pp. 647–664. He comes to the conclusion, though he expresses it very modestly, that the *Poema* del Cid is much older than the *Crónica Rimada*, — es muy anterior — (p. 649); and I doubt not that he is right, though he has not seemed to observe that the *Crónica* imitates the *Poema*. He remarks, however, on its free use of the old ballads, and on the additions it makes, without early authority, to the life of the Cid. I am, therefore, confirmed in my opinion that the Crónica is a much later work than the Poema; but it is right to add that Dozy (Tom. I. pp. 623–637) is of a different opinion, although he admits that its language is that of the fifteenth century, and cites to prove its great antiquity a ballad (pp. 635 and 675), which, on the contrary, I have little doubt served, as did other ballads, to build up the Crónica, and should, therefore, be cited to prove it to be *later* than the Poema, and not earlier. These two poems on the Cid have some resemblance to the "Chansons de Geste" of the Northern French Poets; so that Wolf has thought the Spanish was imitated from the French. (Wiener Jahrbücher, Band CXVII. p. 110, and Translation of this History, Band II. 485.) But Dozy (Recherches, Tom. I. p. 616 sqq.) is of an exactly opposite opinion, and seems to me to be right.

21 The only knowledge of the manuscript containing these three poems was long derived from a few extracts in the "Bibli-

The poem with which this manuscript opens is called "The Book of Apollonius," and is the reproduction of a story whose origin is obscure, but which is itself familiar to us in the eighth book of Gower's "Confessio Amantis," and in the play of "Pericles," that has sometimes been attributed to Shakspeare. It is found in Greek rhyme very early, but is here taken, almost without alteration of incident, from that great repository of popular fiction in the Middle Ages, the "Gesta Romanorum." It consists of about twenty-six hundred lines, divided into stanzas of four verses, all terminating with the same rhyme. At the beginning, the author says, in his own person: Poem of Apollonius.

In God's name the most holy, and Saint Mary's name most dear,
If they but guide and keep me in their blessed love and fear,
I will strive to write a tale, in mastery new and clear,
Where of royal Apollonius the courtly you shall hear.

The new mastery or method — *nueva maestría* — here claimed may be the structure of the stanza and its rhyme; for in other respects the versification is like that of the Poem of the Cid, showing, however, more skill and exactness in the mere measure, and a slight improvement in the language. But the merit of the poem is small. It contains occasional notices of the manners of the age when it was produced, — among the rest, some sketches of a female *jongleur*, or rather one who pretended to be

oteca Española" of Rodriguez de Castro; — an important work, whose author was born in Galicia, in 1739, and died at Madrid, in 1799. The first volume, printed in 1781, in folio, under the patronage of the Count Florida Blanca, consists of a chronological account of the Rabbinical writers who appeared in Spain from the earliest times to his own, whether they wrote in Hebrew, Spanish, or any other language. The second, printed in 1786, consists of a similar account of the Spanish writers, heathen and Christian, who wrote either in Latin or in Spanish down to the end of the thirteenth century, and whose number he makes about two hundred. Both volumes are somewhat inartificially compiled, and the literary opinions they express are of small value; but their materials, largely derived from manuscripts, are curious, and frequently such as can be found in print nowhere else.

In this work (Madrid, 1786, fol., Vol. II. pp. 504, 505), and for a long time, as I have said, there alone, were found notices of these poems; but all of them were printed at the end of the Paris edition of Sanchez's "Coleccion de Poesias Anteriores al Siglo XV.," from a copy of the original manuscript in the Escurial, marked there III. K. 4to. Judging by the specimens given in De Castro, the spelling of the manuscript has not been carefully followed in the copy used for the Paris edition.

such, — that are curious and interesting. Its chief attraction, however, is its story, and this, unhappily, is not original.[22]

The next poem in the collection is called "The Life of our Lady, Saint Mary of Egypt," — a saint formerly much more famous than she is now, and one whose history has often been rejected by the wiser members of the church that canonized her. Such as it appears in the old traditions, however, with all its sins upon its head, it is here set forth. But we notice at once a considerable difference between the composition of its verse and that of any Castilian poetry assigned to the same or an earlier period. It is written in short lines, generally of eight syllables, and in couplets; but sometimes a single line carelessly runs out to the number of ten or eleven syllables; and, in a few instances, three or even four lines are included in one rhyme. It has a light air, quite unlike the stateliness of the Poem of the Cid; and seems, from its verse and tone, as well as from a few French words scattered through it, to have been borrowed from some of the earlier French Fabliaux, or, at any rate, to have been written in imitation of their easy and garrulous style. It opens thus, showing that it was intended for recitation:

Sta. Maria Egypciaca.

Listen, ye lordlings, listen to me,
For true is my tale, as true as can be;
And listen in heart, that so ye may
Have pardon, when humbly to God ye pray.

It consists of fourteen hundred such meagre, monkish verses, and is hardly of importance, except as a monument of the language at the period when it was written.[23]

[22] *Juglaresas* are regarded as a very degraded class in Partida IV. (Tit. xiv. Ley 3.) The story of Apollonius, Prince of Tyre, as it is commonly called, and as we have its incidents in this long poem, is the 153d tale of the "Gesta Romanorum" (s. l. 1488, fol.). It is, however, much older than that collection. (Douce, Illustrations of Shakspeare, London, 1807, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 135; and Swan's translation of the Gesta, London, 1824, 12mo, Vol. II. pp. 164–495.) Two words in the original Spanish of the passage translated in the text should be explained. The author says:

Estudiar querria
Componer un *romance* de nueva *maestria*.

Romance here evidently means *story*; and this is the earliest use of the word in this sense that I know of. *Maestria*, like our old English *Maisterie*, means *art* or *skill*, as in Chaucer, being the word afterwards corrupted into *Mystery*.

[23] St. Mary of Egypt was a saint of great repute in Spain and Portugal, and had her

The last of the three poems is in the same irregular measure and manner. It is called "The Adoration of the Three Holy Kings," and begins with the old tradition about the wise men that came from the East; but its chief subject is an arrest of the Holy Family, during their flight to Egypt, by robbers, the child of one of whom is cured of a hideous leprosy by being bathed in water previously used for bathing the Saviour; this same child afterwards turning out to be the penitent thief of the crucifixion. It is a rhymed legend of only two hundred and fifty lines, and belongs to the large class of such compositions that were long popular in Western Europe.[24]

The Three Holy Kings.

Thus far, the poetry of the first century of Spanish literature, like the earliest poetry of other modern countries, is anonymous; for authorship was a distinction rarely coveted or thought of by those who composed in any of the dialects then forming throughout Europe, among the common people. It is even impossible to tell from what part of the Christian conquests in Spain the poems of which we have spoken have come to us. We may infer, indeed, from their language and tone, that the Poem of the Cid belongs to the border country of the Moorish war in the direction of Catalonia and Valencia, and that the earliest ballads, of which we shall speak hereafter, came originally from the midst of the contest, with whose very spirit they are often imbued. In the same way, too, we may be persuaded that the poems of a more religious temper were produced in the quieter kingdoms of the North,

adventures written by Pedro de Ribadeneyra, in 1609, and Diogo Vas Carrillo, in 1673. They were also fully given in the "Flos Sanctorum" of the former, and, in a more attractive form, by Bartolomé Cayrasco de Figueroa, at the end of his "Templo Militante" (Valladolid, 1602, 12mo), where they fill about one hundred and thirty flowing octave stanzas, and by Montalvan, in the drama of "La Gitana de Menfis." She has, too, a church dedicated to her at Rome, on the bank of the Tiber, made out of the graceful ruins of the temple of Fortuna Virilis. But her history has often been rejected as apocryphal, or at least as unfit to be repeated. (Bayle, Dictionaire Historique et Critique, Amsterdam, 1740, fol., Tom. III. pp. 334–336.)

[24] Both of the last poems in this MS. were first printed by the distinguished statesman and scholar, the Marques de Pidal, in the Revista de Madrid, 1841, and, as it would seem, from bad copies. At least, they contain many more inaccuracies of spelling, versification, and style, than the first, and appear to be of a later age; for I do not think the French Fabliaux, which they imitate, were known in Spain till after the period commonly assigned to the Apollonius.

where monasteries had been founded, and Christianity had already struck its roots deep into the soil of the national character. Still, we have no evidence to show where any one of the poems we have thus far noticed was written.

But, as we advance, this state of things is changed. The next poetry we meet is by a known author, and comes from a known locality. It was written by Gonzalo, a secular priest who belonged to the monastery of San Millan or Saint Emilianus, in the territory of Calahorra, far within the borders of the Moorish war, and who is commonly called Berceo, from the place of his birth. Of the poet himself we know little, except that he flourished from 1220 to 1246, and that, as he once speaks of suffering from the weariness of old age,[25] he probably died after 1260, in the reign of Alfonso the Wise.[26]

Gonzalo de Bercec.

His works amount to above thirteen thousand lines, and fill an octavo volume.[27] They are all on religious subjects, and consist of rhymed Lives of San Domingo de Silos, Santa Oria, and San Millan; poems on the Mass, the Martyrdom of San Lorenzo, the Merits of the Madonna, the Signs that are to precede the Last Judgment, and the Mourning of the Madonna at the Cross, with a few Hymns, and especially a poem of more than three thousand six hundred lines on the Miracles of the Virgin Mary. With one inconsiderable exception, the whole of this formidable mass of verse is divided into stanzas of four lines each, like those in the poem of Apollonius of Tyre; and though in the language there is a perceptible advance since the days when the Poem of the Cid was written, still the power and movement of that remarkable legend are entirely wanting in the verses of the careful ecclesiastic.[28]

25 It is in Sta. Oria, st. 2.

Quiero en mi vegez, maguer so ya cansado,
De esta santa Virgen romanzar su dictado.

26 Sanchez, Poesias Anteriores, Tom. II. p. iv.; Tom. III. pp. xliv.–lvi. As Berceo was ordained Deacon in 1221, he must have been born as early as 1193, since deacon's orders were not taken before the age of twenty-three. See some curious remarks on the subject of Berceo in the "Examen Critico del Tomo Primero de el Anti-Quixote" (Madrid, 1806, 12mo, pp. 22 et seq.), an anonymous pamphlet, written, I believe, by Pellicer, the editor of Don Quixote.

27 The second volume of Sanchez's Poesias Anteriores.

28 The metrical form adopted by Berceo, which Lorenzo de Segura, in the same century, calls the *quaderna via*, and which is,

"The Life of San Domingo de Silos," with which his volume opens, begins, like a homily, with these words: "In the name of the Father, who made all things, and of

in fact, that of the poem of Apollonius, should be particularly noticed, because it continued to be a favorite one in Spain for above two centuries. The following stanzas, which are among the best in Berceo, may serve as a favorable specimen of its character. They are from the "Signs of the Judgment," Sanchez, Tom. II. p. 274.

Esti sera el uno de los signos dubdados:
Subira a las nubes el mar muchos estados,
Mas alto que las sierras è mas que los collados,
Tanto que en sequero fincaran los pescados.
. . . . . .
Las aves esso mesmo menudas è granadas
Andaran dando gritos todas mal espantadas;
Assi faran las bestias por domar è domadas,
Non podran à la noche tornar a sus posadas.

And this shall be one of the signs that fill
with doubts and fright:
The sea its waves shall gather up, and lift
them, in its might,
Up to the clouds, and far above the dark sierra's height,
Leaving the fishes on dry land, a strange and
fearful sight.
. . . . . .
The birds besides that fill the air, the birds
both small and great,
Shall screaming fly and wheel about, scared
by their coming fate;
And quadrupeds, both those we tame, and
those in untamed state,
Shall wander round, nor shelter find where
safe they wonned of late.

There was, no doubt, difficulty in such a protracted system of rhyme, but not much; and when rhyme first appeared in the modern languages, an excess of it was the natural consequence of its novelty. In large portions of the Provençal poetry, its abundance is quite ridiculous; as in the "Croisade contre les Hérétiques Albigeois," — a remarkable poem, dating from 1210, excellently edited by M. C. Fauriel (Paris, 1837, 4to), — in which stanzas occur where the same rhyme is repeated above a hundred times. When and where this quaternion rhyme, as it is used by Berceo, was first introduced, cannot be determined; but it seems to have been very early employed in poems that were to be publicly recited. (F. Wolf, Ueber die Lais, Wien. 1841, 8vo, p. 257.) The oldest example I know of it in a modern dialect dates from about 1100, and is found in the curious MS. of Poetry of the Waldenses (F. Diez, Troubadours, Zwickau, 1826, 8vo, p. 230) used by Raynouard; — the instance to which I refer being "Lo novel Confort" (Poésies des Troubadours, Paris, 1817, 8vo, Tom. II. p. 111), which begins:

Aquest novel confort de vertuos lavor
Mando, vos scrivent en carita et en amor:
Prego vos carament per l'amor del segnor,
Abandona lo segle, serve a Dio cum temor.

In Spain, whither it no doubt came from Provence, its history is simply, — that it occurs in the poem of Apollonius; that it gets its first known date in Berceo about 1230; and that it continued in use till the end of the fourteenth century.

The thirteen thousand verses of Berceo's poetry, including even the Hymns, are, with the exception of about twenty lines of the "Duelo de la Virgen," in this measure. These twenty lines constitute a song of the Jews who watched the sepulchre after the crucifixion, and, like the parts of the demons in the old Mysteries, are intended to be droll, but are, in fact, as Berceo himself says of them, more truly than perhaps he was aware, "not worth three figs." They are, however, of some consequence, as perhaps the earliest specimen of Spanish lyrical poetry that has come down to us with a date. They begin thus:

Velat, aliama de los Judios,
Eya velar!
Que no vos furten el fijo de Dios,
Eya velar!
Car furtarvoslo querran,
Eya velar!
Andre è Piedro et Johan,
Eya velar!
Duelo, 178-9.

Watch, congregation of the Jew,
Up and watch!
Lest they should steal God's son from you,
Up and watch!
For they will seek to steal the son,
Up and watch!
His followers, Andrew, and Peter, and John,
Up and watch!

Sanchez considers it a *Villancico*, to be sung like a litany (Tom. IV. p. ix.); and Martinez de la Rosa treats it much in the same way. (Obras, Paris, 1827, 12mo, Tom. I. p. 161.)

In general, the versification of Berceo is regular, — sometimes it is harmonious; and

our Lord Jesus Christ, son of the glorious Virgin, and of the Holy Spirit, who is equal with them, I intend to tell a story of a holy confessor. I intend to tell a story in the plain Romance, in which the common man is wont to talk with his neighbor; for I am not so learned as to use the other Latin. It will be well worth, as I think, a cup of good wine."[29] Of course, there is no poetry in thoughts like these; and much of what Berceo has left us does not rise higher.

Occasionally, however, we find better things. In some portions of his work there is a simple-hearted piety that is very attractive, and in some a story-telling spirit that is occasionally striking. The best passages are to be found in his long poem on the "Miracles of the Virgin," which consists of a series of twenty-five tales of her intervention in human affairs, composed evidently for the purpose of increasing the spirit of devotion in the worship particularly paid to her. The opening or induction to these tales contains the most poetical passage in Berceo's works; and in the following version the measure and sys-

though he now and then indulges himself in imperfect rhymes, that may be the beginning of the national *asonantes* (Sanchez, Tom. II. p. xv.), still the license he takes is much less than might be anticipated. Indeed, Sanchez represents the harmony and finish of his versification as quite surprising, and uses stronger language in relation to it than seems justifiable, considering some of the facts he admits. (Tom. II. p. xi.)

[29] San Domingo de Silos, st. 1 and 2. The Saviour, according to the fashion of the age, is called, in v. 2, *Don* Jesu Christo, — the word then being synonymous with Dominus. See a curious note on its use, in Don Quixote, ed. Clemencin, Madrid, 1836, 4to, Tom. V. p. 408.

Don was, originally, and for a long time, it is said, given as of right to nothing less than saints, the royal family, and the *Ricos Omes*; — a rank nearly or quite equal to that of Grandees in modern times. When it was conferred, it was done by especial patent, as, for instance, in the case of Columbus; for it was not implied by the fact of having another title. (Gudiel Familia de los Girones, 1577, ff. 4 b. and 73 a. Salazar de Mendoça, Origen de las Dignidades seglares, 1618, Lib. I. c. 6 and 9. Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, Tom. II. 1825, p. 9.) But it gradually lost much of its meaning, and soon after 1600 Salazar says it was *conferred* on anybody that wanted it, — a quantos le quieren. Later it was *assumed*, without authority, even more than the title of Esquire is with us. A poem, ridiculing its abuse, was written as long ago as the middle of the eighteenth century, in which we are told that, since the apple-women give and take *Señor* and *Don* by baskets-full, these titles have lost all meaning:

Porque dar *Señor* y *Don*
Es lo mismo que dar nada,
Pues se lo toman y tornan
Las Fruteras a Canastas.

(El Jornalero por Sylvestre Camperino que no tiene *Don* si no es prestado, Madrid, 1759, 4to, pp. 8.)

Nowadays everybody receives it. Your tailor is addressed Señor Don Luis X., Sastre. Minutoli, altes und neues aus Spanien, 1854, 8vo, Tom. II. p. 127.

tem of rhyme in the original have been preserved, so as to give something of its air and manner:

My friends, and faithful vassals of Almighty God above,
If ye listen to my words in a spirit to improve,
A tale ye shall hear of piety and love,
Which afterwards yourselves shall heartily approve.

I, a master in Divinity, Gonzalve Berceo hight,
Once wandering as a Pilgrim, found a meadow richly dight,
Green and peopled full of flowers, of flowers fair and bright,
A place where a weary man would rest him with delight.

And the flowers I beheld all looked and smelt so sweet,
That the senses and the soul they seemed alike to greet;
While on every side ran fountains through all this glad retreat,
Which in winter kindly warmth supplied, yet tempered summer's heat.

And of rich and goodly trees there grew a boundless maze,
Granada's apples bright, and figs of golden rays,
And many other fruits, beyond my skill to praise;
But none that turneth sour, and none that e'er decays.

The freshness of that meadow, the sweetness of its flowers,
The dewy shadows of the trees, that fell like cooling showers,
Renewed within my frame its worn and wasted powers;
I deem the very odors would have nourished me for hours.[30]

This induction, which is continued through forty stanzas more, of unequal merit, is little connected with the stories that follow; the stories, again, are not at all connected among themselves; and the whole ends abruptly with a few lines of homage to the Madonna. It is, therefore, inartificial in its structure throughout. But in the narrative parts there is often naturalness and spirit, and sometimes, though rarely, poetry. The tales themselves belong to the religious fictions of the Middle Ages, and were no

[30] Amigos è vasallos de Dios omnipotent,
Si vos me escuchasedes por vuestro consiment,
Querriavos contar un buen aveniment:
Terrédeslo en cabo por bueno verament.

Yo Maestro Gonzalvo de Berceo nomnado
Iendo en Romeria caeci en un prado,
Verde è bien sencido, de flores bien poblado,
Logar cobdiciaduero pora ome cansado.

Daban olor sobeio las flores bien olientes,
Refrescaban en ome las caras e las mientes,
Manaban cada canto fuentes claras corrientes,
En verano bien frias, en yvierno calientes.

Avie hy grand abondo de buenas arboledas,
Milgranos è figueras, peros è mazanedas,
E muchas otras fructas de diversas monedas;
Mas non avie ningunas podridas nin acedas.

La verdura del prado, la olor de las flores,
Las sombras de los arbores de temprados sabores
Refrescaronme todo è perdi los sudores:
Podrie vevir el ome con aquellos olores.

Sanchez, Tom. II. p. 285.

doubt intended to excite devout feelings in those to whom they were addressed; but, like the old Mysteries, and much else that passed under the name of religion at the same period, they often betray a very doubtful morality.[31]

"The Miracles of the Virgin" is not only the longest, but the most curious, of the poems of Berceo. The rest, however, should not be entirely neglected. The poem on the "Signs which shall precede the Judgment" is often solemn, and once or twice rises to poetry; the story of María de Cisneros, in the "Life of San Domingo," is well told, and so is that of the wild appearance in the heavens of Saint James and Saint Millan fighting for the Christians at the battle of Simancas, much as it is found in the "General Chronicle of Spain." But perhaps nothing is more characteristic of the author or of his age than the spirit of childlike simplicity and religious tenderness that breathes through several parts of the "Mourning of the Madonna at the Cross," — a spirit of gentle, faithful, credulous devotion, with which the Spanish people in their wars against the Moors were as naturally marked as they were with the ignorance that belonged to the Christian world generally in those dark and troubled times.[32]

31 A good account of this part of Berceo's works, though I think somewhat too severe, is to be found in Dr. Dunham's "History of Spain and Portugal" (London, 1832, 18mo, Tom. IV. pp. 215–229), a work of merit, the early part of which, as in the case of Berceo, rests more frequently than might be expected on original authorities. Excellent translations will be found in Prof. Longfellow's Introductory Essay to his version of the Coplas de Manrique, Boston, 1833, 12mo, pp. 5 and 10.

32 For example, when the Madonna is represented as looking at the cross, and addressing her expiring Son:

Fiio, siempre oviemos lo è tu una vida;
Io à ti quisi mucho, è fui de ti querida;
Io sempre te crey, è fui de ti creida;
La tu piedad larga ahora me oblida?

Fiio, non me oblides è lievame contigo,
Non me finca en sieglo mas de un buen amigo;
Juan quem dist por fiio aqui plora conmigo:
Ruegote quem condones esto que io te digo.
St. 78, 79.

I read these stanzas with a feeling akin to that with which I should look at a picture on the same subject by Perugino. They may be translated thus:

My son, in thee and me life still was felt as one;
I loved thee much, and thou lovedst me in perfectness, my son;
My faith in thee was sure, and I thy faith had won;
And doth thy large and pitying love forget me now, my son?

My son, forget me not, but take my soul with thine;
The earth holds but one heart that kindred is with mine, —
John, whom thou gavest to be my child, who here with me doth pine;
I pray thee, then, that to my prayer thou graciously incline.

I cannot pass further without offering the tribute of my homage to two persons who have done more than any others in the nineteenth century to make Spanish literature known, and to obtain for it the honors to which it is entitled beyond the limits of the country that gave it birth.

The first of them, and one whose name I have already cited, is Friedrich Bouterwek, who was born at Oker, in the kingdom of Hanover, in 1766, and passed nearly all the more active portion of his life at Göttingen, where he died in 1828, widely respected as one of the most distinguished professors of that long favored university. A project for preparing by the most competent hands a full history of the arts and sciences from the period of their revival in modern Europe was first suggested at Göttingen by another of its well-known professors, John Gottfried Eichhorn, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. But, though that remarkable scholar published, in 1796–9, two volumes of a learned Introduction to the whole work which he had projected, he went no further, and most of his coadjutors stopped when he did, or soon afterwards. The portion of it assigned to Bouterwek, however, which was the entire history of elegant literature in modern times, was happily achieved by him between 1801 and 1819, in twelve volumes, octavo. Of this division "The History of Spanish Literature" fills the third volume, and was published in 1804; — a work remarkable for its general philosophical views, and by far the best extant on the subject it discusses; but imperfect in many particulars, because its author was unable to procure a large number of Spanish books needful for his task, and because he knew many considerable Spanish authors only by insufficient extracts. In 1812 a translation of it into French was printed, in two volumes, by Madame Streck, with a judicious preface by the venerable M. Stapfer. In 1823 it came out, together with its author's brief "History of Portuguese Literature," in an English translation made with taste and skill by Miss Thomasina Ross; and, in 1829, a Spanish version of the first and smallest part of it, with important notes, sufficient with the text to fill a volume in octavo, was prepared by two excellent Spanish scholars, José Gomez de la Cortina, and Nicolás Hugalde y Mollinedo, — a work which all lovers of Spanish literature would gladly see completed. It was, however, attacked in a paper published at Bayonne; but it was defended successfully in a tract entitled "Cuatro Palmetazos bien plantados por el Domine Lucas a los Gazeteros de Bayona," ec. (Cadiz, 1830, 4to, pp. 28), written by Bart. José Gallardo. Puigblanch Opusculos Gramatico-Satiricos. Londres [1832], 12mo, Tom. I. p. lxvi.; — a whimsical collection of odds and ends of politics and learning.

Since the time of Bouterwek, no foreigner has done more to promote a knowledge of Spanish literature than M. Simonde de Sismondi, who was born at Geneva, in 1773, and died there in 1842, honored and loved by all who knew his wise and generous spirit, as it exhibited itself either in his personal intercourse, or in his great works on the history of France and Italy, — two countries to which, by a line of time-honored ancestors, he seemed almost equally to belong. In 1811 he delivered in his native city a course of brilliant lectures on the literature of the South of Europe, and, in 1813, published them at Paris. They involved an account of the Provençal and the Portuguese, as well as of the Italian and the Spanish; but in whatever relates to the Spanish Sismondi was even less well provided with the original authors than Bouterwek had been, and was, in consequence, under obligations to his predecessor, which, while he takes no pains to conceal them, diminish the authority of a work that will yet always be read for the beauty of its style, and the richness and wisdom of its reflections. The entire series of these lectures was translated into German by L. Hain, in 1815, and into English with notes, by T. Roscoe, in 1823. The part relating to Spanish literature was published in Spanish, with occasional alterations and additions, by José Lorenzo Figueroa and José Amador de los Rios, at Seville, in two vols. 8vo, 1841–2, — the notes relating to Andalusian authors being particularly valuable.

None but those who have gone over the whole ground occupied by Spanish literature can know how great are the merits of scholars like Bouterwek and Sismondi, — acute, philosophical, and thoughtful, — who, with an apparatus of authors so incomplete, have yet done so much for the illustration of their subject.

CHAPTER III.

ALFONSO THE WISE. — HIS LIFE. — HIS LETTER TO PEREZ DE GUZMAN. — HIS CÁNTIGAS IN THE GALICIAN. — ORIGIN OF THAT DIALECT AND OF THE PORTUGUESE. — HIS TESORO. — HIS PROSE. — LAW CONCERNING THE CASTILIAN. — HIS CONQUISTA DE ULTRAMAR. — OLD FUEROS. — THE FUERO JUZGO. — THE SETENARIO. — THE ESPEJO. — THE FUERO REAL. — THE SIETE PARTIDAS AND THEIR MERITS. — CHARACTER OF ALFONSO.

THE second known author in Castilian literature bears a name much more distinguished than the first. It is Alfonso the Tenth, who, from his great advancement in various branches of human knowledge, has been called Alfonso the Wise, or the Learned. He was the son of Ferdinand the Third, a saint in the Roman calendar, who, uniting anew the crowns of Castile and Leon, and enlarging the limits of his power by important conquests from the Moors, settled more firmly than they had before been settled the foundations of a Christian empire in the Peninsula.[1]

Alfonso was born in 1221, and ascended the throne in 1252. He was a poet, much connected with the Provençal Troubadours of his time,[2] and was besides so greatly

[1] Mariana, Hist., Lib. XII. c. 15, ad. fin. Ferdinand was canonized by Clement VII. in 1672, and the magnificent festival that followed — the most magnificent and gorgeous that Seville ever saw — is recorded at length in a folio volume, with numerous plates, published the same year by Fernando de la Torre Farfan, which, notwithstanding the Gongorism of its style, is a book to be read for the history of Spanish art. The remains of St. Ferdinand constitute the peculiar claim of the Cathedral of Seville to the worship of the devout; but it may not be amiss to remember that this is the king who, to show his religious zeal, carried, with his own royal hands, wood for burning a poor Albigensian heretic, and then kindled the flames; — an act of devotion recorded by Mariana, as if to do him honor (Lib. XII. c. xi.), and glorified in poetry by Calderon (Auto del Santo Rey, Parte I.), and in a fresco by Lucas de Valdes, on the walls of the church of St. Paul, at Seville. (Cean Bermudez, Diccionario, 1800, Tom. V. p. 106.) It is but just to add that this early spirit of intolerance is not due to the Inquisition, which was not known in Spain till two centuries after Ferdinand's death (see post Chap. XXIV.), but that this spirit rather itself gave birth to the Inquisition, as its natural result and exponent.

[2] Diez, Poesie der Troubadours, pp. 75, 226, 227, 331-350. A long poem on the

skilled in geometry, astronomy, and the occult sciences then so much valued, that his reputation was early spread throughout Europe, on account of his general science. But, as Mariana quaintly says of him, "He was more fit for letters than for the government of his subjects; he studied the heavens, and watched the stars, but forgot the earth, and lost his kingdom."[3] Alfonso the Wise.

His character is still an interesting one. He appears to have had more political, philosophical, and elegant learning, than any other man of his time; to have reasoned more wisely in matters of legislation, and to have made further advances in some of the exact sciences; — accomplishments that he seems to have resorted to in the latter part of his life for consolation amidst unsuccessful wars with foreign enemies and a rebellious son. The following letter from him to one of the Guzmans, who was then in great favor at the court of the King of Fez, shows at once how low the fortunes of the Christian monarch were sunk before he died, and with how much simplicity he could speak of their bitterness. It is dated in 1282, and is a favorable specimen of Castilian prose at a period so early in the history of the language.[4]

"Cousin Don Alonzo Perez de Guzman: My affliction is great, because it has fallen from such a height that

influence of the stars was addressed to Alfonso by Nat de Mons (Raynouard, Troub., Tom. V. p. 269); and besides the curious poem addressed to him by Giraud Riquier of Narbonne, in 1275, given by Diez, we know that in another poem this distinguished Troubadour mourned the king's death. (Raynouard, Tom. V. p. 171. Millot, Histoire des Troubadours, Paris, 1774, 12mo, Tom. III. pp. 329–374.)

[3] Historia, Lib. XIII. c. 20. The less favorable side of Alfonso's character is given by the cynical Bayle, Art. *Castile*. In the Memorial Historico, published by the Spanish Academy of History (1851, Tom. I. pp. 257, 258), are two receipts given by Alfonso in 1270 for many MSS. borrowed to be transcribed, among which are Lucan, Statius, the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil, Ovid's Epistles, Cicero's Somnium Scipionis, etc., — books which certainly few Spaniards, and, indeed, few persons of any country, regarded, in his time, as worth copying.

[4] This letter, which the Spanish Academy calls "inimitable," though early referred to, is not known by me to have been printed before it appeared from an inexact copy in Pablo de Espinosa (Hist. de Sevilla, Segunda Parte, Sevilla, 1630, p. 37). Several old ballads have been made out of it, one of which is to be found in the "Cancionero de Romances," por Lorenço de Sepulveda (Sevilla, 1584, 18mo, f. 104). The letter is found in the preface to the Academy's edition of the Partidas, and is explained by the accounts in Mariana (Hist., Lib. XIV. c. 5), Conde (Dominacion de los Árabes, Tom. III. p. 69), and Mondejar (Memorias, Lib. VI. c. 14). The original is said to be in the possession of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia. (Semanario Pintoresco, 1845, p. 303.)

it will be seen afar; and as it has fallen on me, who am the friend of all the world, so in all the world will men know this my misfortune, and its sharpness, which I suffer unjustly from my son, assisted by my friends and by my prelates, who, instead of setting peace between us, have put mischief, not under secret pretences or covertly, but with bold openness. And thus I find no protection in mine own land, neither defender nor champion; and yet have I not deserved it at their hands, unless it were for the good I have done them. And now, since in mine own land they deceive, who should have served and assisted me, needful is it that I should seek abroad those who will kindly care for me; and since they of Castile have been false to me, none can think it ill that I ask help among those of Benamarin.[5] For if my sons are mine enemies, it will not then be wrong that I take mine enemies to be my sons; enemies according to the law, but not of free choice. And such is the good king Aben Jusaf; for I love and value him much, and he will not despise me or fail me; for we are at truce. I know also how much you are his, and how much he loves you, and with good cause, and how much he will do through your good counsel. Therefore look not at the things past, but at the things present. Consider of what lineage you are come, and that at some time hereafter I may do you good, and if I do it not, that your own good deed shall be its own good reward. Therefore, my cousin, Alonzo Perez de Guzman, do so much for me with my lord and your friend, that, on pledge of the most precious crown that I have, and the jewels thereof, he should lend me so much as he may hold to be just. And if you can obtain his aid, let it not be hindered of coming quickly; but rather think how the good friendship that may come to me from your lord will be through your hands. And so may God's friendship be with you. Done in Seville, my only loyal city, in the thirtieth year of my reign, and in the first of these my troubles. Signed, THE KING."[6]

Letter of Alfonso.

[5] A race of African princes, who reigned in Morocco, and subjected all Western Africa. (Crónica de Alfonso XI., Valladolid, 1551, fol., c. 219. Gayangos, Mohammedan Dynasties, Vol. II. p. 325.)

[6] Alonzo Perez de Guzman, of the great

The unhappy monarch survived the date of this striking letter but two years, and died in 1284. At one period of his life, his consideration throughout Christendom was so great that he was elected Emperor of Germany; but this was only another source of sorrow to him, for his claims were contested, and after some time were silently set aside by the election of Rodolph of Hapsburg, upon whose dynasty the glories of the House of Austria rested so long. The life of Alfonso, therefore, was on the whole unfortunate, and full of painful vicissitudes, that might well have broken the spirit of most men, and that were certainly not without an effect on his.[7]

Alfonso as a man of letters.

So much the more remarkable is it that he should be distinguished among the chief founders of his country's intellectual fame, — a distinction which again becomes more extraordinary when we recollect that he enjoys it not in letters alone, or in a single department, but in many; since he is to be remembered alike for the great advancement which Castilian prose composition made in his hands, for his poetry, for his astronomical tables, which all the progress of science since has not deprived of their value, and for his great work on legislation, which is at this moment an authority in both hemispheres.[8]

family of that name, the person to whom this remarkable letter is addressed, went over to Africa, in 1276, with many knights, to serve Aben Jusaf against his rebellious subjects, stipulating that he should not be required to serve against Christians. (Ortiz de Zuñiga, Anales, p. 113.)

[7] The principal life of Alfonso X. is that by the Marquis of Mondejar (Madrid, 1777, fol.); but it did not receive its author's final revision, and is an imperfect work. (Prólogo de Cerda y Rico; and Baena, Hijos de Madrid, Madrid, 1790, 4to, Tom. II. pp. 304–312.) For the part of Alfonso's life devoted to letters, ample materials are to be found in Castro (Biblioteca Española, Tom. II. pp. 625–688), and in the Repertorio Americano (Lóndres, 1827, Tom. III. pp. 67–77), where there is a valuable paper, written, I believe, by Salvá, who published that journal.

[8] The works attributed to Alfonso are: IN PROSE: 1. Crónica General de España, to be noticed hereafter. 2. A Universal History, containing an abstract of the History of the Jews. 3. A Translation of the Bible. 4. El Libro del Tesoro, a work on general philosophy; but Sarmiento, in a MS. which I possess, says that this is a translation of the Tesoro of Brunetto Latini, Dante's master, and that it was not made by order of Alfonso; adding, however, that he has seen a book entitled "Flores de Filosofia," which professes to have been compiled by this king's command, and may be the work here intended. 5. The Tábulas Alfonsinas, or Astronomical tables. 6. Historia de todo el Suceso de Ultramar, to be noticed presently. 7. El Espéculo ó Espejo de todos los Derechos; El Fuero Real, and other laws published in the Opúsculos Legales del Rey Alfonso el Sabio (ed. de la Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, 1836, 2 Tom. fol.). 8. Las Siete Partidas. — IN

Of his poetry, we possess, besides works of very doubtful genuineness, two, about one of which there has been less question than there ought to have been, and about the other none: his "Cántigas," or Chants, in honor of the Madonna, and his "Tesoro," a treatise on the transmutation of the baser metals into gold.

Of the Cántigas, there are extant no less than four hundred and one, composed in lines of from six to twelve syllables, and rhymed with a considerable degree of exactness.[9] Their measure and manner are Provençal. They are devoted to the praises and the miracles of the Madonna, in whose honor the king founded in 1279 a religious and military order;[10] and in devotion to whom, by his last will, he directed these poems to be perpetually chanted in the church of Saint Mary of Murcia, where he desired his body might be buried.[11] Only a few

His Cántigas.

Verse: 1. Another Tesoro. 2. Las Cántigas. 3. Two stanzas of the Querellas. Several of these works, like the Universal History and the Ultramar, were, as we know, only compiled by his order, and in others he must have been much assisted. But the whole mass shows how wide were his views, and how great must have been his influence on the language, the literature, and the intellectual progress of his country.

[9] Castro, Biblioteca, Tom. II. p. 632, where he speaks of the MS. of the Cántigas in the Escurial. The one at Toledo, which contains only a hundred, is the MS. of which a fac-simile is given in the "Paleographia Española" (Madrid, 1758, 4to, p. 72), and in the notes to the Spanish translation of Bouterwek's History (p. 129). Large extracts from the Cántigas are found in Castro (Tom. II. pp. 361, 362, and pp. 631–643), and in the "Nobleza del Andaluzia" of Argote de Molina (Sevilla, 1858, fol., f. 151), followed by a curious notice of the king, in Chap. 19, and a poem in his honor.

[10] Mondejar, Memorias, p. 438.

[11] His directions are so minute and so strange concerning the different parts of his body, that I think he hoped for immediate religious honors, — his father, although not canonized till above four centuries after his death, having been invoked as a saint at his tomb from the time of his interment, or directly afterwards (Espinosa, Hist. de Sevilla, folio, Tom. I. 1627, ff. 154–156, and Ribadeneyra, Flos Sanctorum, 1761, fol., Tom. II. p. 194). Thus, Alfonso requests that his *body* may be buried in the Monastery of Sta. Maria la Real de Murcia, unless his executors deem it more for the glory of God to inter it at Seville, or elsewhere, — giving as a reason for his request that "Murcia was the first place it pleased God he should gain in the service and to the honor of the King Don Ferdinand." His *heart* he requires should be buried on Mount Calvary, where, he adds, "lie some of my forefathers;" or, if this cannot be done at once, then he directs that it be put aside, and kept safely till it can be done. *The rest* of the contents of his body he orders to be carried to Murcia, and this was done; but the body itself was buried at Seville, next to that of his father; and what became of his heart does not appear. The Monastery of Sta. Maria la Real of Murcia, however, belonged to the Knights Templars, and, after their order was suppressed, it fell to decay. In consequence of this, such portions of the remains of Alfonso the Wise as had been deposited there were, by a special and solemn decree of Charles V., in 1525, transferred to the Cathedral of the same city, where Laborde saw their mausoleum about 1798; but from the phraseology of the imperial decree, and from the ridiculous description by Cascales of the occasion that called it forth, in which he makes the most of what he terms "la esclarecida memoria

of them have been printed; but we have enough to show what they are, and especially that they are written, not in the Castilian, like the rest of his works, but in the Galician; an extraordinary circumstance, for which it does not seem easy to give a satisfactory reason.

The Galician dialect.

The Galician, however, was originally an important language in Spain, and for some time seemed as likely to prevail throughout the country as any other of the dialects spoken in it. It was probably the first that was developed in the north-western part of the Peninsula, and the second that was reduced to writing. For, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, just at the period when the struggling elements of the modern Spanish were disencumbering themselves from the forms of the corrupted Latin, Galicia, by the wars and troubles of the times, was repeatedly separated from Castile, so that distinct dialects appeared in the two different territories almost at the same moment. Of these, the Northern is likely to have been the older, though the Southern proved ultimately the more fortunate. At any rate, even without a court, which was the surest centre of culture in such rude ages, and without any of the reasons for the development of a dialect which always accompany political power, we know that the Galician was already sufficiently formed to pass with the conquering arms of Alfonso the Sixth, and establish itself firmly between the Douro and the Minho, — that country which became the nucleus of the independent kingdom of Portugal.

Portuguese language.

This was between the years 1095 and 1109; and though the establishment of a Burgundian dynasty on the throne erected there naturally brought into the dialect of Portugal an infusion of the French, which never appeared in the dialect of Galicia,[12] still the lan-

de las entrañas," I suspect Murcia never got anything of the person of her great patron except these poor *entrañas*. The will of Alfonso, which is well worth reading, is in the Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso que fué par de Emperador (Valladolid, folio, 1554, ff. 55–58); and the decree of Charles V., and the account of the removal of the remains, are in Francisco Cascales, Discursos Historicos de Murcia (folio, Murcia, 1621, ff. 243–4); — a curious book, written by the scholar-like author of the "Tablas Poeticas," who ought to have spared us the nonsense he has volunteered on this occasion. But these are all *cosas de España*, and deserve notice as such.

[12] J. P. Ribeiro, Dissertaçoes, etc., publicadas per órdem da Academia Real das Sci-

guage spoken in the two territories under different sovereigns and different influences continued substantially the same for a long period; perhaps down to the time of Charles the Fifth.[13] But it was only in Portugal that there was a court, or that means and motives were found sufficient for forming and cultivating a regular language. It is therefore only in Portugal that this common dialect of both the territories appears with a separate and proper literature;[14] the first intimation of which, with an exact date, is found as early as 1192. This is a document in prose.[15] The oldest poetry is to be sought in three curious fragments, originally published by Faria y Sousa, which can hardly be placed much later than the year 1200.[16] Both show that the Galician in Portugal, under less favorable circumstances than those which accompanied the Castilian in Spain, rose at the same period to be a written language, and possessed, perhaps, quite as early, the materials for forming an independent literature.

We may fairly infer, therefore, from these facts, indicating the vigor of the Galician in Portugal before the year 1200, that, in its native province in Spain, it is somewhat older. But we have no monuments by which to establish such antiquity. Castro, it is true, notices a manuscript translation of the history of Servandus, as if made in 1150 by Seguino, in the Galician dialect; but he gives no specimen of it, and his own authority in such a matter is not sufficient.[17] And in the well-known letter sent to the Constable of Portugal by the Marquis of Santillana, about the middle of the fifteenth century, we are told that

encias de Lisboa, Lisboa, 1810, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 180. A glossary of French words occurring in the Portuguese, by Francisco de San Luiz, is in the Memorias da Academia Real de Sciencias, Lisboa, 1816, Tom. IV. Parte II. Viterbo (Elucidario, Lisboa, 1798, fol., Tom. I., Advert. Preliminar., pp. viii.–xiii.) also examines this point.

[13] Paleographia Española, p. 10.

[14] A. Ribeiro dos Santos, Origem, etc., da Poesia Portugueza, in Memorias da Lett. Portugueza, pela Academia, etc., 1812, Tom. VIII. pp. 248–250.

[15] J. P. Ribeiro, Diss., Tom. I. p. 176. It is *possible* the document in App., pp. 273–275, is older, as it appears to be from the time of Sancho I., or 1185–1211; but the next document (p. 275) is *dated* "Era 1230," which is A. D. 1192, and is, therefore, the oldest *with a date*.

[16] Europa Portugueza, Lisboa, 1680, fol., Tom. III. Parte IV. c. 9; and Diez, Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen, Bonn, 1836, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 72.

[17] Bibl. Española, Tom. II. pp. 404, 405

all Spanish poetry was written for a long time in Galician or Portuguese;[18] but this is so obviously either a mistake in fact, or a mere compliment to the Portuguese prince to whom it was addressed, that Sarmiento, full of prejudices in favor of his native province, and desirous to arrive at the same conclusion, is obliged to give it up as wholly unwarranted.[19]

We must come back, therefore, to the "Cántigas" or Chants of Alfonso, as to the oldest specimen extant in the Galician dialect distinct from the Portuguese; and since, from internal evidence, one of them was written after he had conquered Xerez, we may place them between 1263, when that event occurred, and 1284, when he died.[20] Why he should have chosen this particular dialect for this particular form of poetry, when he had, as we know, an admirable mastery of the Castilian, and when these Cántigas, according to his last will, were to be chanted over his tomb, in a part of the kingdom where the Galician dialect never prevailed, we cannot now decide.[21] His father, Saint Ferdinand, was from the North, and his own early nurture there may have given Alfonso himself a strong affection for its language; or, what perhaps is more probable, there may have been something in the dialect itself, its origin or its gravity, which, at a period when no dialect in Spain had obtained an acknowledged supremacy, made it seem to him better suited than the Castilian or Valencian to religious purposes.

But, however this may be, all the rest of his works are in the language spoken in the centre of the Peninsula, while his Cántigas are in the Galician. Some of them have considerable poetical merit; but in general they are to be remarked only for the variety of their metres, for an

18 Sanchez, Tom. I., Pról., p. lvii.

19 After quoting the passage of Santillana just referred to, Sarmiento, who was very learned in all that relates to the earliest Spanish verse, says, with a simplicity quite delightful, "I, as a Galician, interested in this conclusion, should be glad to possess the grounds of the Marquis of Santillana's opinion; but I have not seen a single word of any author that can throw light on the matter." (Memorias de la Poesía y Poetas Españoles, Madrid, 1775, 4to, p. 196.)

20 Que tolleu
A Mouros Neul e Xeres,

he says (Castro, Tom. II. p. 637); and Xerez was taken in 1263. But all these Cántigas were not, probably, written in one period of the king's life.

21 Ortiz de Zuñiga, Anales, p. 129.

occasional tendency to the form of ballads, for a lyrical tone, which does not seem to have been earlier established in the Castilian, and for a kind of Doric simplicity, which belongs partly to the dialect he adopted and partly to the character of the author himself; — the whole bearing the impress of the Provençal poets, with whom he was much connected, and whom through life he patronized and maintained at his court.[22]

The other poetry attributed to Alfonso — except two stanzas that remain of his "Complaints" against the hard fortune of the last years of his life[23] — is to be sought in the treatise called "Del Tesoro," which is divided into two short books, and dated in 1272, in the MS. of them commonly cited. It is on the Philosopher's Stone, and the greater portion of it is concealed in an unexplained cipher; the remainder being partly in prose and partly in octave stanzas, which, if genuine, are the oldest extant in Castilian verse. But the whole is worthless, and its genuineness more than doubtful.[24]

His Tesoro.

22 Take the following as a specimen. Alfonso beseeches the Madonna rather to look at her merits than at his own claims, and runs through five stanzas, with the choral echo to each, "Saint Mary, remember me!"

Non catedes como
Pequei assas,
Mais catad o gran
Ben que en vos ias;
Ca uos me fesestes
Como quen fas
Sa cousa quita
Toda per assi.
Santa Maria! nenbre uos de mi!

Non catedes a como
Pequey greu,
Mais catad o gran ben
Que uos Deus deu;
Ca outro ben se non
Uos non ei eu
Nen ouue nunca
Des quando naci.
Santa Maria! nenbre uos de mi!
Castro, Bibl., Tom. II. p. 640.

This has, no doubt, a very Provençal air; but others of the Cántigas have still more of it. The Provençal poets, in fact, as we shall see more fully hereafter, fled in considerable numbers into Spain at the period of their persecution at home; and that period corresponds to the reigns of Alfonso and his father. In this way a strong tinge of the Provençal character came into the poetry of Castile, and remained there a long time. The proofs of this early intercourse with Provençal poets are abundant. Aiméric de Bellinoi was at the court of Alfonso IX., who died in 1214 (Histoire Littéraire de la France, par des Membres de l'Institut, Paris, 4to, Tom. XIX. 1838, p. 507), and was afterwards at the court of Alfonso X. (Ibid., p. 511). So were Montagnagout and Folquet de Lunel, both of whom wrote poems on the election of Alfonso X. to the imperial throne of Germany (Ibid., Tom. XIX. p. 491, and Tom. XX. p. 557; with Raynouard, Troubadours, Tom. IV. p. 239). Raimond de Tours and Nat de Mons addressed verses to Alfonso X. (Ibid., Tom. XIX. pp. 555, 577). Bertrand Carbonel dedicated his works to him; and Giraud Riquier, sometimes called the last of the Troubadours, wrote an elegy on his death, already referred to (Ibid., Tom. XX. pp. 559, 578, 584). Others might be cited, but these are enough.

23 The two stanzas of the Querellas, or Complaints, still remaining to us, are in Ortiz de Zuñiga (Anales, p. 123), and elsewhere.

24 First published by Sanchez (Poesias

Alfonso claims his chief distinction in letters as a writer of prose. In this his merit is great. He first made the Castilian a national language by causing the Bible to be translated into it, and by requiring it to be used in all legal proceedings;[25] and he first, by his great Code and other works, gave specimens of prose composi-

His prose works.

Anteriores, Tom. I. pp. 148-170), where it may still be best consulted. The copy he used had belonged to Don Enrique de Villena, who was suspected of the black art, and whose books were burnt on that account after his death, temp. John II. A specimen of the cipher is given in Cortina's translation of Bouterwek (Tom. I. p. 129). Moratin the younger (Obras, Madrid, 1830, 8vo, Tom. I. Parte I. p. 61) thinks that both the Querellas and the Tesoro were the work of Don Enrique de Villena: relying, first, on the fact that the only manuscript of the latter known to exist once belonged to Don Enrique; and, secondly, on the obvious difference in language and style between both and the rest of the king's known works, — a difference which certainly may well excite suspicion, but does not much encourage the particular conjecture of Moratin as to Villena. Indeed, their style seems to me to be that of an age considerably later than Villena's.

In the first edition of this work, I treated Alfonso X. as an alchemist, nobody having questioned it who had discussed the subject of his "Tesoro." It had, however, been doubted whether he wrote that singular poem, though not so strongly as I then doubted it (p. 40). Thus, Sanchez, after saying decidedly that he *did* write it, — *escribió* tambien otra poesia intitulada Del Tesoro, ec. (Poesias anteriores, Tom. I. p. 152), — questioned afterwards (p. 166) whether it were really his. Quintana, also, in his Poesias Castellanas (1807, Tom. I. p. xx.), put a somewhat stronger doubt into a note, though in the text he had expressed no more doubt than Sanchez had. But Don José Amador de los Rios, in the *España* newspaper, June 10, 1851, has settled the point by citing two laws of Alfonso X. not before noticed in this connection, namely, Partida II. Tit. v. Ley 13, and Partida VI. Tit. iv. Ley 4, in which alchemy is forbidden, and treated as an impossibility. We cannot, therefore, suppose that Alfonso believed in it, — much less that he wrote a treatise to teach it. It should be added, however, that he believed in Astrology, and protected it by law. (Partida VII. Tit. xxiii. Ley 1.)

[25] Mariana, Hist., Lib. XIV. c. 7; Castro, Bibl., Tom. I. p. 411; Crónica de Alonso, el qual fue par de Emperador, Valladolid, 1554, c. ix.; and Mondejar, Memorias, p. 450. The last, however, is mistaken in supposing the translation of the Old Testament printed at Ferrara in 1553 to have been that made by order of Alfonso, since it was the work of some Jews of the period when it was published.

Of this version, — remarkable in many particulars, and of which two editions, identical except in their dedications and title-pages, were printed the same year, — ample accounts and important extracts may be found in Castro, Biblioteca Española (fol., Tom. I. pp. 401-410). The notion that one of these editions was made for Jews and the other for Christians, as set forth in Brunet and elsewhere, seems to me wholly unfounded; but both were permitted by the Inquisition to be printed, and both were valued by Christians as well as Jews, and freely used by subsequent Spanish translators of the Scriptures. These editions of Ferrara, 1553, were the work of two Portuguese Jews, Abraham Usque and Duarte Pinhel (Barbosa, Bib. Lusitana, Tom. I. pp. 4 and 742); but they used in their Pentateuch a Spanish version, which had been printed at Constantinople with Hebrew characters, in 1547 (Castro, Bib., Tom. I. p. 449), for the benefit of refugee Spanish Jews in Turkey, whose living descendants now publish at Constantinople a periodical in the Spanish of the fifteenth century, but printed in Hebrew characters, and use, to this day, Spanish Bibles and other books printed in the same way, with Hebrew types, for their benefit, by the American Board of Foreign Missions. The Ferrara version being, it is said, made word for word, — never using two words for one, nor changing in the Spanish the collocation of the words in the Hebrew, — is very curious, and the Protestants, Cassiodoro de Reyna and Cypriano de Valera, used it freely when

tion which left a free and disencumbered course for all that has been done since, — a service, perhaps, greater than it has been permitted any other Spaniard to render the prose literature of his country. To this, therefore, we now turn.

His Gran Conquista de Ultramar.

And here the first work we meet with is one that was rather compiled under his direction than written by himself. It is called "The Great Conquest beyond Sea," and is an account of the wars in the Holy Land, which then so much agitated the minds of men throughout Europe, and which were intimately connected with the fate of the Christian Spaniards still struggling for their own existence in a perpetual crusade against misbelief at home. It begins with the history of Mohammed, and comes down to the year 1270; much of it being taken from an old French version of the work of William of Tyre, on the same general subject, and the rest from other, less trustworthy sources. But parts of it are not historical. The grandfather of Godfrey of Bouillon, its hero, is the wild and fanciful Knight of the Swan, who is almost as much a representative of the spirit of chivalry as Amadis de Gaul, and goes through adventures no less marvellous; fighting on the Rhine like a knight-errant, and miraculously warned by a swallow how to rescue his lady, who has been made prisoner. Unhappily, in the first edition, printed in 1503, — and until 1858 the only one of this curious work, — the text has received additions that make us doubtful how much of it may be certainly ascribed to the time of Alfonso the Tenth, in whose reign and by whose order the greater part of it seems to have

making their translations of the Bible in 1569 and 1602. Valera says, in his "Exhortacion al Letor," Es un gran Tesoro de la lengua Española. It was reprinted at Amsterdam more than once for the benefit of the Jews there; and, what is very odd, the copy I possess, dated 5606, bears on its title-page, as did the original edition of Ferrara, "Vista y examinada per el oficio de la Inquisicion," just as if the Inquisition were in Amsterdam. Reyna, in 1569, rendered as full justice to this Jewish version as Valera did in 1602. In the "Amonestacion al Letor," he says he had used it "mas que ninguna otra." But, at the same time, he deprecates its mistranslations, some of which he says were made "en odio de Christo;" thus leaving no doubt that it could never have been, as Brunet and others suppose, accepted by the Christians, or made for them.

been prepared. It is chiefly valuable as a specimen of early Spanish prose.[26]

Castilian prose, in fact, can hardly be said to have existed earlier, unless we are willing to reckon as specimens of it the few meagre documents, generally grants in hard, legal forms, that begin with those concerning Oviedo and Avilés, already noticed, and come down, half bad Latin and half unformed Spanish, to the time of Alfonso.[27] The first monument, therefore, that can

Earliest Castilian prose.

[26] La Gran Conquista de Ultramar was printed at Salamanca, by Hans Giesser, in folio, in 1503. That additions are made to it, is apparent from Lib. III. c. 170, where is an account of the overthrow of the order of the Templars, which is there said to have happened in the year of the Spanish era 1412; and that it is a translation, so far as it follows William of Tyre, from an old French version of the thirteenth century, I state on the authority of a manuscript of Sarmiento. The Conquista begins thus:

"Capitulo Primero. Como Mahoma predico en Aravia: y gano toda la tierra de Oriente.

"En aql. tiēpo q̃ eraclius emperador en Roma q̃ fue buē Xpiano, et mãtuvo gran tiēpo el imperio en justicia y en paz, levantose Mahoma en tierra de Aravia y mostro a las gētes necias sciēcia nueva, y fizo les creer q̃ era profeta y mensagero de dios, y que le avia embiado al mundo por saluar los hombres qēle creyessen," etc.

The story of the Knight of the Swan, full of enchantments, duels, and much of what marks the books of chivalry, begins abruptly at Lib. I. cap. 47, fol. xvii., with these words: "And now the history leaves off speaking for a time of all these things, in order to relate what concerns the Knight of the Swan," etc.; and it ends with Cap. 185, f. lxxx., the next chapter opening thus: "Now this history leaves off speaking of this, and turns to relate how three knights went to Jerusalem," etc. This story of the Knight of the Swan, which fills sixty-three leaves, appeared originally in Normandy or Belgium, begun by Jehan Renault, and finished by Gandor or Graindor of Douay, in 30,000 verses, about the year 1300. (De la Rue, Essai sur les Bardes, etc., Caen, 1834, 8vo, Tom. III. p. 218. Warton's English Poetry, London, 1824, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 149. Collection of Prose Romances, by Thomas, London, 1838, 12mo, Vol. III., Preface.) It was, therefore, inserted after the age of Alfonso X., unless it was taken from some earlier story than that of Renault, which is not very likely, and it was put in because it was supposed to illustrate and dignify the history of Godfrey of Bouillon, its hero. This, however, is not the only part of the work made up later than its date. The last chapter, for instance, giving an account of the death of Conradin of the Hohenstauffen, and the assassination in the church of Viterbo, at the moment of the elevation of the host, of Henry, the nephew of Henry III. of England, by Guy of Monfort, — both noticed by Dante, — has nothing to do with the main work, and seems taken from some later chronicle. There is an excellent copy of this work, which is a fine specimen of typography, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, but the one I have most used is in the British Museum. It is in two volumes, in parts, double columns; the first of 224 ff., and the second of 220. From the Prologo it is plain that the work as it was prepared for Alfonso — "Mandamos trasladar" is the phrase — did not extend beyond the time of St. Louis of France, who died in 1270. But, since the preceding portion of this note was published, a new edition of the Ultramar, with a good bibliographical preface by Don Pascual de Gayangos, has appeared in the forty-fourth volume of Rivadeneyra's Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1858. Gayangos thinks it was probably ordered to be prepared in the time of Sancho IV., son of Alfonso X.; but his reasons for this opinion are not very strong, and the point is of little importance.

[27] There is a curious collection of documents, published by royal authority (Madrid, 1829–33, 6 Tom. 8vo.), called "Coleccion de Cédulas, Cartas, Patentes," etc., relating to the Northern provinces, where

it does not seem ever to have gone into practical use. His "Fuero Real," a shorter code, divided into four books, was completed in 1255 for Valladolid, and perhaps was subsequently given to other cities of his kingdom. Both were followed by different laws, as occasion called for them, down nearly to the end of his reign. But all of them, taken together, were far from constituting a code such as had been projected by Saint Ferdinand.[31]

This last great work was undertaken by Alfonso in 1256, and finished either in 1263 or 1265. It was originally called by Alfonso himself "El Setenario," from the title of the code undertaken by his father; but it is now called "Las Siete Partidas," or The Seven Parts, from the seven divisions of the work itself. That Alfonso was assisted by others in the great task of compiling it out of the Decretals, and the Digest and Code of Justinian, as well as out of the Fuero Juzgo and other sources of legislation, both Spanish and foreign, is not to be doubted; but the general air and finish of the whole, its style and literary execution, must be more or less his own, so much are they in harmony with whatever else we know of his works and character.[32]

His Siete Partidas.

The Partidas, however, though by far the most important legislative monument of its age, did not become at once the law of the land.[33] On the contrary, the great cities, with their separate privileges, and the great nobles, like the Laras, long resisted anything like a uniform system of legislation for the whole country; and it was not till 1348, two years before the death of Alfonso the Eleventh, and above sixty after that of their author, that the contest with the local authorities was over, and the Partidas were finally proclaimed and established as of

31 Opúsculos Legales del Rey Alfonso el Sabio, publicados, etc., por la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1836, 2 Tom., fol. Marina, Legislacion, § 301.

32 "El Setenario" was the name given to the work begun in the reign of St. Ferdinand, "because," says Alfonso, in the preface to it, "all it contains is arranged by sevens." In the same way his own code is divided into seven parts; but it does not seem to have been cited by the name of "The Seven Parts" till above a century after it was composed. (Marina, Legislacion, §§ 292-303. Preface to the edition of the Partidas by the Academy, Madrid, 1807, 4to, Tom. I. pp. xv.-xviii.)

33 Much trouble arose from the attempt of Alfonso X. to introduce his code. (Marina, Legislacion, §§ 417-419.)

binding authority in all the territories held by the kings of Castile and Leon. But from that period the great code of Alfonso has been uniformly respected.[34] It is, in fact, a sort of Spanish common law, which, with the decisions under it, has been the basis of Spanish jurisprudence ever since; and becoming in this way a part of the constitution of the state in all Spanish colonies, it has, from the time when Louisiana and Florida were added to the United States, become in some cases the law in our own country; — so wide may be the influence of a wise legislation.[35]

The Partidas, however, do not always read like a collection of statutes, or even like a code such as that of Justinian or Napoleon. On the contrary, they often seem rather to be a series of treatises on legislation, morals, and religion, divided with great formality, according to their subjects, into Parts, Titles, and Laws; the last of which, instead of being merely imperative ordinances, enter into arguments and investigations of various sorts, often discussing the moral principles they lay down, and often containing intimations of the manners and opinions of the age, that make them a curious mine of Spanish antiquities. They are, in short, a kind of digested result of the opinions and reading of a learned monarch, and his coädjutors, in the thirteenth century, on the rela-

Character of the Partidas.

[34] Marina, Legis., § 449. Fuero Juzgo, ed. Acad., Pref., p. xliii. That Alfonso, however, intended to establish the Partidas as the law of all Spain in his own time, seems not to be doubtful, from Chap. IX. of his chronicle, where we are told — Mando que todos los omes de sus reynos las oviessen por ley et por fuero et todos los alcaldes juzgassen por ellas los pleytos (Ed. 1554, f. 5, a). But we have already seen how imperfect was his authority for this or any other purpose, especially in the latter part of his reign, earlier than which his code was not completed.

[35] See a curious and learned book, entitled "The Laws of the Siete Partidas which are still in Force in the State of Louisiana," translated by L. Moreau Lislet and H. Carleton, New Orleans, 1820, 2 vols. 8vo; and a discussion on the same subject in Wheaton's "Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of the United States," Vol. V. 1820, Appendix; together with various cases in the other volumes of the Reports of the Supreme Court of the United States, e. g. Wheaton, Vol. III. 1818, p. 202, note (a). "We may observe," says Dunham (Hist. of Spain and Portugal, Vol. IV. p. 121), "that, if all the other codes were banished, Spain would still have a respectable body of jurisprudence; for we have the experience of an eminent advocate in the Royal Tribunal of Appeals for asserting that, during an extensive practice of twenty-nine years, scarcely a case occurred which could not be virtually or expressly decided by the code in question." The Partidas, it may be observed, lean more to the Roman law than to the old Visi-Gothic, which had prevailed in Christian Spain till that time, and is embodied in the Fuero Juzgo. This may account for their continued authority.

tive duties of a king and his subjects, and on the entire legislation and police, ecclesiastical, civil, and moral, to which, in their judgment, Spain should be subjected; the whole interspersed with discussions, sometimes more quaint than grave, concerning the customs and principles on which the work itself, or some particular part of it, is founded.

As a specimen of the style of the Partidas, an extract may be made from a law entitled "What meaneth a Tyrant, and how he useth his power in a kingdom when he hath obtained it."

"A tyrant," says this law, "doth signify a cruel lord, who by force, or by craft, or by treachery, hath obtained power over any realm or country; and such men be of such nature, that, when once they have grown strong in the land, they love rather to work their own profit, though it be in harm of the land, than the common profit of all, for they always live in an ill fear of losing it. And that they may be able to fulfil this their purpose unencumbered, the wise of old have said that they use their power against the people in three manners. The first is, that they strive that those under their mastery be ever ignorant and timorous, because, when they be such, they may not be bold to rise against them nor to resist their wills; and the second is, that they be not kindly and united among themselves, in such wise that they trust not one another, for, while they live in disagreement, they shall not dare to make any discourse against their lord, for fear faith and secrecy should not be kept among themselves; and the third way is, that they strive to make them poor, and to put them upon great undertakings, which they can never finish, whereby they may have so much harm, that it may never come into their hearts to devise any thing against their ruler. And above all this, have tyrants ever striven to make spoil of the strong and to destroy the wise; and have forbidden fellowship and assemblies of men in their land, and striven always to know what men said or did; and do trust their counsel and the guard of their person rather to foreigners, who will serve at their will, than to them of the land, who serve from oppression.

And, moreover, we say that, though any man may have gained mastery of a kingdom by any of the lawful means whereof we have spoken in the laws going before this, yet, if he use his power ill, in the ways whereof we speak in this law, him may the people still call tyrant; for he turneth his mastery which was rightful into wrongful, as Aristotle hath said in the book which treateth of the rule and government of kingdoms." [36]

In other laws, reasons are given why kings and their sons should be taught to read; [37] and in a law about the governesses of kings' daughters, it is declared:

"They are to endeavor, as much as may be, that the king's daughters be moderate and seemly in eating and in drinking, and also in their carriage and dress, and of good manners in all things, and especially that they be not given to anger; for, besides the wickedness that lieth in it, it is the thing in the world that most easily leadeth women to do ill. And they ought to teach them to be handy in performing those works that belong to noble ladies; for this is a matter that becometh them much, since they obtain by it cheerfulness and a quiet spirit; and, besides, it taketh away bad thoughts, which it is not convenient they should have." [38]

Many of the laws concerning knights, like one on their loyalty, and one on the meaning of the ceremonies used when they are armed, [39] and all the laws on the establishment and conduct of great public schools, which he was endeavoring, at the same time, to encourage, by the privileges he granted to Salamanca, [40] are written with even more skill and selectness of idiom. Indeed, the Partidas,

[36] Partida II. Tit. I. Ley 10, ed. Acad., Tom. II. p. 11.

[37] Partida II. Tit. VII. Ley 10, and Tit. V. Ley 16.

[38] Partida II. Tit. VII. Ley 11.

[39] Partida II. Tit. XXI. Leyes 9, 13.

[40] The laws about the Estudios Generales, — the name then given to what we now call Universities, — filling the thirty-first Titulo of the second Partida, are remarkable for their wisdom, — except in Ley 11, which relates to the sale of books, — and recognize some of the arrangements that still obtain in many of the Universities of the Continent. There was, however, at that period, no such establishment in Spain, except one which had existed, in a very rude state, at Salamanca for some time, and to which Alfonso X. gave the first proper endowment in 1254. (Historia del Colegio viejo de S. Bartolomé, mayor de la celebre Universidad de Salamanca por Fr. Ruiz de Vergara y Alava, corregida ec. por el Marques de Alventos, Madrid, 1766, folio, Tom. I. p. 17.)

in whatever relates to manner and style, are not only superior to anything that had preceded them, but to anything that for a long time followed. The Poems of Berceo, hardly twenty years older, seem to belong to another age, and to a much ruder state of society; and, on the other hand, Marina, whose opinion on such a subject few are entitled to call in question, says that during the two or even three centuries subsequent nothing was produced in Spanish prose equal to the Partidas for purity and elevation of style.[41]

But, however this may be, there is no doubt that, mingled with something of the rudeness, and more of the ungraceful repetitions, common in the period to which they belong, there is a richness, an appropriateness, and sometimes even an elegance, in their turns of expression, truly remarkable. They show that the great effort of their author to make the Castilian the living and real language of his country, by making it that of the laws and the tribunals of justice, had been successful, or was destined speedily to become so. Their grave and measured movement, and the solemnity of their tone, which have remained among the characteristics of Spanish prose ever since, show this success beyond all reasonable question. They show, too, the character of Alfonso himself, giving token of a far-reaching wisdom and philosophy, and proving how much a single great mind, happily placed, can do towards imparting their final direction to the language and literature of a country, even so early as the first century of their separate existence.[42]

41 Marina, in Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., Tom. IV., Ensayo, p. 52.

42 As no more than a fair specimen of the genuine Castilian of the Partidas, I would cite Part. II. Tit. V. Ley 18, entitled "Como el Rey debe ser granado et franco:" "Grandeza es virtud que está bien á todo home poderoso et señaladamente al rey quando usa della en tiempo que conviene et como debe; et por ende dixo Aristóteles á Alexandro que él puñase de haber en si franqueza, ca por ella ganarie mas aina el amor et los corazones de la gente: et porque él mejor podiese obrar desta bondat, espaladinol qué cosa es, et dixo que franqueza es dar al que lo ha menester et al que lo meresce, segunt el poder del dador, dando de lo suyo et non tomando de lo ageno para darlo á otro, ca el que da mas de lo que puede non es franco, mas desgastador, et demas haberá por fuerza á tomar de lo ageno quando lo suyo non compliere, et si de la una parte ganare amigos por lo que les diere, de la otra parte serle han enemigos aquellos á quien lo tomare; et otrosi dixo que el que da al que non lo ha menester non le es gradecido, et es tal come el que vierte agua en la mar, et el que da al que lo non meresce es como el que guisa su enemigo que venga contra él."

CHAPTER IV.

JUAN LORENZO SEGURA. — CONFUSION OF ANCIENT AND MODERN MANNERS. — THE ALEXANDRO, ITS STORY AND MERITS. — THE VOTOS DEL PAVON. — SANCHO EL BRAVO. — DON JUAN MANUEL, HIS LIFE AND WORKS, PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED. — HIS CONDE LUCANOR.

THE proof that the "Partidas" were in advance of their age, both as to style and language, is plain, not only from the examination we have made of what preceded them, but from a comparison of them, which we must now make, with the poetry of Juan Lorenzo Segura, who lived at the time they were compiled, and probably somewhat later. Like Berceo, he was a secular priest, and he belonged to Astorga; but this is all we know of him, except that he lived in the latter part of the thirteenth century, and has left a poem of above ten thousand lines, on the life of Alexander the Great, drawn from such sources as were then accessible to a Spanish ecclesiastic, and written in the four-line stanza used by Berceo.[1]

Juan Lorenzo Segura.

What is most obvious in this long poem is its confounding the manners of a well-known age of Grecian antiquity with those of the Catholic religion, and of knighthood, as they existed in the days of its author. Similar confusion is found in some portion of the early literature of every country in modern Europe. In all, there was a period when the striking facts of ancient history, and the marvellous fictions of ancient fable, floating about among the traditions of the Middle Ages, were seized upon as materials for poetry and romance; and when, to fill up and finish the picture presented by their imaginations to those

[1] The Alexandro fills the third volume of the Poesias Anteriores of Sanchez, and was, for a long time, strangely attributed to Alfonso the Wise (Nic. Antonio, Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, ed. Bayer, Matriti, 1787–8, fol., Tom. II. p. 79, and Mondejar, Memorias, pp. 458, 459), though the last lines of the poem itself declare its author to be Johan Lorenzo Segura.

who thus misapplied an imperfect knowledge of antiquity, the manners and feelings of their own times were incongruously thrown in, either from an ignorant persuasion that none other had ever existed, or from a wilful carelessness concerning everything but poetical effect. This was the case in Italy, from the first dawning of letters till after the time of Dante, the sublime and tender poetry of whose "Divina Commedia" is full of such absurdities and anachronisms. It was the case, too, in France; examples singularly in point being found in the Latin poem of Walter de Chatillon, and the French one by Alexandre de Paris, or de Bernay, on this same subject of Alexander the Great; both of which were written nearly a century before Juan Lorenzo lived, and both of which were used by him.[2] And it was the case in England till after the time of Shakspeare, whose "Midsummer Night's Dream" does all that genius can do to justify it. We must not, therefore, be surprised to find it in Spain, where, derived from such monstrous repositories of fiction as the works of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, Guido de Colonna and Walter de Chatillon, some of the histories and fancies of ancient times already filled the thoughts of those men who were unconsciously beginning the fabric of their country's literature on foundations essentially different.[3]

Among the most attractive subjects that offered themselves to such persons was that of Alexander the Great.

[2] Walter de Chatillon's Latin poem on Alexander the Great was so popular that it was taught in the rhetorical schools, to the exclusion of Lucan and Virgil. (Warton's English Poetry, London, 1824, 8vo, Vol. I. p. clxvii.) The French Poem begun by Lambert li Tors or Cors, and finished by Alexandre de Paris, was less valued, but much read. (Ginguené, in the Hist. Lit. de la France, Paris, 4to, Tom. XV. 1820, pp. 100–127.) The name of Lambert li Tors is written Lambert li Cors by Ginguené, but is corrected in the published poem by the Stuttgart Verein, 1846.

[3] It may be worth notice here that, although the heathen Gods and Goddesses are used without stint by the Archpriest, just as they are by Guido de Colonna, Dares Phrygius, and the other similar writers of the Middle Ages, yet, when the same Guido de Colonna was translated by Pedro Nuñez Delgado, in the sixteenth century, and published under the auspices of Philip II., Christian people were warned that all these divinities were neither more nor less than devils; — son y seran sempre demonios; — so much were the religious ideas and feelings of the Spaniards changed between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Delgado's translation, it may be observed, in passing, if not very exact, is in the good old Castilian of his time. He died in 1535, and the edition I have of his Crónica Troyana is of 1587; but there is an earlier one, I think, dated in 1512.

The East — Persia, Arabia, and India — had long been full of stories of his adventures;[4] and now, in the West, as a hero more nearly approaching the spirit of knighthood than any other of antiquity, he was adopted into the poetical fictions of almost every nation that could boast the beginning of a literature, so that the Monk in the "Canterbury Tales" said truly, —

"The storie of Alexandre is so commune,
That every wight, that hath discretion,
Hath herd somewhat or all of his fortune."

Juan Lorenzo took this story substantially as he had read it in the "Alexandreïs" of Walter de Chatillon, whom he repeatedly cites;[5] but he has added whatever he found elsewhere, or in his own imagination, that seemed suited to his purpose, which was by no means that of becoming a mere translator. After a short introduction, he comes at once to his subject, thus, in the fifth stanza:

I desire to tell the story of a noble pagan king,
With whose valor and bold heart the world once did ring:
For the world he overcame, like a very little thing;
And a clerkly name I shall gain, if his story I can sing.

This prince was Alexander, and Greece it was his right;
Frank and bold he was in arms, and in knowledge took delight;
Darius' power he overthrew, and Porus, kings of might,
And for suffering and for patience the world held no such wight.

Now the infant Alexander showed plainly, from the first,
That he through every hindrance with prowess great would burst;
For by a servile breast he never would be nursed,
And less than gentle lineage to serve him never durst.

And mighty signs when he was born foretold his coming worth;
The air was troubled, and the sun his brightness put not forth,
The sea was angry all, and shook the solid earth,
The world was well-nigh perishing for terror at his birth.[6]

[4] Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. I. Part II. pp. 5–23, a curious paper by Sir W. Ouseley. Fr. Spiegel, Die Alexander sage bei den Orientalen (Leipzig, 1851, 8vo).

[5] Coplas 225, 1452, and 1639, where Segura gives three Latin lines from Walter.

[6] Quiero leer un libro de un rey noble pagano,
Que fue de grant esforcio, de corazon lozano,
Conquistó todel mundo, metiol so su mano,
Terné, se lo compriere, que soe bon escribano.

Del Príncepe Alexandre, que fue rey de Grecia,
Que fue franc è ardit è de grant sabencia.

Then comes the history of Alexander, mingled with the fables and extravagances of the times; given generally with the dulness of a chronicle, but sometimes showing a poetical spirit. Before setting out on his grand expedition to the East, he is knighted, and receives an enchanted sword made by Don Vulcan, a girdle made by Doña Philosophy, and a shirt made by two sea-fairies, — *duas fadas enna mar*.[7] The conquest of Asia follows soon afterwards, in the course of which the Bishop of Jerusalem orders mass to be said to stay the conqueror, as he approaches the Jewish capital.[8]

In general, the known outline of Alexander's adventures is followed, but there are a good many whimsical digressions; and when the Macedonian forces pass the site of Troy, the poet cannot resist the temptation of making an abstract of the fortunes and fate of that city, which he represents as told by Don Alexander himself to his followers, and especially to the Twelve Peers who accompanied him in his expedition.[9] Homer is vouched as authority for the extraordinary narrative that is given;[10] but how little the poet of Astorga cared for the Iliad and Odyssey may be inferred from the fact that, instead of sending Achilles, or Don Achilles, as he is called, to the court of Lycomedes of Scyros, to be concealed in woman's clothes, he is sent, by the enchantments of his mother, in female attire, to a convent of nuns; and the crafty Don Ulysses goes there as a pedler, with a pack of female ornaments and martial weapons on his back, to detect the fraud.[11] But, with all its defects and incongruities, the "Alexandro" is a curious and important landmark in early Spanish literature; and if it is written with less purity and dignity than the "Partidas" of Alfonso, it has

Venció Poro è Dário, dos Reyes de grant potencia,
Nunca conosció ome su par en la sufrencia.

El infante Alexandre luego en su ninnéz
Comenzó à demostrar que serie de grant prez:
Nunca quiso mamar leche de mugier rafez,
Se non fue de linage ò de grant gentiléz.

Grandes signos contiron quando est infant nasció:
El ayre fue cambiado, el sol escureció,
Todol mar fue irado, la tierra tremeció,
Por poco quel mundo todo non pereció.

Sanchez, Tom. III. p. 1.

7 Coplas 78, 80, 83, 89, etc.

8 Coplas 1086–1094, etc.

9 Coplas 299–716.

10 Coplas 300 and 714.

11 Coplas 386, 392, etc.

still a truly Castilian air, in both its language and its versification.[12]

A poem called "Los Votos del Pavon," — The Vows of the Peacock, — which was a continuation of the "Alexandro," is lost. If we may judge from an old French poem on the vows made over a peacock that had been a favorite bird of Alexander, and was served accidentally at table after that hero's death, we have no reason to complain of our loss as a misfortune.[13] Nor have we probably great occasion to regret that we possess only extracts from a prose book of advice, prepared for his heir and successor by Sancho, the son of Alfonso the Tenth; for though, from the chapter warning the young prince against fools, we see that it wanted neither sense nor spirit, still it is not to be compared to the "Partidas" for precision, grace, or dignity of style.[14] We come, therefore, at once to a remarkable writer, who flourished a little later, — the Prince Don Juan Manuel.

Sancho, son of Alfonso.

Lorenzo was an ecclesiastic, — *bon clérigo é ondrado*, — and his home was at Astorga, in the north-western portion of Spain, on the borders of Leon and Galicia. Berceo

[12] Southey, in the notes to his "Madoc," Part I. Canto xi., speaks justly of the "sweet flow of language and metre in Lorenzo." At the end of the Alexandro are two prose letters supposed to have been written by Alexander to his mother; but I prefer to cite, as a specimen of Lorenzo's style, the following stanzas on the music which the Macedonians heard in Babylon:

Alli era la musica cantada per razon,
Las dobles que refieren coitas del corazon,
Las dolces de las baylas, el plorant semiton,
Bien podrien toller precio à quantos no mundo son.

Non es en el mundo ome tan sabedor,
Que decir podiesse qual era el dolzor,
Mientre ome viviesse en aquella sabor
Non avrie sede nen fame nen dolor.
St. 1976, 1977.

Las dobles in modern Spanish means the tolling for the dead; — here, I suppose, it means some sort of sad chanting.

[13] Los Votos del Pavon is first mentioned by the Marquis of Santillana (Sanchez, Tom. I. p. lvii.); and Fauchet says (Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue et Poésie Françaïse, Paris, 1581, fol., p. 88), "Le Roman du Pavon est une continuation des faits d'Alexandre." There is an account of a French Poem on this subject, in the "Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale," etc. (Paris, an. VII. 4to), Tom. V. p. 118. Vows were frequently made in ancient times over favorite birds (Barante, Ducs de Bourgogne, ad an. 1454, Paris, 1837, 8vo, Tom. VII. pp. 159–164); and the vows in the Spanish poem seem to have involved a prophetic account of the achievements and troubles of Alexander's successors.

[14] The extracts are in Castro (Tom. II. pp. 725–729), and the book, which contained forty-nine chapters, was called "Castigos y Documentos para bien vivir, ordenados por el Rey Don Sancho el Quarto, intitulado el Brabo;" *Castigos* being used to mean *advice*, as in the old French poem, "Le *Castoiement* d'un Père a son Fils;" and *Documentos* being taken in its primitive sense of *instructions*. The spirit of his father seems to speak in Sancho, when he says of kings, "que han de governar regnos e gentes con ayuda de çientificos sabios."

belonged to the same territory; and, though there may be half a century between them, they are of a similar spirit. We are glad, therefore, that the next author we meet — Don John Manuel — takes us from the mountains of the North to the chivalry of the South, and to the state of society, the conflicts, manners, and interests, that gave us the "Poem of the Cid," and the code of the "Partidas."

Don Juan Manuel.

Don John was of the blood royal of Castile and Leon, grandson of St. Ferdinand, nephew of Alfonso the Wise, and one of the most turbulent and dangerous of the Spanish barons of his time. He was born in Escalona, on the fifth of May, 1282, and was the son of Don Pedro Manuel, an Infante of Spain,[15] brother of Alfonso the Wise, with whom he always had his officers and household in common. Before Don John was two years old, his father died, and he was educated by his cousin, Sancho the Fourth, living with him on a footing like that on which his father had lived with Alfonso.[16] When twelve years old he was already in the field against the Moors, and in 1310, at the age of twenty-eight, he had reached the most considerable offices in the state; but Ferdinand the Fourth dying two years afterwards, and leaving Alfonso the Eleventh, his successor, only thirteen months old, great disturbances followed till 1320, when Don John Manuel became joint regent of the realm; a place which he suffered none to share with him but such of his near relations as were most involved in his interests.[17]

The affairs of the kingdom during the administration of Prince John seem to have been managed with talent and spirit; but at the end of the regency the young monarch

15 Argote de Molina, Sucesion de los Manueles, prefixed to the Conde Lucanor, 1575. The date of his birth has been heretofore considered unsettled; but I have found it given exactly by himself, in an unpublished letter to his brother, the Archbishop of Toledo, which occurs in a manuscript in the National Library at Madrid, to be noticed hereafter.

16 In his report of his conversation with King Sancho, when that monarch was on his death-bed, he says, "The King Alfonso and my father in his lifetime, and King Sancho and myself in his lifetime, always had our households together, and our officers were always the same." Further on, he says he was brought up by Don Sancho, who gave him the means of building the castle of Peñafiel, and calls God to witness that he was always true and loyal to Sancho, to Fernando, and to Alfonso XI., adding, cautiously, "so far as this last king gave me opportunities to serve him." (Manuscript in the National Library at Madrid.)

17 Crónica de Alfonso XI., ed. 1551, fol., c. 19–21.

was not sufficiently contented with the state of things to continue his grand-uncle in any considerable employment. Don John, however, was not of a temper to submit quietly to affront or neglect.[18] He left the court at Valladolid, and prepared himself, with all his great resources, for the armed opposition which the politics of those lawless times regarded as a justifiable mode of obtaining redress. The king was alarmed, "for he saw," says the old chronicler, "that they were the most powerful men in his kingdom, and that they could do grievous battle with him, and great mischief to the land." He entered, therefore, into an arrangement with Prince John, who did not hesitate to abandon his friends and go back to his allegiance, on the condition that the king should marry his daughter Constantia, then a mere child, and create him governor of the provinces bordering on the Moors, and commander-in-chief of the Moorish war; thus placing him, in fact, again at the head of the kingdom.[19]

From this time we find him actively engaged on the frontiers, in a succession of military operations, till 1327, when he gained over the Moors the important victory of Guadalhorra. But the same year was marked by the bloody treachery of the king against Prince John's uncle, who was murdered in the palace under circumstances of peculiar atrocity.[20] The Prince immediately retired in disgust to his estates, and began again to muster his friends and forces for a contest, into which he rushed the more eagerly, as the king had now refused to consummate his union with Constantia, and had married a Portuguese princess. The war which followed was carried on with various success till 1335, when Prince John was finally subdued, and, entering anew into the king's service, with fresh reputation, as it seemed, from a spirited rebellion, and marrying his daughter Constantia, now grown up, to the heir-apparent of Portugal, went on, as commander-in-chief, with an uninterrupted succession of victories over the Moors, until almost the moment of his death, which happened in 1347.[21]

[18] Crónica de Alfonso XI., c. 46 and 48.
[19] Ibid., c. 49.
[20] Mariana, Hist., Lib. XV. c. 19.
[21] Ibid., Lib. XVI. c. 4. Crónica de Alfonso XI., c. 178. Argote de Molina, Sucesion de los Manueles.

In a life like this, full of intrigues and violence, — from a prince like this, who married the sisters of two kings, who had two other kings for his sons-in-law, and who disturbed his country by his rebellions and military enterprises for above thirty years, — we should hardly look for a successful attempt in letters.[22] Yet so it is. Spanish poetry, we know, first appeared in the midst of turbulence and danger; and now we find Spanish prose fiction springing forth from the same soil, and under similar circumstances. Down to this time we have seen no prose of much value in the prevailing Castilian dialect, except in the works of Alfonso the Tenth, and in one or two chronicles that will hereafter be noticed. But in most of these the fervor which seems to be an essential element of the early Spanish genius was kept in check, either by the nature of their subjects, or by circumstances of which we can now have no knowledge; and it is not until a fresh attempt is made, in the midst of the wars and tumults that for centuries seem to have been as the principle of life to the whole Peninsula, that we discover in Spanish prose a decided development of such forms as afterwards became national and characteristic.

Don John, to whom belongs the distinction of producing one of these forms, showed himself worthy of a family in which, for above a century, letters had been honored and cultivated. He is known to have written twelve works — thinking, as he says in one of them, that it was better to write books than to play at dice; — and so anxious was he about their fate, that he caused them to be carefully transcribed in a large volume, which he bequeathed to a monastery he had founded on his estates at Peñafiel, as a burial-place for himself and his descendants.[23] How many

[22] Mariana, in one of those happy hits of character which are not rare in his History, says of Don John Manuel that he was "de condicion inquieta y mudable, tanto que a muchos parecia nació solamente para revolver el reyno." Hist., Lib. XV. c. 12.

[23] Argote de Molina, Life of Don John, in the ed. of the Conde Lucanor, 1575. The accounts of Argote de Molina and of the manuscript in the National Library are not precisely the same; but the last is imperfect, and evidently omits one work. Both contain the four following, namely: 1. Chronicle of Spain; 2. Book of Hunting; 3. Book of Poetry; and 4. Book of Counsels to his Son. Argote de Molina gives, besides these, — 1. Libro de los Sabios; 2. Libro del Caballero; 3. Libro del Escudero; 4. Libro del Infante; 5. Libro de Caballeros; 6. Libro de los Engaños; and 7. Libro de los Exemplos. The manuscript gives, besides the four that are

of these works are now in existence, is not known. Some are certainly among the treasures of the National Library at Madrid, in a manuscript which seems to be an imperfect and injured copy of the one originally deposited at Peñafiel. A chronicle of Spain abridged by Don John from that of his uncle Alfonso the Wise is also there in a separate MS., and ought to be published;[24] and the Treatise on Hunting was seen by Pellicer in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and may, therefore, perhaps, be still recovered.[25] A collection of Don John's poems, which Argote de Molina intended to publish in the time of Philip the Second, is probably lost, since the diligent Sanchez sought for it in vain;[26] and his "Conde Lucanor" alone has been placed beyond the reach of accident by being printed.[27]

clearly in common, the following: 1. Letter to his brother, containing an account of the family arms, etc.; 2. Book of Conditions, or Libro de los Estados, which may be Argote de Molina's Libro de los Sabios; 3. Libro del Caballero y del Escudero, of which Argote de Molina seems to make two separate works; 4. Libro de la Caballería, probably Argote de Molina's Libro de Caballeros; 5. La Cumplida; 6. Libro de los Engeños, a treatise on Military Engines, misspelt, by Argote de Molina, Engaños, so as to make it a treatise on *Frauds*; and 7. Reglas como se deve trovar. But, as has been said, the manuscript has a hiatus, and, though it says there were twelve works, gives the titles of only eleven, and omits that of the Conde Lucanor, which is the Libro de los Exemplos of Argote's list, and the Libro de Patronio of the MS., where, though the title is not inserted in the list at the beginning, the *work itself* is found entire; but so different in many particulars from the printed one, that an edition of it taken from this MS. is much to be desired.

[24] Puibusque, Comte Lucanor, Paris, 1854, 8vo, p. 106.

[25] Note to Don Quixote, ed. Pellicer, Parte II. Tom. I. p. 284.

[26] Poesias Anteriores, Tom. IV. p. xi.

[27] I am aware that there are poems in the Cancioneros Generales by a Don John Manuel, which have been generally attributed to Don John Manuel, the Regent of Castile in the time of Alfonso XI., as, for instance, those in the Cancionero of Antwerp (1573, 8vo, ff. 175, 207, 227, 267). But they are not his. Their language and thoughts are quite too modern. Probably they are the work of Don John Manuel, who was Camareiro Mór of King Emanuel of Portugal (died 1524), and whose poems, both in Portuguese and in Spanish, figure largely in the Cancioneiro Gerale of Garcia Rresende (Lisboa, 1516, fol.), where they are found at ff. 48–57, 148, 169, 212, 230, and, I believe, in some other places. He is the author of the Spanish "Coplas sobre los Siete Pecados Mortales," dedicated to John II. of Portugal (died 1495), which are in Bohl de Faber's "Floresta" (Hamburgo, 1821–25, 8vo, Tom. I. pp. 10–15), taken from Rresende, f. 55, in one of the three copies of whose Cancioneiro then existing (that at the Convent of the Necessidades in Lisbon) I read them many years ago. Rresende's Cancioneiro is now no longer so rare, having been published by the Stuttgard Verein. The Portuguese Don John Manuel was a person of much consideration in his time; and, in 1497, concluded a treaty for the marriage of King Emanuel of Portugal with Isabella, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. (Barbosa, Biblioteca Lusitana, Lisboa, 1747, fol., Tom. II. p. 688.) But he appears very little to his honor in Lope de Vega's play entitled "El Principe Perfeto," under the name of Don Juan de Sosa. (Comedias, Tom. XI. Barcelona, 1618, 4to, p. 121.)

All that we possess of Don John Manuel is important. The imperfect manuscript at Madrid opens with an account of the reasons why he had caused his works to be transcribed; reasons which he illustrates by the following story, very characteristic of his age:

"In the time of King Jayme the First of Majorca," says he, "there was a knight of Perpignan, who was a great Troubadour, and made brave songs wonderfully well. But one that he made was better than the rest, and, moreover, was set to good music. And people were so delighted with that song, that, for a long time, they would sing no other. And so the knight that made it was well pleased. But one day, going through the streets, he heard a shoemaker singing this song, and he sang it so ill, both in words and tune, that any man who had not heard it before would have held it to be a very poor song, and very ill made. Now, when the knight heard that shoemaker spoil his good work, he was full of grief and anger, and got down from his beast and sat down by him. But the shoemaker gave no heed to the knight, and did not cease from singing; and the further he sang, the worse he spoiled the song that the knight had made. And when the knight heard his good work so spoiled by the foolishness of the shoemaker, he took up very gently some shears that lay there, and cut all the shoemaker's shoes in pieces, and mounted his beast and rode away.

"Now, when the shoemaker saw his shoes, and beheld how they were cut in pieces, and that he had lost all his labor, he was much troubled, and went shouting after the knight that had done it. And the knight answered: 'My friend, our lord the king, as you well know, is a good king and a just. Let us, then, go to him, and let him determine, as may seem right, the difference between us.' And they were agreed to do so. And when they came before the king, the shoemaker told him how all his shoes had been cut in pieces, and much harm done to him. And the king was wroth at it, and asked the knight if this were truth. And the knight said that it was; but that he would like to say why he did it. And the king told him to say on. And the knight answered, that the king well

knew that he had made a song, — the one that was very good and had good music, — and he said that the shoemaker had spoiled it in singing; in proof whereof, he prayed the king to command him now to sing it. And the king did so, and saw how he spoiled it. Then the knight said, that, since the shoemaker had spoiled the good work he had made with great pains and labor, so he might spoil the works of the shoemaker. And the king and all they that were there with him were very merry at this, and laughed; and the king commanded the shoemaker never to sing that song again, nor trouble the good work of the knight; but the king paid the shoemaker for the harm that was done him, and commanded the knight not to vex the shoemaker any more.[28]

"And now, knowing that I cannot hinder the books I have made from being copied many times, and seeing that in copies one thing is put for another, either because he who copies is ignorant, or because one word looks so much like another, and so the meaning and sense are changed without any fault in him who first wrote it; therefore, I, Don John Manuel, to avoid this wrong as much as I may, have caused this volume to be made, in

[28] A similar story is told of Dante, who was a contemporary of Don John Manuel, by Sachetti, who lived about a century after both of them. It is in his Novella 114 (Milano, 1815, 18mo, Tom. II. p. 154), where, after giving an account of an important affair, about which Dante was desired to solicit one of the city officers, the story goes on thus:

"When Dante had dined, he left his house to go about that business, and, passing through the Porta San Piero, heard a blacksmith singing as he beat the iron on his anvil. What he sang was from Dante, and he did it as if it were a ballad (*un cantare*), jumbling the verses together, and mangling and altering them in a way that was a great offence to Dante. He said nothing, however, but went into the blacksmith's shop, where there were many tools of his trade, and, seizing first the hammer, threw it into the street, then the pincers, then the scales, and many other things of the same sort, all which he threw into the street. The blacksmith turned round in a brutal manner, and cried out, 'What the devil are you doing here? Are you mad?' 'Rather,' said Dante, 'what are *you* doing?' '*I*,' replied the blacksmith, '*I* am working at my trade; and you spoil my things by throwing them into the street.' 'But,' said Dante, 'if you do not want to have me spoil your things, don't spoil mine.' 'What do I spoil of yours?' said the blacksmith. 'You sing,' answered Dante, 'out of my book, but not as I wrote it; I have no other trade, and you spoil it.' The blacksmith, in his pride and vexation, did not know what to answer; so he gathered up his tools and went back to his work, and when he afterward wanted to sing he sang about Tristan and Launcelot, and let Dante alone."

One of the stories is probably taken from the other; but that of Don John is older, both in the date of its event and in the time when it was recorded.

which are written out all the works I have composed, and they are twelve."

Of the twelve works here referred to, the Madrid manuscript contains only four, and fragments of two others One is a long letter to his brother, the Archbishop of Toledo, and Chancellor of the kingdom, in which he gives, first, an account of his family arms; then the reason why he and his right heirs male could make knights without having received any order of knighthood, as he himself had done when he was not yet two years old; and lastly, the report of a solemn conversation he had held with Sancho the Fourth on his death-bed, in which the king bemoaned himself bitterly, that, having for his rebellion justly received the curse of his father, Alfonso the Wise, he had now no power to give a dying man's blessing to Don John.

His unpublished works.

Another of the works in the Madrid manuscript is a treatise in twenty-six chapters, called "Counsels to his Son Ferdinand;" which is, in fact, an essay on the Christian and moral duties of one destined by his rank to the highest places in the state, rèferring sometimes to the more ample discussions on similar subjects in Don John's treatise on the Different Estates or Conditions of Men, — apparently a longer work, not now known to exist. In the last chapter he says he was above fifty years old when he wrote it.

The third and longest, however, of those unpublished, is the most interesting; but thirteen chapters of it are missing, out of fifty-one, besides other occasional and smaller imperfections. It is "The Book of the Knight and the Esquire," "written," says the author, "in the manner called in Castile *fabliella*" (a little fable), and sent to his brother, the Archbishop, that he might translate it into Latin; a proof, and not the only one, that Don John placed small value upon the language to which he now owes all his honors. The book itself contains an account of a young man who, encouraged by the good condition of his country under a king that called his Cortes together often, and gave his people good teachings and good laws, determines to seek advance-

The Knight and the Esquire.

ment in the state. On his way to a meeting of the Cortes, where he intends to be knighted, he meets a retired cavalier, who in his hermitage explains to him all the duties and honors of chivalry, and thus prepares him for the distinction to which he aspires. On his return, he again visits his aged friend, and is so delighted with his instructions, — which, for the age when they were given, are remarkably wise, humane, and practical, — that he remains with him, ministering to his infirmities, and profiting by his wisdom and knowledge, till his death, after which the young knight goes to his own land, and lives there in great honor the rest of his life. The story, or little fable, is, however, a very slight thread, serving only to hold together a long series of instructions on the moral duties of men, and on the different branches of human knowledge, given with earnestness and spirit, in the fashion of the times.[29]

The "Conde Lucanor," which follows in the Madrid manuscript, and is the best known of its author's works, bears some resemblance to the fable of the Knight and the Esquire. It is a collection of fifty tales,[30] anecdotes, and apologues, clearly in the Oriental manner; the first hint for which was probably taken from the "Disciplina Clericalis" of Petrus Alphonsus, a collection of Latin stories made in Spain about two centuries earlier. The occasion on which the tales of Don John are supposed to be related is, like the fictions themselves, invented with Eastern simplicity, and reminds us

The Conde Lucanor.

[29] Of this manuscript of Don John in the Library at Madrid, I have, through the kindness of Professor Gayangos, a copy filling one hundred and ninety-nine closely-written folio pages, but not containing the Conde Lucanor, nor the two fragments, which seem to be inconsiderable in amount; one of which is part of a mystic and moral treatise addressed to Don Remon Malafequa, and the other is part of the treatise on hunting. Of the whole MS. an account may be found in the Spanish translation of this History, Tom. I. pp. 498–502. It seems to have been copied in 1380, or at least the Conde Lucanor is so dated; that is, thirty-three years after Don John's death.

[30] It seems not unlikely that Don John Manuel intended originally to stop at the end of the twelfth tale; for he there intimates such a purpose. In each of the three editions of the Conde Lucanor in Spanish there are only forty-nine tales; but in the MS. in the National Library at Madrid there is one more, — not, certainly, one of the best, — which was published in 1854 in Mons. de Puibusque's French translation (p. 343, with the original Spanish at p. 489), thus making fifty stories in all. (See note at the end of this chapter.)

constantly of the "Thousand and One Nights," and their multitudinous imitations.[31]

The Count Lucanor — a personage of power and consideration, intended probably to represent those early Christian counts in Spain, who, like Fernan Gonzalez of Castile, were, in fact, independent princes — finds himself occasionally perplexed with questions of morals and public policy. These questions, as they occur, he proposes to Patronio, his minister or counsellor; and Patronio replies to each by a tale or a fable, which is ended with a rhyme in the nature of a moral. The stories are various

[31] That the general form of the Conde Lucanor is Oriental, may be seen by looking into the fables of Bidpai, or almost any other collection of Eastern stories; the form, I mean, of separate tales, united by some fiction common to them all, like that of relating them all to amuse or instruct some third person. The first appearance in Europe of such a series of tales grouped together was in the Disciplina Clericalis; a remarkable work, composed by Petrus Alphonsus, originally a Jew, by the name of Moses Sephardi, born at Huesca, in Aragon, in 1062, and baptized as a Christian in 1106, taking as one of his names that of Alfonso el Batallador, who was his godfather. The Disciplina Clericalis, or Teaching for Clerks or Clergymen, is a collection of thirty-seven stories, and many apophthegms, supposed to have been given by an Arab on his death-bed as instructions to his son. It is written in such Latin as belonged to its age. Much of the book is plainly of Eastern origin (Alphonsus says he composed it partim ex proverbiis et castigationibus Arabicis et fabulis et versibus, — Ed. Schmidt, p. 34), and some of it is extremely coarse. It was, however, greatly admired for a long time, and was more than once turned into French verse, as may be seen in Barbazan (Fabliaux, ed. Méon, Paris, 1808, 8vo, Tom. II. pp. 39–183). That the Disciplina Clericalis was the prototype of the Conde Lucanor is probable, because it was popular when the Conde Lucanor was written; because the framework of both is similar, the stories of both being given as counsels; because a good many of the proverbs are the same in both; and because some of the stories in both resemble one another, as the thirty-seventh of the Conde Lucanor, which is the same with the first of the Disciplina. But, in the tone of their manners and civilization, there is a difference quite equal to the two centuries that separate the two works. Through the French versions the Disciplina Clericalis soon became known in other countries, so that we find traces of its fictions in the "Gesta Romanorum," the "Decameron," the "Canterbury Tales," and elsewhere. But it long remained, in other respects, a sealed book, known only to antiquaries, and was first printed in the original Latin, from seven manuscripts in the King's Library, Paris, by the Société des Bibliophiles (Paris, 1824, 2 Tom. 12mo). But Fr. W. V. Schmidt — to whom those interested in the early history of romantic fiction are much indebted for the various contributions he has brought to it — published the Disciplina anew in Berlin, 1827, 4to, from a Breslau manuscript; and, what is singular for one of his peculiar learning in this department, he supposed his own edition to be the first. It is, on account of its curious notes, the best; but the text of the Paris edition is to be preferred, and a very old French prose version that accompanies it makes it as a book still more valuable.

A Spanish book, commonly called "Bocados de Oro," which is said, from its language, to belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, may be noticed with the Conde Lucanor. Its full title is El Libro llamado Bocados d'Oro, el qual hizo Bonium, Rey de Persia, Valladolid, 1522; but Mendez (p. 253) notes an edition of 1499, and there are others of 1495, 1502, etc. It is an account of the travels of the imaginary Bonium into the farther East to obtain the wisdom of its philosophy. I have never seen it.

in their character.[32] Sometimes it is an anecdote in Spanish history to which Don John resorts, like that of the three knights of his grandfather, Saint Ferdinand, at the siege of Seville.[33] More frequently, it is a sketch of some striking trait in the national manners, like the story of "Rodrigo el Franco and his three Faithful Followers."[34] Sometimes, again, it is a fiction of chivalry, like that of the "Hermit and Richard the Lion-Hearted."[35] And sometimes it is an apologue, like that of the "Old Man, his Son, and the Ass," or that of the "Crow persuaded by the Fox to sing," which, with his many successors, he must in some way or other have obtained from Æsop.[36] They are all curious, but probably the most interesting is the "Moorish Marriage," partly because it points distinctly to an Arabic origin, and partly because it remarkably resembles the story Shakspeare has used in his "Taming of the Shrew."[37] It is, however, too long to be given here; and therefore a shorter specimen will be taken from the twenty-second chapter, entitled, "Of what hap-

[32] They are all called *Enxiemplos*; a word which then meant *story* or *apologue*, as it does in the Archpriest of Hita, st. 301, and in the "Crónica General." Old Lord Berners, in his delightful translation of Froissart, in the same way, calls the fable of the Bird in Borrowed Plumes "an Ensample."

[33] Cap. 2.

[34] Cap. 3.

[35] Cap. 4.

[36] Capp. 24 and 26. The followers of Don John, however, have been more indebted to him than he was to his predecessors. Thus, the story of "Don Illan el Negromantico" (Cap. 13) was found by Mr. Douce in two French and four English authors. (Blanco White, Variedades, Lóndres, 1824, Tom. I. p. 310.) The apologue which Gil Blas, when he is starving, relates to the Duke of Lerma (Liv. VIII. c. 6), and "which," he says, "he had read in Pilpay or some other fable-writer," I sought in vain in Bidpai, and stumbled upon it, when not seeking it, in the Conde Lucanor, Cap. 18. It may be added that the fable of the Swallows and the Flax (Cap. 27) is better given there than it is in La Fontaine; that the fable of the war between the Crows and the Owls (Cap. 35) is originally in Bidpai; and that the "Conde Lucanor" of Calderon is taken from the sixth chapter of Don John Manuel's, and so gets its name, though the personage of the Conde in Don John has nothing to do with it.

[37] Shakspeare, it is well known, took the materials for his "Taming of the Shrew," with little ceremony, from a play with the same title, printed in 1594. But the story, in its different parts, seems to have been familiar in the East from the earliest times, and was, I suppose, found there among the traditions of Persia, by Sir John Malcolm. (Sketches of Persia, London, 1827, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 54.) In Europe I am not aware that it can be detected earlier than the Conde Lucanor, Cap. 45; but the Fabliau of the "Male Dame," in Barbazan (ed. 1808, Tom. IV. p. 365), is not without resemblance to it, and must be nearly as old. The doctrine of unlimited submission on the part of the wife seems, indeed, to have been a favorite one with Don John Manuel; for, in another story (Cap. 5), he says, in the very spirit of Petruchio's jest about the sun and moon, "If a husband says the stream runs up hill, his wife ought to believe him, and say that it is so."

from them, to have a great deal of the romance of youth still lingering in his character. For we know, from himself, that Prince John wrote the Conde Lucanor when he had already reached his highest honors and authority, and after he had passed through his severest defeats. It should be remembered, therefore, to his credit, that we find in it no traces of the arrogance of power, or of the bitterness of mortified ambition; nothing of the wrongs he had suffered from others, and nothing of those he had inflicted. It seems, indeed, to have been written in some happy interval, stolen from the bustle of camps, the intrigues of government, and the crimes of rebellion, when the experience of his past life, its adventures, and its passions, were so remote as to awaken little personal feeling, and yet so familiar that he could give us their results with great simplicity, in this series of tales and anecdotes, which are marked with an originality that belongs to their age, and with a kind of chivalrous philosophy and wise honesty that would not be discreditable to one more advanced.[43]

[43] There are two Spanish editions of the Conde Lucanor: the first and best by Argote de Molina, 4to, Sevilla, 1575, with a life of Don John prefixed, and a curious essay on Castilian verse at the end, — one of the rarest books in the world; and the other, only less rare, published at Madrid, 1642. The references in the notes are to the first. A reprint made, if I mistake not, from the last, and edited by A. Keller, appeared at Stuttgard, 1839, 12mo, and a German translation by J. von Eichendorff, at Berlin, in 1840, 12mo. A French translation, with an ample life of Don Juan Manuel, chiefly taken from the large materials scattered through the Chronicle of Alfonso XI., and, therefore, chiefly political, was published in Paris, in 1854, by Mons. Adolphe de Puibusque, the accomplished author of the Histoire Comparée des Littératures Espagnole et Française. Don John Manuel, I observe, cites Arabic twice in the Conde Lucanor (Capp. 11 and 14), — a rare circumstance in early Spanish literature.

In the translation of this History into Spanish (Tom. I. pp. 502–506) is an account of a MS. in the National Library of Madrid (No. 129, A. 4to), entitled "Libro de los Exemplos," containing tales and fables in the manner of the Conde Lucanor; — the MS. itself dating apparently from the early part of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER V.

ALFONSO THE ELEVENTH. — TREATISE ON HUNTING. — POETICAL CHRONICLE. — BENEFICIARY OF UBEDA. — ARCHPRIEST OF HITA; HIS LIFE, WORKS, AND CHARACTER. — RABBI DON SANTOB. — THE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA. — A REVELATION. — THE DANÇA GENERAL. — POEM ON JOSEPH. — AYALA; HIS RIMADO DE PALACIO. — CHARACTERISTICS OF SPANISH LITERATURE THUS FAR.

THE reign of Alfonso the Eleventh was full of troubles, and the unhappy monarch himself died at last of the plague, while he was besieging Gibraltar, in 1350. Still, that letters were not forgotten in it we know, not only from the example of Don John Manuel, already cited, but from several others which should not be passed over.

Treatise on Hunting.

The first is a prose treatise on Hunting, in three books, written under the king's direction by his Chief-huntsmen, who were then among the principal persons of the court. It consists of little more than an account of the sort of hounds to be used, their diseases and training, with a description of the different places where game was abundant, and where sport for the royal amusement was to be had. It is of small consequence in itself, but was published by Argote de Molina, in the time of Philip the Second, with a pleasant addition by the editor, containing curious stories of lion-hunts and bull-fights, fitting it to the taste of his own age. In style, the original work is as good as the somewhat similar treatise of Don Enrique de Villena, on the Art of Carving, written a hundred years later; and, from the nature of the subject, it is somewhat more interesting.[1]

[1] Libro de la Monteria, que mando escrivir, etc., el Rey Don Alfonso de Castilla y de Leon, ultimo deste nombre, acrecentado por Argote de Molina, Sevilla, 1582, folio, 91 leaves, — the text not correct, as Pellicer says (note to Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 24). The Discurso of Argote de Molina, that follows, and fills 21 leaves more, is illustrated with curious wood-cuts, and ends with a description of the palace of the

The next literary monument attributed to this reign would be important, if we had the whole of it. It is a chronicle, in the ballad style, of events which happened in the time of Alfonso the Eleventh, and commonly passes under his name. It was found, hidden in a mass of Arabic manuscripts, by Diego de Mendoza, who attributed it, with little ceremony, to "a secretary of the king;" and it was first publicly made known by Argote de Molina, who thought it written by some poet contemporary with the history he relates. But only thirty-four stanzas of it are now known to exist; and these, though admitted by Sanchez to be probably anterior to the fifteenth century, are shown by him not to be the work of the king, and seem, in fact, to be less ancient in style and language than that critic supposes them to be.[2] They

Rhymed Chronicle.

Pardo, and an eclogue in octave stanzas, by Gomez de Tápia of Granada, on the birth of the Infanta Doña Isabel, daughter of Philip II.

[2] This old rhymed chronicle was found by the historian Diego de Mendoza among his Arabic manuscripts in Granada, and was sent by him, with a letter dated December 1, 1573, to Zurita, the annalist of Aragon, intimating that Argote de Molina would be interested in it. He says truly, that "it is well worth reading, to see with what simplicity and propriety men wrote poetical histories in the olden times;" adding, that "it is one of those books called in Spain *Gestas*," and that it seems to him curious and valuable, because he thinks it was written by a secretary of Alfonso XI., and because it differs in several points from the received accounts of that monarch's reign. (Dormer, Progresos de la Historia de Aragon, Zaragoza, 1680, fol., p. 502.) The thirty-four stanzas of this chronicle that we now possess were first published by Argote de Molina, in his very curious "Nobleza del Andaluzia" (Sevilla, 1588, f. 198), and were taken from him by Sanchez (Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. pp. 171–177). Argote de Molina says, "I copy them on account of their curiosity as specimens of the language and poetry of that age, and because they are the best and most fluent of anything for a long time written in Spain." The truth is, they are so facile, and have so few archaisms in them, that I cannot believe they were written earlier than the ballads of the fifteenth century, which they so much resemble. The following account of a victory, which I once thought was that of Salado, gained in 1340, and described in the "Crónica de Alfonso XI." (1551, fol., cap. 254), but which I now think must have been some victory gained before 1330, is the best part of what has been published:

Los Moros fueron fuyendo
  Maldiziendo su ventura;
El Maestre los siguiendo
  Por los puertos de Segura.

E feriendo e derribando
  E prendiendo a las manos,
E Sanctiago llamando,
  Escudo de los Christianos.

En alcance los llevaron
  A poder de escudo y lança,
E al castillo se tornaron
  E entraron por la matanza.

E muchos Moros fallaron
  Espedaçados jacer;
El nombre de Dios loaron,
  Que les mostró gran plazer.

The Moors fled on, with headlong speed,
  Cursing still their bitter fate;
The Master followed, breathing blood,
  Through old Segura's open gate; —

And struck and slew, as on he sped,
  And grappled still his flying foes;
While still to heaven his battle-shout,
  St. James! St. James! triumphant rose.

are in very flowing Castilian, and their tone is as spirited as that of most of the old ballads.

Two other poems, written during the reign of one of the Alfonsos, as their author declares, — and therefore almost certainly during that of Alfonso the Eleventh, who was the last of his name, — are also now known in print only by a few stanzas, and by the office of their writer, who styles himself "a Beneficiary of Ubeda." The first, which consists, in the manuscript, of five hundred and five strophes in the manner of Berceo, is a life of Saint Ildefonso; the last is on the subject of Saint Mary Magdalen. Both would probably detain us little, even if they had been published entire.[3]

Beneficiary of Ubeda.

We turn, therefore, without further delay, to Juan Ruiz, commonly called the Archpriest of Hita; a poet who is known to have lived at the same period, and whose works, both from their character and amount, deserve especial notice. Their date can be ascertained with a good degree of exactness. In one of the three early manuscripts in which they are extant, some of the poems are fixed at the year 1330, and some, by the two others, at 1343. Their author, who seems to have been born at Alcalá de Henares, lived much at Guadalaxara and Hita, places only five leagues apart, and was imprisoned by order of the Archbishop of Toledo between 1337 and 1350; from all which it may be inferred that his principal residence was Castile, and that he flourished in the reign of Alfonso the Eleventh; that is, in the time of Don John Manuel, and a very little later.[4]

Archpriest of Hita.

Nor ceased the victory's work at last,
That bowed them to the shield and spear, —
Till to the castle's wall they turned,
And entered through the slaughter there; —

Till there they saw, to havoc hewn,
Their Moorish foemen prostrate laid;
Then gave their grateful praise to God,
Who thus vouchsafed his gracious aid.

It is a misfortune that so much of this poem is lost.

[3] Slight extracts from the Beneficiado de Ubeda are in Sanchez, Poesías Anteriores, Tom. I. pp. 116–118. The first stanza, which is like the beginning of several of Berceo's poems, is as follows:

Si me ayudare Christo è la Virgen sagrada,
Querria componer una faccion rimada.
De un confesor que fizo vida honrada,
Que nació en Toledo, en esa Cibdat nombrada.

[4] See, for his life, Sanchez, Tom. I. pp. 100–106, and Tom. IV. pp. ii.–vi.; — and, for an excellent criticism of his works, one in the Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur, 1832, Band LVIII. pp. 220–255. It is by Ferdinand Wolf, and he boldly compares the Archpriest to Cervantes. See also Dozy's important "Recherches," 1849, Tom. I. p. 386.

His works consist of nearly seven thousand verses; and although, in general, they are written in the four-line stanza of Berceo, we find occasionally a variety of measure, tone, and spirit, before unknown in Castilian poetry; the number of their metrical forms, some of which are taken from the Provençal, being reckoned not less than sixteen.[5] The poems, as they have come to us, open with a prayer to God, composed apparently at the time of the Archpriest's imprisonment; when, as one of the manuscripts sets forth, most of his works were written.[6] Next comes a curious prose prologue, explaining the moral purpose of the whole collection, or rather endeavoring to conceal the immoral tendency of the greater part of it. And then, after somewhat more of prefatory matter, follow, in quick succession, the poems themselves, very miscellaneous in their subjects, but ingeniously connected. The entire mass, when taken together, fills a volume of respectable size.[7]

His works.

It is a series of stories, that seem to be sketches of real events in the Archpriest's own life; sometimes mingled with fictions and allegories, that may, after all, be only veils for other facts; and sometimes speaking out plainly, and announcing themselves as parts of his personal history.[8] In the foreground of this busy scene figures the very equivocal character of his female messenger, the chief agent in his love affairs, whom he boldly calls *Trota-conventos*, because the messages she carries are so often to or from monasteries and nunneries.[9] The first

5 Sanchez, Tom. IV. p. x.

6 Ibid., p. 283.

7 The immoral tendency of many of the poems is a point that not only embarrasses the editor of the Archpriest (see p. xvii. and the notes on pp. 76, 97, 102, etc.), but somewhat disturbs the Archpriest himself. (See stanzas 7, 866, etc.) The case, however, is too plain to be covered up; and the editor only partly avoids trouble by quietly leaving out long passages, as from st. 441 to 464, etc.

8 St. 61–68.

9 There is some little obscurity about this important personage (st. 71, 671, and elsewhere); but she was named Urraca (st. 1550), and belonged to the class of persons technically called *Alcahuetas*, or "Go-betweens;" a class which, from the seclusion of women in Spain, and perhaps from the influence of Moorish society and manners, figures largely in the early literature of the country, and sometimes in the later. The Partidas (Part VII. Tit. 22) devotes two laws to them; and the "Tragicomedia of Celestina," who is herself once called Trota-conventos (end of Act II.), is their chief monument. Of their activity in the days of the Archpriest a whimsical proof is given in the extraordinary number of odious and ridiculous names and epithets accumulated on them in st. 898–902.

lady-love to whom the poet sends her is, he says, well taught, — *mucho letrada,* — and her story is illustrated by the fables of the Sick Lion visited by the other Animals, and of the Mountain bringing forth a Mouse. All, however, is unavailing. The lady refuses to favor his suit; and he consoles himself, as well as he may, with the saying of Solomon, that all is vanity and vexation of spirit.[10]

In the next of his adventures, a false friend deceives him and carries off his lady. But still he is not discouraged.[11] He feels himself to be drawn on by his fate, like the son of a Moorish king, whose history he then relates; and, after some astrological ruminations, declares himself to be born under the star of Venus, and inevitably subject to her control. Another failure follows; and then Love comes in person to visit him, and counsels him in a series of fables, which are told with great ease and spirit. The poet answers gravely. He is offended with Don Amor for his falsehood, charges him with being guilty, either by implication or directly, of all the seven deadly sins, and fortifies each of his positions with an appropriate apologue.[12]

The Archpriest now goes to Doña Venus, who, though he knew Ovid, is represented as the wife of Don Amor; and, taking counsel of her, is successful. But the story he relates is evidently a fiction, though it may be accommodated to the facts of the poet's own case. It is borrowed from a dialogue or play, written before the year 1300, by Pamphylus Maurianus or Maurilianus, and long attributed to Ovid; but the Castilian poet has success-

In this connection it may be noted that Alonso Martinez de Toledo, a chaplain of John II., wrote, in the fifteenth century, a book, "De los vicios de las malas mujeres y complisiones de los hombres." Mendez (Typographia, pp. 304–306) gives an account of an edition of 1499, and says there are others of 1518, 1529, and 1547. It commonly passes under an indecent name, and its grossness probably caused it to be so hunted down, that copies of it are excessively rare. I have seen only those in the Imperial Library of Vienna, which are of 1529 and 1547. Although in prose, it is, in some respects, akin to the work of the Archpriest of Hita, but in more to the Celestina. A full account of it may be found in the Blätter fur literarische Unterhaltung, 1850, No. 234.

10 St. 72, etc., 88, etc., 95, etc.

11 When the affair is over, he says, quaintly, "*El* comió la vianda, é a *mi* fiso rumiar."

12 St. 119, 142, etc., 171, etc., 203, etc. Such discoursing as this last passage affords on the seven deadly sins is common in the French Fabliaux, and the English reader finds a striking specimen of it in the "Persone's Tale" of Chaucer.

fully given to what he adopted the coloring of his own national manners. All this portion, which fills above a thousand lines, is somewhat free in its tone; and the Archpriest, alarmed at himself, turns suddenly round and adds a series of severe moral warnings and teachings to the sex, which he as suddenly breaks off, and, without any assigned reason, goes to the mountains near Segovia. But the month in which he makes his journey is March; the season is rough, and several of his adventures are anything but agreeable. Still he preserves the same light and thoughtless air; and this part of his history is mingled with spirited pastoral songs in the Provençal manner, called "Cántigas de Serrana," as the preceding portions had been mingled with fables, which he calls "Enxiemplos," or stories.[13]

A shrine, much frequented by the devout, is near that part of the Sierra where his journeyings lay; and he makes a pilgrimage to it, which he illustrates with sacred hymns, just as he had before illustrated his love adventures with apologues and songs. But Lent approaches, and he hurries home. He is hardly arrived, however, when he receives a summons in form from Doña Quaresma (Madame Lent) to attend her in arms, with all her other archpriests and clergy, in order to make a foray, like a foray into the territory of the Moors, against Don Carnaval and his adherents. One of these allegorical battles, which were in great favor with the Trouveurs and other metre-mongers of the Middle Ages, then follows, in which figure Don Tocino (Mr. Bacon) and Doña Cecina (Mrs. Hung-Beef), with other similar personages. The result, of course, since it is now the season of Lent, is the defeat and imprisonment of Don Carnaval; but when that season closes, the allegorical prisoner necessarily escapes, and,

[13] St. 557–559, with 419 and 548. Pamphylus de Amore, F. A. Ebert, Bibliographisches Lexicon, Leipzig, 1830, 4to, Tom. II. p. 297. P. Leyseri Hist. Poet. Medii Ævi, Halæ, 1721, 8vo, p. 2071. Sanchez, Tom. IV. pp. xxiii., xxiv. The story of Pamphylus in the Archpriest's version is in stanzas 555–865. The story of the Archpriest's own journey is in stanzas 924–1017. The *Serranas* in this portion are, I think, imitations of the *Pastoretas* or *Pastorelles* of the Troubadours. (Raynouard, Troubadours, Tom. II. pp. 229, etc.) If such poems occurred frequently in the Northern French literature of the period, I should think the Archpriest had found his models there, since it is there he generally resorts.

raising anew such followers as Mr. Lunch and Mr. Breakfast, again takes the field, and is again triumphant.[14]

Don Carnaval now unites himself to Don Amor, and both appear in state as emperors. Don Amor is received with especial jubilee: clergy and laity, friars, nuns, and *jongleurs*, going out in wild procession to meet and welcome him.[15] But the honor of formally receiving his Majesty, though claimed by all, and foremost by the nuns, is granted only to the poet. To the poet, too, Don Amor relates his adventures of the preceding winter at Seville and Toledo, and then leaves him to go in search of others. Meanwhile, the Archpriest, with the assistance of his cunning agent, *Trota-conventos*, begins a new series of love intrigues, even more freely mingled with fables than the first, and ends them only by the death of Trota-conventos herself, with whose epitaph the more carefully connected portion of the Archpriest's works is brought to a conclusion. The volume contains, however, besides this portion, several smaller poems, on subjects as widely different as the "Christian's Armor" and the "Praise of Little Women," some of which seem related to the main series, though none of them have any apparent connection with each other.[16]

The character of his poetry.

The tone of the Archpriest's poetry is very various. In general, a satirical spirit prevails in it, not unmingled with a quiet humor. This spirit often extends into the gravest portions; and how fearless he was when he indulged himself in it, a passage on the influence of money and corruption at the court of Rome leaves no doubt.[17] Other parts, like the verses on

[14] St. 1017–1040. The "Bataille des Vins," by D'Andeli, may be cited (Barbazan, ed. Méon, Tom. I. p. 152), but the "Bataille de Karesme et de Charnage" (Ibid., Tom. IV. p. 80) is more in point. There are others on other subjects. For the marvellously savory personages in the Archpriest's battle, see stanzas 1080, 1169, 1170, etc.

[15] St. 1184, etc., 1199–1229. It is not quite easy to see how the Archpriest ventured some things in the last passage. Parts of the procession come singing the most solemn hymns of the Church, or parodies of them, applied to Don Amor, like the *Benedictus qui venit*. It seems downright blasphemy against what was then thought most sacred.

[16] Stanzas 1221, 1229, etc., 1277, etc., 1289, 1491, 1492, etc., 1550, etc., 1553–1681.

[17] Stanzas 464, etc. As in many other passages, the Archpriest is here upon ground already occupied by the Northern French poets. See the "Usurer's Pater-Noster," and "Credo," in Barbazan, Fabliaux, Tom. IV. pp. 99 and 106.

Death, are solemn, and even sometimes tender; while yet others, like the hymns to the Madonna, breathe the purest spirit of Catholic devotion; so that, perhaps, it would not be easy, in the whole body of Spanish literature, to find a volume showing a greater variety in its subjects, or in the modes of managing and exhibiting them.[18]

His tales and apologues.

The happiest success of the Archpriest of Hita is to be found in the many tales and apologues which he has scattered on all sides to illustrate the adventures that constitute a framework for his poetry, like that of the "Conde Lucanor" or the "Canterbury Tales." Most of them are familiar to us, being taken from the old storehouses of Æsop and Phædrus, or rather from the versions of these fabulists common in the earliest Northern French poetry.[19] Among the more fortunate of his very free imitations is the fable of the Frogs who asked for a King from Jupiter, that of the Dog who lost by his Greediness the Meat he carried in his Mouth, and that of the Hares who took Courage when they saw the Frogs were more timid than themselves.[20] A few of them have a truth, a simplicity, and even a grace, which have rarely been surpassed in the same form of composition; as, for instance, that of the City Mouse and the Country Mouse, which, if we follow it from Æsop through Horace to La Fontaine, we shall nowhere find better told than it is by the Archpriest.[21]

18 Stanzas 1494, etc., 1609, etc.

19 The Archpriest says of the fable of the Mountain that brought forth a Mouse, that it "was composed by Isopete." Now, there were at least two collections of fables in French in the thirteenth century that passed under the name of Ysopet, and are published in Robert, "Fables Inédites" (Paris, 1825, 2 Tom. 8vo); and as Marie de France, who lived at the court of Henry III. of England, then the resort of the Northern French poets, alludes to them in the Prologue to her own Fables, they are probably as early as 1240. (See Poésies de Marie de France, ed. Roquefort, Paris, 1820, 8vo, Tom. II. p. 61, and the admirable discussions in De la Rue sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs et les Trouvères, Caen, 1834, 8vo, Tom. I. pp. 198–202, and Tom. III. pp. 47–101.) To one or both of these Isopets the Archpriest went for a part of his fables, —perhaps for all of them. Don Juan Manuel, his contemporary, probably did the same, and sometimes took the same fables; e. g. Conde Lucanor, Capp. 43, 26, and 49, which are the fables of the Archpriest, stanzas 1386, 1411, and 1428.

20 Stanzas 189, 206, 1419.

21 It begins thus, stanza 1344:

Mur de Guadalaxara un Lunés madrugaba,
Fuese à Monferrado, à mercado andaba;
Un mur de franca barba recibiol' en su cava,
Convidol' à yantar e diole una faba.

Estaba en mesa pobre buen gesto è buena cara,
Con la poca vianda buena voluntad para,
A los pobres manjares el plaser los repara,
Pagos del buen talante mur de Guadalaxara.

What strikes us most, however, and remains with us longest after reading his poetry, is the natural and spirited tone that prevails over every other. In this he is like Chaucer, who wrote in the latter part of the same century. Indeed, the resemblance between the two poets is remarkable in some other particulars. Both often sought their materials in the Northern French poetry; both have that mixture of devotion and a licentious immorality, much of which belonged to their age, but some of it to their personal characters; and both show a wide knowledge of human nature, and a great happiness in sketching the details of individual manners. The original temper of each made him satirical and humorous; and each, in his own country, became the founder of some of the forms of its popular poetry, introducing new metres and combinations, and carrying them out in a versification which, though generally rude and irregular, is often flowing and nervous, and always natural. The Archpriest has not, indeed, the tenderness, the elevation, or the general power of Chaucer; but his genius has a compass, and his verse a skill and success, that show him to be more nearly akin to the great English master than will be believed, except by those who have carefully read the works of both.

His merits.

The Archpriest of Hita lived in the last years of Alfonso the Eleventh, and perhaps somewhat later. At the very beginning of the next reign, or in 1350, we find a curious poem addressed by a Jew of Carrion to Peter the Cruel, on his accession to the throne. In the manuscript found in the National Library at Madrid, it is called the "Book of the Rabi de Santob," or "Rabbi Don Santob."[22] The measure is the old *redon-*

The Rabbi de Santob.

And so on through eight more stanzas. Now, besides the Greek attributed to Æsop and the Latin of Horace, there can be found above twenty versions of this fable, among which are two in Spanish: one by Bart. Leon. de Argensola, and the other by Samaniego; but I think the Archpriest's is the best of the whole.

[22] There are at least two manuscripts of the poems of this Jew, from which until lately nothing was published but a few poor extracts. The one commonly cited is that of the Escurial, used by Castro (Biblioteca Española, Tom. I. pp. 198–202), and by Sanchez (Tom. I. pp. 179–184, and Tom. IV. p. 12, etc.). The one I have used is in the National Library, Madrid, marked B. b. 82, folio, in which the poem of the Rabbi is found on leaves 61 to 81. Conde, the historian of the Arabs, preferred this manu-

dilla, uncommonly easy and flowing for the age; and the purpose of the poem is to give wise moral counsels to the new king, which the poet more than once begs him not to undervalue because they come from a Jew.

Because upon a thorn it grows,
  The rose is not less fair;
And wine that from the vine-stock flows
  Still flows untainted there.

The goshawk, too, will proudly soar,
  Although his nest sits low;
And gentle teachings have their power,
  Though 't is the Jew says so.[28]

script to the one in the Escurial, and held the Rabbi's true name to be given in it, namely, *Santob*, and not *Santo*, as it is in the manuscript of the Escurial; the latter being a name not likely to be taken by a Jew in the time of Peter the Cruel, though very likely to be written so by an ignorant monkish transcriber. The manuscript of Madrid begins thus, differing from that of the Escurial, as may be seen in Castro, ut sup.:

Señor Rey, noble, alto,
  Oy este Sermon,
Que vyene desyr Santob,
  Judio de Carrion.

Comunalmente trobado,
  De glosas moralmente,
De la Filosofia sacado,
  Segunt que va syguiente.

My noble King and mighty Lord,
  Hear a discourse most true;
'T is Santob brings your Grace the word,
  Of Carrion's town the Jew.

In plainest verse my thoughts I tell,
  With gloss and moral free,
Drawn from Philosophy's pure well,
  As onward you may see.

The oldest notice of the Jew of Carrion is in the letter of the Marquis of Santillana to the Constable of Portugal, from which there can be no doubt that the Rabbi still enjoyed much reputation in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Jews, indeed, down to the time of their expulsion from Spain, in 1492, and even later, often appear in the history of Spanish Literature. This was natural; for the Jews of Spain, from the appearance in 962 of four learned Talmudists, who were carried there by pirates, down to the fifteenth century, were more strongly marked by elegant culture than were their countrymen at the same period in any other part of Europe. Of Hebrew poetry in the Hebrew language, —which begins in Spain with the Rabbi Salomo ben Jehudah Gabirol, who died in 1064,—a history has been written entitled Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien, von Dr. Michael Sachs (Berlin, 1845, 8vo). But the great repository of everything relating to the culture of the Spanish Jews is the Biblioteca of Rodriguez de Castro, Tom. I., mentioned *ante*, p. 23, note. It may be worth while to add that, during the Moorish occupation of Spain, the Jews partook often of the Arabic culture, then so prevalent and brilliant;—a striking instance of which may be found in the case of the Castilian Jew, Juda ha-Levi, who took also the Arabic cognomen of Abu'l Hassan, and whose poems were translated into German, and published by A. Geiger, at Breslau, in a very small, neat volume, in 1851. Juda was born about 1080, and died, probably, soon after 1140.

Por nascer en el espino,
  No val la rosa cierto
Menos; ni el buen vino,
  Por nascer en el sarmyento.

Non val el açor menos,
  Por nascer de mal nido;
Nin los exemplos buenos,
  Por los decir Judio.

These lines seem better given in the Escurial manuscript, as follows:

After a longer introduction than is needful, the moral counsels begin at the fifty-fourth stanza, and continue through the rest of the work, which, in its general tone, is not unlike other didactic poetry of the period, although it is written with more ease and more poetical spirit. Indeed, it is little to say that few Rabbins of any country have given us such quaint and pleasant verses as are contained in several parts of these curious counsels of the Jew of Carrion.

In the Escurial manuscript, containing the verses of the Jew, are other poems, which were at one time attributed to him, but which it seems probable belong to other, though unknown authors.[24] One of them is a didactic

Por nascer en el espino,
La rosa ya non siento,
Que pierde ; ni el buen vino,
Por salir del sarmiento.

Non vale el açor menos,
Porque en vil nido siga ;
Nin los enxemplos buenos,
Porque Judio los diga.

The manuscripts ought to be collated, and this curious poem published. See App. H.

After a preface in prose, which seems to be by another hand, and an address to the king by the poet himself, he goes on :

Quando el Rey Don Alfonso
Fynò, fyncò la gente,
Como quando el pulso
Fallesçe al dolliente.

Que luego no ayudava,
Que tan grant mejoria
A ellos fyncava
Nin omen lo entendia.

Quando la rosa seca
En su tiempo sale,
El agua que della fynca,
Rosada que mas vale.

Asi vos fyncastes del
Para mucho tu far,
Et facer lo que el
Cobdiciaba librar, etc.

One of the philosophical stanzas is very quaint :

Quando no es lo que quiero,
Quiero yo lo que es ;
Si pesar he primero,
Plaser ayré despues.

If what I find, I do not love,
Then love I what I find ;
If disappointment go before,
Joy sure shall come behind.

The Marquis of Santillana has the same quaintness of expression when writing to his son, a student at the University of Salamanca, a century later. E pues non podemos aver aquello que queremos, queramos aquello que podemos, Obras, 1852, p. 482.

I add from the original :

Las mys canas teñilas,
Non por las avorrescer,
Ni por desdesyrlas,
Nin mancebo parescer.

Mas con miedo sobejo
De omes que bastarian *
En mi seso de viejo,
E non lo fallarian.

My hoary locks I dye with care,
Not that I hate their hue,
Nor yet because I wish to seem
More youthful than is true.

But 't is because the words I dread
Of men who speak me fair,
And ask within my whitened head
For wit that is not there.

[24] Castro, Bibl. Esp., Tom. I. p. 199. Sanchez, Tom. I. p. 182 ; Tom. IV. p. xii.

I am aware that Don José Amador de los Rios, in his "Estudios Históricos, Políticos y Literarios sobre los Judios de España," a learned and pleasant book published at Madrid in 1848, is of a different

* buscarian ?

essay, called "La Doctrina Christiana," or Christian Doctrine. It consists of a prose prologue, setting forth the writer's penitence, and of one hundred and fifty-seven stanzas of four lines each; the first three containing eight syllables, rhymed together, and the last containing four syllables, unrhymed, — a metrical form not without something of the air of the Sapphic and Adonic. The body of the work contains an explanation of the creed, the ten commandments, the seven moral virtues, the fourteen works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the five senses, and the holy sacraments, with discussions concerning Christian conduct and character.

The Doctrina Christiana.

Another of these poems is called a Revelation, and is a vision, in twenty-five octave stanzas, of a holy hermit, who is supposed to have witnessed a contest between a soul and its body; the soul complaining that the excesses of the body had brought upon it all the punishments of the unseen world, and the body retorting, that it was condemned to these same torments because the soul had neglected to keep it in due subjection.[25] The

Una Revelacion.

opinion, and holds the three poems, including the Doctrina Christiana, to be the work of Don Santo or Santob of Carrion. (See pp. 304–335.) But I think the objections to this opinion are stronger than the reasons he gives to support it; especially the objections involved in the following facts, namely, that Don Santob calls himself a Jew; that both the manuscripts of the Consejos call him a Jew; that the Marquis of Santillana, the only tolerably early authority that mentions him, calls him a Jew; that no one of them intimates that he ever was converted, — a circumstance likely to have been much blazoned abroad, if it had really occurred; and that, if he were an unconverted Jew, it is wholly impossible he should have written the Dança General, the Doctrina Christiana, or the Ermitaño.

[25] Castro, Bibl. Esp., Tom. I. p. 201. By the kindness of Prof. Gayangos, I have a copy of the whole. To judge from the opening lines of the poem, it was probably written in 1382: —

Despues de la prima la ora passada,
En el mes de Enero la noche primera
En CCCC e veynte durante la hera,
Estando acostado alla en mi posada, etc.

The first of January, 1420, of the Spanish Era, when the scene is laid, corresponds to A. D. 1382. A copy of the poem, printed at Madrid, 1848, 12mo, pp. 13, differs from my manuscript copy, but is evidently taken from one less carefully made.

A fragment of the same poem was published at Madrid, in 1856, 18mo, pp. 16. It consists, however, of only thirty-seven lines, and bears so many marks of carelessness and ignorance, that it does not seem possible to determine its age with any degree of precision; — its rudeness of language and spelling resulting as much, probably, from the vulgar incompetency of the writer and copyist, as from the period in which either may have lived. It has, however, some touch of the Provençal in its language, and is, in any event, among the early specimens of verse in the peninsula. Its editor thinks it was used for the French version, published by Wright, and referred to in the next note. But the Latin is older than either, and more likely to be the prototype of both.

whole is an imitation of some of the many similar poems current at that period, one of which is extant in English in a manuscript placed by Warton about the year 1304.[26] But both the Castilian poems are of little worth.

We come, then, to one of more value, "La Dança General," or the Dance of Death, consisting of seventy-nine regular octave stanzas, preceded by a few words of introduction in prose; that do not seem to be by the same author.[27] It is founded on the well-known fiction, so often illustrated both in painting and in verse during the Middle Ages, that all men, of all conditions, are summoned to the Dance of Death; a kind of spiritual masquerade, in which the different ranks of society, from the Pope to the young child, appear dancing with the skeleton form of Death. In this Spanish version it is striking and picturesque, — more so, perhaps, than in any other, — the ghastly nature of the subject being brought into a very lively contrast with the festive tone of the verses, which frequently recalls some of the better parts of those flowing stories that now and then occur in the "Mirror for Magistrates."[28]

The Danza General.

The first seven stanzas of the Spanish poem constitute a prologue, in which Death issues his summons partly in his

[26] Hist. of Eng. Poetry, Sect. 24, near the end. It appears also in French very early, under the title of "Le Débat du Corps et de l'Ame," printed in 1486. (Ebert, Bib. Lexicon, Nos. 5671–5674.) The source of the fiction has been supposed to be a poem by a Frankish monk (Hagen und Büsching, Grundriss, Berlin, 1812, 8vo, p. 446); but it is very old, and found in many forms and many languages. See Latin poems attributed to Walter Mapes, and edited for the Camden Society by T. Wright (1841, 4to, pp. 95 and 321). It was printed in the ballad form in Spain as late as 1764.

[27] Castro, Bibl. Española, Tom. I. p. 200. Sanchez, Tom. I. pp. 182–185, with Tom. IV. p. xii. I suspect the Spanish Dance of Death is an imitation from the French, because I find, in several of the early editions, the French Dance of Death is united, as the Spanish is in the manuscript of the Escurial, with the "Débat du Corps et de l'Ame," just as the "Vows over the Peacock" seems, in both languages, to have been united to a poem on Alexander.

[28] In what a vast number of forms this strange fiction occurs may be seen in the elaborate work of F. Douce, entitled "Dance of Death" (London, 1833, 8vo), and in the "Literatur der Todtentänze," von H. F. Massmann (Leipzig, 1840, 8vo). To these, however, for our purpose, should be added notices from the Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek (Berlin, 1792, Vol. CVI. p. 279), and a series of prints that appeared at Lubec in 1783, folio, taken from the paintings there, which date from 1463, and which might well serve to illustrate the old Spanish poem. See also K. F. A. Scheller, Bücherkunde der Sässisch-niederdeutschen Sprache, Braunschweig, 1826, 8vo, p. 75. The whole immense series, whether existing in the paintings at Basle, Hamburg, etc., or in the old poems in all languages, one of which is by Lydgate, were undoubtedly intended for religious edification, just as the Spanish poem was.

own person, and partly in that of a preaching friar, ending thus:

Come to the Dance of Death, all ye whose fate
  By birth is mortal, be ye great or small;
And willing come, nor loitering, nor late,
  Else force shall bring you struggling to my thrall:
  For since yon friar hath uttered loud his call
To penitence and godliness sincere,
He that delays must hope no waiting here;
  For still the cry is, Haste! and, Haste to all!

Death now proceeds, as in the old pictures and poems, to summon, first, the Pope, then cardinals, kings, bishops, and so on, down to day-laborers; all of whom are forced to join his mortal dance, though each at first makes some remonstrance, that indicates surprise, horror, or reluctance. The call to youth and beauty is spirited:

Bring to my dance, and bring without delay,
  Those damsels twain, you see so bright and fair;
They came, but came not in a willing way,
  To list my chants of mortal grief and care:
  Nor shall the flowers and roses fresh they wear,
Nor rich attire, avail their forms to save.
They strive in vain who strive against the grave;
  It may not be; my wedded brides they are.[29]

The fiction is, no doubt, a grim one; but for several centuries it had great success throughout Europe, and it is presented quite as much according to its true spirit in this old Castilian poem as it is anywhere.

[29] I have a manuscript copy of the whole poem, made for me by Professor Gayangos, and give the following as specimens. First, one of the stanzas translated in the text:

A esta mi Danza traye de presente
  Estas dos donçellas que vedes fermosas;
Ellas vinieron de muy mala mente
  A oyr mis canciones que son dolorosas.
  Mas non les valdran flores ny rosas,
Nin las composturas que poner solian.
De mi si pudiesen partir se querrian,
  Mas non puede ser, que son mis esposas.

And the two following, which have not, I believe, been printed; the first being the reply of Death to the Dean he had summoned, and the last the objections of the Merchant:

Dice la Muerte.

Don rico avariento Dean muy ufano,
  Que vuestros dineros trocastes en oro,
A pobres e a viudas cerrastes la mano,
  E mal despendistes el vuestro tesoro,
  Non quiero que estedes ya mas en el coro
Salid luego fuera sin otra peresa.
Ya vos mostraré venir à pobresa. —
  Venit, Mercadero, a la dança del lloro.

Dice el Mercader.

A quien dexaré todas mis riquesas,
  E mercadurias, que traygo en la mar?
Con muchos traspasos e mas sotilesas
  Gané lo que tengo en cada lugar.
  Agora la muerte vinó me llamar;
Que sera de mi, non se que me faga.
O muerte tu sierra á mi es gran plaga.
  Adios, Mercaderes, que voyme á finar

A chronicling poem, found in the same manuscript volume with the last, but very unskilfully copied in a different handwriting, belongs probably to the same period. It is on the half-fabulous, half-historical achievements of Count Fernan Gonzalez; a hero of the earlier period of the Christian conflict with the Moors, who is to the North of Spain what the Cid became somewhat later to Aragon and Valencia. To him is attributed the rescue of much of Castile from Mohammedan control; and his achievements, so far as they are matter of historical rather than poetical record, fall between 934, when the battle of Osma was fought, and his death, which occurred in 970.

Fernan Gonzalez.

The poem in question is almost wholly devoted to his glory.[30] It begins with a notice of the invasion of Spain by the Goths, and comes down to the battle of Moret, in 967, when the manuscript suddenly breaks off, leaving untouched the adventures of its hero during the three remaining years of his life. It is essentially prosaic and monotonous in its style, yet not without something of that freshness and simplicity which are in themselves allied to all early poetry. Its language is rude, and its measure, which strives to be like that in Berceo and the poem of Apollonius, is often in stanzas of three lines instead of four, sometimes of five, and once, at least, of nine. Like Berceo's poem on San Domingo de Silos, it opens with an invocation, and, what is singular, this invocation is in the very words used by Berceo: "In the name of the Father, who made all things," etc. After this, the history, beginning in the days of the Goths, follows the popular traditions of the country, with few exceptions, the most remarkable of which occurs in the notice of the Moorish invasion. There the account is quite anomalous. No intimation is given of the story of

[30] See a learned dissertation of Fr. Benito Montejo, on the Beginnings of the Independence of Castile, Memorias de la Acad. de Hist., Tom. III. pp. 245–302. Crónica General de España, Parte III. c. 18–20. Duran, Romances Caballerescos, Madrid, 1832, 12mo, Tom. II. pp. 27–39. Extracts from the manuscript in the Escurial are to be found in Bouterwek, trad. por J. G. de la Cortina, etc., Tom. I. pp. 154–161. I have a manuscript copy of the first part of it, made for me by Professor Gayangos. For notices, see Castro, Bibl., Tom. I. p. 199, and Sanchez, Tom. I. p. 115.

the fair Cava, whose fate has furnished materials for so much poetry; but Count Julian is represented as having, without any private injury, volunteered his treason to the King of Morocco, and then carried it into effect by persuading Don Roderic, in full Cortes, to turn all the military weapons of the land into implements of agriculture, so that, when the Moorish invasion occurred, the country was overrun without difficulty.

The death of the Count of Toulouse, on the other hand, is described as it is in the "General Chronicle" of Alfonso the Wise; and so are the vision of Saint Millan, and the Count's personal fights with a Moorish king and the King of Navarre. In truth, many passages in the poem so much resemble the corresponding passages in the Chronicle, that it seems certain one was used in the composition of the other; and as the poem has more the air of being an amplification of the Chronicle than the Chronicle has of being an abridgment of the poem, it seems probable that the prose account is, in this case, the older, and furnished the materials of the poem, which, from internal evidence, was prepared for public recitation.[31]

The meeting of Fernan Gonzalez with the King of Navarre at the battle of Valparé, which occurs in both, is thus described in the poem:

And now the King and Count were met together in the fight,
And each against the other turned the utmost of his might,
Beginning there a battle fierce in furious despite.

And never fight was seen more brave, nor champions more true;
For to rise or fall for once and all they fought, as well they knew;

[31] Crónica General, ed. 1604, Parte III. f. 55, b, 60. a–65. b. Compare, also, Cap. 19, and Mariana, Historia, Lib. VIII. c. 7, with the poem. That the poem was taken from the Chronicle may be assumed, I conceive, from a comparison of the Chronicle, Parte III. c. 18, near the end, containing the defeat and death of the Count of Toulouse, with the passage in the poem as given by Cortina, and beginning "Cavalleros Tolesanos trezientos y prendieron;" or the vision of San Millan (Crónica, Parte III. c. 19) with the passage in the poem beginning "El Cryador te otorga quanto pedido le as." Perhaps, however, the following, being a mere rhetorical illustration, is a proof as striking, if not as conclusive, as a longer one. The Chronicle says (Parte III. c. 18), "Non cuentan de Alexandre los dias nin los años; mas los buenos fechos e las sus cavallerias que fizo." The poem has it, in almost the same words:

Non cuentan de Alexandre las noches nin los dias;
Cuentan sus buenos fechos e sus cavalleryas.

And neither, as each inly felt, a greater deed could do ;
So they struck and strove right manfully, with blows nor light nor few.

Ay, mighty was that fight indeed, and mightier still about
The din that rose like thunder round those champions brave and stout :
A man with all his voice might cry, and none would heed his shout ;
For he that listened could not hear, amidst such rush and rout.

The blows they struck were heavy ; heavier blows there could not be ;
On both sides, to the uttermost, they struggled manfully,
And many, that ne'er rose again, bent to the earth the knee,
And streams of blood o'erspread the ground, as on all sides you might see.

And knights were there from good Navarre, both numerous and bold,
Whom everywhere for brave and strong true gentlemen would hold ;
But still against the good Count's might their strength proved weak and cold,
Though men of great emprise before and fortune manifold.

For God's good grace still kept the Count from sorrow and from harm,
That neither Moor nor Christian power should stand against his arm, etc.[32]

This is certainly not poetry of a high order. Invention and dignified ornament are wanting in it; but still it is not without spirit, and, at any rate, it would be difficult to find in the whole poem a passage more worthy of regard.

The Poema de José.

In the National Library at Madrid is a poem of twelve hundred and twenty lines, composed in the same system of quaternion rhymes that we have already noticed as settled in the old Castilian literature, and with irregularities like those found in the whole class of poems to which it belongs. Its subject is Joseph, the son of Jacob ; but there are two circumstances which distin-

[32] El Rey y el Conde ambos se ayuntaron,
El uno contra el otro ambos endereçaron,
E la lid campal alli la escomençaron.

Non podrya mas fuerte ni mas brava ser,
Ca alli les yva todo levantar o caer ;
El nin el Rey non podya ninguno mas façer,
Los unos y los otros façian todo su poder.

Muy grande fue la façienda e mucho mas el roydo ;
Daria el ome muy grandes voces, y non seria oydo.
El que oydo fuese seria como grande tronydo ;
Non podrya oyr voces ningun apellido.

Grandes eran los golpes, que mayores non podian ;
Los unos y los otros todo su poder façian ;
Muchos cayan en tierra que nunca se ençian ;
De sangre los arroyos mucha tierra cobryan.

Asas eran los Navarros cavalleros esforçados
Que en qualquier lugar seryan buenos y priados.
Mas es contra el Conde todos desaventurados ;
Omes son de gran cuenta y de coraçon loçanos.

Quiso Dios al buen Conde esta gracia façer,
Que Moros ni Crystyanos non le podian vençer, etc.
Bouterwek, Trad. Cortina, p. 160.

guish it from the other narrative poetry of the period, and render it curious and important. The first is, that, though composed in the Spanish language, it is written wholly in the Arabic character, and has, therefore, all the appearance of an Arabic manuscript; to which should be added the fact, that the metre and spelling are accommodated to the force of the Arabic vowels, so that, if neither of the manuscripts of it now known to exist be the original, it must still have been originally written in the same manner. The other singular circumstance is, that the story of the poem, which is the familiar one of Joseph and his brethren, is not told according to the original in our Hebrew Scriptures, but according to the shorter and less poetical version in the twelfth chapter of the Koran, with occasional variations and additions, some of which are due to the fanciful expounders of the Koran, while others may be of the author's own invention. These two circumstances taken together leave no reasonable doubt, that the writer of the poem was one of the many Moriscos who, remaining at the North after the body of the nation had been driven southward, had forgotten their native language and adopted that of their conquerors, though their religion and culture still continued to be Arabic.[33]

The "Poem of Joseph" is imperfect at the end, and is known to exist in only two manuscripts, both in the Arabic character. Not much of it, however, seems to be lost. It opens, after a few introductory stanzas, with the jealousy of the brothers of Joseph at his dream, and their solicitation of their father to let him go with them to the field.

[33] A good many other manuscripts of this sort are known to exist; but I am not aware of any so old, or of such poetical value. (Ochoa, Catálogo de Manuscritos Españoles, etc., pp. 6–21. Gayangos, Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, Tom. I. pp. 492 and 503.) As to the spelling in the Poem of Joseph, we have *sembraredes*, *chiriador*, *certero*, *marabella*, *taraydores*, etc. To avoid a hiatus, a consonant is prefixed to the second word; as, "cada *g*uno" repeatedly for *cada uno*. The manuscript of the Poema de José, in 4to, 49 leaves, was first shown to me in the Public Library at Madrid, marked G. g. 101, by Conde, the historian; but I owe a copy of the whole of it to the kindness of Don Pascual de Gayangos, Professor of Arabic in the University there.

Then up and spake his sons: "Sire, do not deem it so;
Ten brethren are we here, this very well you know;
That we should all be traitors, and treat him as a foe,
You either will not fear, or you will not let him go.

"But this is what we thought, as our Maker knows above:
That the child might gain more knowledge, and with it gain our love,
To show him all our shepherd's craft, as with flocks and herds we move;
But still the power is thine to grant, and thine to disapprove."

And then they said so much with words so smooth and fair,
And promised him so faithfully with words of tender care,
That he gave them up his child; but bade them first beware,
And bring him quickly back again, unharmed by any snare.[34]

When the brothers have consummated their treason, and sold Joseph to a caravan of Egyptian merchants, the story goes on much as it does in the Koran. The fair Zuleikha, or Zuleia, who answers to Potiphar's wife in the Hebrew Scriptures, and who figures largely in Mohammedan poetry, fills a space more ample than usual in the fancies of the present poem. Joseph, too, is a more considerable personage. He is adopted as the king's son, and made a king in the land; and the dreams of the real king, the years of plenty and famine, the journeyings of the brothers to Egypt, their recognition by Joseph, and his message to Jacob, with the grief of the latter that Benjamin did not return, at which the manuscript breaks off, are much amplified, in the Oriental manner, and made to sound like passages from "Antar," or the "Arabian Nights," rather than from the touching and beautiful story to which we have been accustomed from our childhood.

Among the inventions of the author is a conversation which the wolf — who is brought in by the false brethren as the very animal that had killed Joseph — holds with

34 Dijieron sus filhos: "Padre, eso no pensedes;
Somos diez ermanos, eso bien sabedes;
Seriamos taraidores, eso no dubdedes;
Mas, empero, si no vos place, aced lo que queredes.

"Mas aquesto pensamos, sabelo el Criador;
Porque supiese mas, i ganase el nuestro amor,
Enseñarle aiemos las obelhas, i el ganado mayor;
Mas, enpero, si no vos place, mandad como señor."

Tanto le dijeron, de palabras fermosas,
Tanto le prometieron, de palabras piadosas,
Que el les dió el ninno, dijoles las oras,
Que lo guardasen a el de manos enganosas.

(Poema de José, from the MS. in the King's Library, Madrid.)

Jacob.[35] Another is the Eastern fancy that the measure by which Joseph distributed the corn, and which was made of gold and precious stones, would, when put to his ear, inform him whether the persons present were guilty of falsehood to him.[36] But the following incident, which, like that of Joseph's parting in a spirit of tender forgiveness from his brethren[37] when they sold him, is added to the narrative of the Koran, will better illustrate the general tone of the poem, as well as the general powers of the poet.

On the first night after the outrage, Jusuf, as he is called in the poem, when travelling along in charge of a negro, passes a cemetery on a hill-side where his mother lies buried.

And when the negro heeded not, that guarded him behind,
From off the camel Jusuf sprang, on which he rode confined,
And hastened, with all speed, his mother's grave to find,
Where he knelt and pardon sought, to relieve his troubled mind.

He cried, "God's grace be with thee still, O Lady mother dear!
O, mother, you would sorrow, if you looked upon me here;
For my neck is bound with chains, and I live in grief and fear,
Like a traitor by my brethren sold, like a captive to the spear.

"They have sold me! they have sold me! though I never did them harm;
They have torn me from my father, from his strong and living arm;
By art and cunning they enticed me, and by falsehood's guilty charm,
And I go a base-bought captive, full of anguish and alarm."

[35] Rogo Jacob al Criador, e al lobo fue a fablar;
Dijo el lobo: "No lo mando Allàh, que a nabi* fuese a matar,
En tan estranna tierra me fueron á cazar,
Anme fecho pecado, i lebanme a lazrar."
MS.

[36] La mesura del pan de oro era labrada,
E de piedras preciosas era estrellada,
I era de ver toda con guisa enclabada,
Que fazia saber al Rey la berdad apurada.
. . . . . .
E firio el Rey en la mesura e fizola sonar,
Pone la á su orella por oir e guardar;
Dijoles, e no quiso mas dudar,
Segun dize la mesura, berdad puede estar.
MS.

It is Joseph who is here called king, as he is often in the poem, — once he is called emperor, — though the Pharaoh of the period is fully recognized; and this costly measure, made of gold and precious stones, corresponds to the cup of the Hebrew account, and is found, like that, in the sack of Benjamin, where it had been put by Joseph (after he had secretly revealed himself to Benjamin), as the means of seizing Benjamin and detaining him in Egypt, with his own consent, but without giving his false brethren the reason for it.

[37] Dijo Jusuf: "Ermanos, perdoneos el Criador,
Del tuerto que me tenedes, perdoneos el Señor,
Que para siempre e nunca se parta el nuestro amor."
Abrasò a cada guno, e partiòse con dolor.
MS.

* *Nabi*, Prophet, Arabic.

But now the negro looked about, and knew that he was gone,
For no man could be seen, and the camel came alone;
So he turned his sharpened ear, and caught the wailing tone,
Where Jusuf, by his mother's grave, lay making heavy moan.

And the negro hurried up, and gave him there a blow;
So quick and cruel was it, that it instant laid him low.
"A base-born wretch," he cried aloud, "a base-born thief art thou;
Thy masters, when we purchased thee, they told us it was so."

But Jusuf answered straight, "Nor thief nor wretch am I;
My mother's grave is this, and for pardon here I cry;
I cry to Allah's power, and send my prayer on high,
That, since I never wronged thee, his curse may on thee lie."

And then all night they travelled on, till dawned the coming day,
When the land was sore tormented with a whirlwind's furious sway;
The sun grew dark at noon, their hearts sunk in dismay,
And they knew not, with their merchandise, to seek or make their way.[38]

The age and origin of this remarkable poem can be settled only by internal evidence. From this it seems probable that it was written in Aragon, because it contains many words and phrases peculiar to the border country of the Provençals,[39] and that it dates not far from the year 1400, because the four-fold rhyme is hardly found later in such verses, and because the rudeness of the language might indicate even an earlier period, if the tale had come from Castile. But, in whatever period we may

[38] Dio salto del camello, donde iba cabalgando;
No lo sintio el negro, que lo iba guardando;
Fuese a la fuesa de su madre, a pediria perdon doblando,
Jusuf a la fuesa tan apriesa llorando.

Disiendo: "Madre, sennora, perdoneos el Sennor;
Madre, si me bidieses, de mi abriais dolor;
Boi con cadenas al cuello, catibo con sennor,
Bendido de mis ermanos, como si fuera traidor.

"Ellos me han bendido, no teniendoles tuerto;
Partieronme de mi padre, ante que fuese muerto;
Con arte, con falsia, ellos me obieron buelto;
Por mal precio me han bendido, por do boi ajado e cucito."

E bolbiose el negro ante la camella,
Requiriendo à Jusuf, e no lo bido en ella;
E bolbiose por el camino aguda su orella,
Bidolo en el fosal llorando, que es marabella.

E fuese alla el negro, e obolo mal ferido,
E luego en aquella ora caio amortesido;
Dijo, "Tu eres malo, e ladron conpilido;
Ansi nos lo dijeron tus señores que te hubieron bendido."

Dijo Jusuf: "No soi malo, ni ladron,
Mas, aqui iaz mi madre, e bengola a dar perdon;
Ruego ad Allah i a el fago loaiçon,
Que, si colpa no te tengo, te enbie su maldicion."

Andaron aquella noche fasta otro dia,
Entorbioseles el mundo, gran bento corria,
Afallezioseles el sol al ora de mediodia,
No vedian por do ir con la mercaderia.
Poema de José, MS.

[39] This is apparent also in the addition sometimes made of an *o* or an *a* to a word ending with a consonant, as *mercadero* for *mercader*.

place it, it is a curious and interesting production. It has the directness and simplicity of the age to which it is attributed, mingled sometimes with a tenderness rarely found in ages so violent. Its pastoral air, too, and its preservation of Oriental manners, harmonize well with the Arabian feelings that prevail throughout the work; while in its spirit, and occasionally in its moral tone, it shows the confusion of the two religions which then prevailed in Spain, and that mixture of the Eastern and Western forms of civilization which afterwards gives somewhat of its coloring to Spanish poetry.[40]

The Rimado de Palacio.

The last poem belonging to these earliest specimens of Castilian literature is the "Rimado de Palacio," on the duties of kings and nobles in the government of the state, with sketches of the manners and vices of the times, which, as the poem maintains, it is the duty of the great to rebuke and reform. It is chiefly written in the four-line stanzas of the period to which it belongs; and, beginning with a penitential confession of its author, goes on with a discussion of the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins, the seven works of mercy, and other religious subjects; after which it treats of the government of a state, of royal counsellors, of merchants, of men of learning, tax-gatherers, and others; and then ends, as it began, with exercises of devotion. Its author is Pedro Lopez de Ayala, the chronicler, of whom it is enough to say here that he was among the most distinguished Spaniards of his time, that he held some of the highest offices of the kingdom under Peter the Cruel, Henry the Second, John the First, and Henry the Third, and that he died in 1407, at the age of seventy-five.[41]

40 Thus, the merchant who buys Joseph talks of Palestine as "the Holy Land," and Pharaoh talks of making Joseph a Count. But the general tone is Oriental.

41 For the Rimado de Palacio, see Bouterwek, trad. de Cortina, Tom. I. pp. 138–154, and Revista Española, Deciembre, 1832. The whole poem consists of one thousand six hundred and nineteen stanzas. For notices of Ayala, see Chap. IX.

A poetical version of some of the Proverbs of Solomon is also attributed to the Chancellor Ayala; and it is possible that a MS. in the possession of the Academy of History at Madrid is the "Book of Hunting" which Hernan Perez del Pulgar, in his Generaciones y Semblanzas (Cap. VII.), says Ayala wrote. (See the Spanish Translation of this History, Tom. I. 1851, pp. 506–508.)

The "Rimado de Palacio," which may be translated "Court Rhymes," was the production of different periods of Ayala's life. Twice he marks the year in which he was writing, and from these dates we know that parts of it were certainly composed in 1398 and 1404, while yet another part seems to have been written during his imprisonment in England, which followed the defeat of Henry of Trastamara by the Duke of Lancaster, in 1367. On the whole, therefore, the Rimado de Palacio is to be placed near the conclusion of the fourteenth century, and, by its author's sufferings in an English prison, reminds us both of the Duke of Orleans and of James the First of Scotland, who, at the same time and under similar circumstances, showed a poetical spirit not unlike that of the great Chancellor of Castile.

In some of its subdivisions, particularly in those that have a lyrical tendency. the Rimado resembles some of the lighter poems of the Archpriest of Hita. Others are composed with care and gravity, and express the solemn thoughts that filled him during his captivity. But, in general, it has a quiet, didactic tone, such as beseems its subject and its age ; one, however, in which we occasionally find a satirical spirit that could not be suppressed, when the old statesman discusses the manners that offended him. Thus, speaking of the *Letrados*, or lawyers, he says :[42]

When entering on a lawsuit, if you ask for their advice,
They sit down very solemnly, their brows fall in a trice.
"A question grave is this," they say, "and asks for labor nice ;
To the Council it must go, and much management implies.

"I think, perhaps, in time I can help you in the thing,
By dint of labor long, and grievous studying ;
But other duties I must leave, away all business fling,
Your case alone must study, and to you alone must cling."[43]

[42] *Letrado* has continued to be used to mean a *lawyer* in Spanish down to our day, as *clerk* has to mean a *writer* in English, though the original signification of both was different. When Sancho goes to his island, he is said to be "parte de letrado, parte de Capitan ;" and Guillen de Castro, in his "Mal Casados de Valencia," Act III., says of a great rogue, "engaño como letrado." A description of Letrados, worthy of Tacitus for its deep satire, is to be found in the first book of Mendoza's "Guerra de Grenada."

[43] The passage is in Cortina's notes to Bouterwek, and begins ·

Somewhat further on, when he speaks of justice, whose administration had been so lamentably neglected in the civil wars during which he lived, he takes his graver tone, and speaks with a wisdom and gentleness we should hardly have expected:

True justice is a noble thing, that merits all renown;
It fills the land with people, checks the guilty with its frown;
But kings, that should uphold its power, in thoughtlessness look down,
And forget the precious jewel that gems their honored crown.

And many think by cruelty its duties to fulfil,
But their wisdom all is cunning, for justice doth no ill;
With pity and with truth it dwells, and faithful men will still
From punishment and pain turn back, as sore against their will.[44]

There is naturally a good deal in the Rimado de Palacio that savors of statesmanship; as, for instance, nearly all that relates to royal favorites, to war, and to the manners of the palace; but the general air of the poem, or rather of the different short poems that make it up, is fairly represented in the preceding passages. It is grave, gentle, and didactic, with now and then a few lines of a simple and earnest poetical feeling, which seem to belong quite as much to their age as to their author.

Earliest Castilian literature.

We have now gone over a considerable portion of the earliest Castilian literature, and quite completed an examination of that part of it which, at first epic, and afterwards didactic, in its tone, is found in long, irregular verses, with quadruple rhymes. It is all curious. Much of it is picturesque and interesting; and when to what has been already examined we shall have

Si quisiers sobre un pleyto d' ellos aver consejo,
Ponense soiemnmente, luego abaxan el cejo:
Dis: "Grant question es esta, grant trabajo sobejo:
El pleyto sera luengo, ca atañe a to el consejo.

"Yo pienso que podria aqui algo ayudar,
Tomando grant trabajo mis libros estudiar;
Mas todos mis negoçios me conviene á dexar,
E solamente en aqueste vuestro pleyto estudiar."

[44] The original reads thus:

Aqui fabla de la Justicia.
Justicia que es virtud atan noble e loada,
Que castiga los malos e ha la tierra poblada,
Devenla guardar Reyes é la tien olvidada,
Siendo piedra preciosa de su corona onrrada.

Muchos ha que por cruesa cuydan justicia fer;
Mas pecan en la maña, ca justicia ha de ser
Con toda piedat, e la verdat bien saber:
Al fer la execucion siempre se han de doler.

Don José Amador de los Rios has given further extracts from the Rimado de Palacio in a pleasant paper on it in the Semanario Pintoresco, Madrid, 1847, p. 411.

added the ballads and chronicles, the romances of chivalry and the drama, the whole will be found to constitute a broad basis, on which the genuine literary culture of Spain has rested ever since.

But, before we go further, we must pause an instant, and notice some of the peculiarities of the period we have just considered. It extends from a little before the year 1200 to a little after the year 1400; and, both in its poetry and prose, is marked by features not to be mistaken. Some of these features were separate and national; others were not. Thus, in Provence, which was long united with Aragon, and exercised an influence throughout the whole Peninsula, the popular poetry, from its light-heartedness, was called the *Gaya Sciencia*, and was essentially unlike the grave and measured tone heard over every other on the Spanish side of the mountains; in the more northern parts of France, a garrulous, story-telling spirit was paramount; and in Italy, Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, had just appeared, unlike all that had preceded them, and all that was anywhere contemporary with their glory. On the other hand, however, several of the characteristics of the earliest Castilian literature, such as the chronicling and didactic spirit of most of its long poems, its protracted, irregular verses, and its redoubled rhymes, belong to the old Spanish bards in common with those of the countries we have just enumerated, where, at the same period, a poetical spirit was struggling for a place in the elements of their unsettled civilization.

Its faith and loyalty.

But there are two traits of the earliest Spanish literature which are so separate and peculiar that they must be noticed from the outset, — religious faith and knightly loyalty, — traits which are hardly less apparent in the "Partidas" of Alfonso the Wise, in the stories of Don John Manuel, in the loose wit of the Archpriest of Hita, and in the worldly wisdom of the Chancellor Ayala, than in the professedly devout poems of Berceo, and in the professedly chivalrous chronicles of the Cid and Fernan Gonzalez. They are, therefore, from the earliest period, to be marked among the prominent features in Spanish literature.

Nor should we be surprised at this. The Spanish national character, as it has existed from its first development down to our own days, was mainly formed in the earlier part of that solemn contest which began the moment the Moors landed beneath the Rock of Gibraltar, and which cannot be said to have ended until, in the time of Philip the Third, the last remnants of their unhappy race were cruelly driven from the shores which their fathers, nine centuries before, had so unjustifiably invaded. During this contest, and especially during the two or three dark centuries when the earliest Spanish poetry appeared, nothing but an invincible religious faith, and a no less invincible loyalty to their own princes, could have sustained the Christian Spaniards in their disheartening struggle against their infidel oppressors. It was, therefore, a stern necessity which made these two high qualities elements of the Spanish national character, all whose energies were for ages devoted to the one grand object of their prayers as Christians, and their hopes as patriots, — the expulsion of their hated invaders.

But Castilian poetry was, from the first, to an extraordinary degree, an outpouring of the popular feeling and character. Tokens of religious submission and knightly fidelity, akin to each other in their birth, and often relying on each other for strength in their trials, are, therefore, among its earliest attributes. The contest for personal emancipation and national independence was, at the same time, a contest of religious faith against misbelief. We must not, then, be surprised, if we hereafter find that submission to the Church and loyalty to the king constantly break through the mass of Spanish literature, and breathe their spirit from nearly every portion of it, — not, indeed, without such changes in the mode of expression as the changed condition of the country in successive ages demanded, but still always so strong in their original attributes as to show that they survive every convulsion of the state, and never cease to move onward by their first impulse. In truth, while their very early development leaves no doubt that they are national, their nationality makes it all but inevitable that they should become permanent.

Its foundation in the popular character.

CHAPTER VI.

FOUR CLASSES OF THE MORE POPULAR EARLY LITERATURE. — FIRST CLASS, BALLADS. — OLDEST FORM OF CASTILIAN POETRY. — THEORIES ABOUT THEIR ORIGIN. — NOT ARABIC. — THEIR METRICAL FORM. — REDONDILLAS. — ASONANTES. — NATIONAL. — SPREAD OF THE BALLAD FORM. — NAME. — EARLY NOTICES OF BALLADS. — BALLADS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, AND LATER. — TRADITIONAL AND LONG UNWRITTEN. — APPEARED FIRST IN THE CANCIONEROS, LATER IN THE ROMANCEROS. — THE OLD COLLECTIONS THE BEST.

Everywhere in Europe, during the period we have just gone over, the courts of the different sovereigns were the principal centres of refinement and civilization. From accidental circumstances, this was peculiarly the case in Spain during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On the throne of Castile, or within its shadow, we have seen a succession of such poets and prose-writers as Alfonso the Wise, Sancho, his son, Don John Manuel, his nephew, and the Chancellor Ayala, to say nothing of Saint Ferdinand, who preceded them all, and who, perhaps, gave the first decisive impulse to letters in the centre of Spain and at the North.[1]

The court of Castile and its cultivation.

But the literature produced or encouraged by these and other distinguished men, or by the higher clergy, who, with them, were the leaders of the state, was by no means the only literature that then existed within the barrier of the Pyrenees. On the contrary, the spirit of poetry was, to an extraordinary degree, abroad throughout the whole

[1] Alfonso el Sabio says of his father, St. Ferdinand: "And, moreover, he liked to have men about him who knew how to make verses (*trobar*) and sing, and Jongleurs, who knew how to play on instruments. For in such things he took great pleasure, and knew who was skilled in them and who was not." (Setenario, Paleographia, pp. 80–83, and p. 76.) See, also, what is said hereafter, when we come to speak of Provençal literature in Spain, Chap. XVI.

Peninsula, so far as it had been rescued from the Moors, animating and elevating all classes of its Christian population. Their own romantic history, whose great events had been singularly the results of popular impulse, and bore everywhere the bold impress of the popular character, had breathed into the Spanish people this spirit; a spirit which, beginning with Pelayo, had been sustained by the appearance, from time to time, of such heroic forms as Fernan Gonzalez, Bernardo del Carpio, and the Cid. At the point of time, therefore, at which we are now arrived, a more popular literature, growing directly out of the enthusiasm which had so long pervaded the whole mass of the Spanish people, began naturally to appear in the country, and to assert for itself a place, which, in some of its forms, it has successfully maintained ever since.

The more popular literature of Spain.

What, however, is thus essentially popular in its sources and character, — what, instead of going out from the more elevated classes of the nation, was neglected or discountenanced by them, — is, from its very wildness, little likely to take well-defined forms, or to be traced, from its origin, by the dates and other proofs which accompany such portions of the national literature as fell earlier under the protection of the higher orders of society. But, though we may not be able to make out an exact arrangement or a detailed history of what was necessarily so free and always so little watched, it can still be distributed into four different classes, and will afford tolerable materials for a notice of its progress and condition under each.

These four classes are, first, the Ballads, or the poetry, both narrative and lyrical, of the common people, from the earliest times; second, the Chronicles, or the half-genuine, half-fabulous histories of the great events and heroes of the national annals, which, though originally begun by authority of the state, were always deeply imbued with the popular feelings and character; third, the Romances of Chivalry, intimately connected with both the others, and, after a time, as passionately admired as either by the whole nation; and, fourth, the Drama, which, in its origin, has always been a

Four classes of early Spanish literature.

popular and religious amusement, and was hardly less so in Spain than it was in Greece or in France.

These four classes compose what was generally most valued in Spanish literature during the latter part of the fourteenth century, the whole of the fifteenth, and much of the sixteenth. They rested on the deep foundations of the national character, and therefore, by their very nature, were opposed to the Provençal, the Italian, and the courtly schools, which flourished during the same period, and which will be subsequently examined.

THE BALLADS. — We begin with the ballads, because it cannot reasonably be doubted that poetry, in the present Spanish language, appeared earliest in the ballad form. And the first question that occurs in relation to them is the obvious one, why this was the case. It has been suggested, in reply, that there was probably a tendency to this most popular form of composition in Spain at an age even much more remote than that of the origin of the present Spanish language itself;[2] that such a tendency may, perhaps, be traced back to those indigenous bards of whom only a doubtful tradition remained in the time of Strabo;[3] and that it may be seen to emerge again in the Leonine and other rhymed Latin verses of the Gothic period,[4] or in that more ancient and obscure Basque poetry, of which the little that has been preserved to us is thought to breathe a spirit countenancing such conjectures.[5] But these and similar suggestions have so slight a foundation in recorded

The early Spanish ballads.

Theories of their origin.

[2] The *Edinburgh Review*, No. 146, on Lockhart's Ballads, contains the ablest statement of this theory. It is by R. Ford, Esq.

[3] The passage in Strabo here referred to, which is in Book III. p. 139 (ed. Casaubon, fol., 1620), is to be taken in connection with the passage (p. 151) in which he says that both the language and its poetry were wholly lost in his time.

[4] Argote de Molina (Discurso de la Poesia Castellana, in Conde Lucanor, ed. 1575, f. 93. a) may be cited to this point, and one who believed it tenable might also cite the "Crónica General" (ed. 1604, Parte II. f. 265), where, speaking of the Gothic kingdom, and mourning its fall, the Chronicle says, "Forgotten are its songs (*cantares*)," etc.

[5] W. von Humboldt, in the Mithridates of Adelung and Vater, Berlin, 1817, 8vo, Tom. IV. p. 354, and Argote de Molina, ut sup., f. 93; — but the Basque verses cited by the latter cannot be older than 1322, and were, therefore, quite as likely to be imitated from the Spanish as to have been themselves the subjects of Spanish imitation.

facts, that they can be little relied on. The one more frequently advanced is, that the Spanish ballads, such as we now have them, are imitations from the narrative and lyrical poetry of the Arabs, with which the whole southern part of Spain for ages resounded; and that, in fact, the very form in which Spanish ballads still appear is Arabic, and is to be traced to the Arabs in the East, at a period not only anterior to the invasion of Spain, but anterior to the age of the Prophet. This is the theory of Conde.[6]

Theory of their Arabic origin.

But though, from the air of historical pretension with which it presents itself, there is something in this theory that bespeaks our favor, yet there are strong reasons that forbid our assent to it. For the earliest of the Spanish ballads, concerning which alone the question can arise, have not at all the characteristics of an imitated literature. Not a single Arabic original has been found for any one of them; nor, so far as we know, has a single passage of Arabic poetry, or a single phrase from any Arabic writer, entered directly into their composition. On the contrary, their freedom, their energy, their Christian tone and chivalrous loyalty, announce an originality and independence of character that prevent us from believing they could have been in any way materially indebted to the brilliant but effeminate literature of the nation to whose spirit everything Spanish had, when they first appeared, been for ages implacably opposed. It seems, therefore, that they must, of their own nature, be as original as any poetry of modern times; containing, as they do, within themselves proofs that they are Spanish by their birth, natives of the soil, and stained with all its variations. For a long time, too, subsequent to that of their first appearance, they continued to exhibit the same

[6] Dominacion de los Arabes, Tom. I., Prólogo, pp. xviii.–xix., p. 169, and other places. But in a manuscript preface to a collection which he called "Poesias Orientales traducidas por Jos. Ant. Conde," and which he never published, he expresses himself yet more positively: "In the versification of our Castilian ballads and *seguidillas*, we have received from the Arabs *an exact type* of their verses." And again he says, "From the period of the infancy of our poetry, we have rhymed verses according to *the measures used by the Arabs before the times of the Koran.*" This is the work, I suppose, to which Blanco White alludes (Variedades, Tom. II. pp. 45, 46). The theory of Conde has been often approved. See Retrospective Review, Tom. IV. p. 31, the Spanish translation of Bouterwek, Tom. I. p. 164, etc.

elements of nationality; so that, until we approach the fall of Granada, we find in them neither a Moorish tone, nor Moorish subjects, nor Moorish adventures; nothing, in short, to justify us in supposing them to have been more indebted to the culture of the Arabs than was any other portion of the early Spanish literature.

Indeed, it does not seem reasonable to seek, in the East or elsewhere, a foreign origin for the mere *form* of the Spanish ballads. Their metrical structure is so simple, that we can readily believe it to have presented itself as soon as verse of any sort was felt to be a popular want. They consist merely of those eight-syllable lines which are composed with great facility in other languages as well as the Castilian, and which, in the old ballads, are the more easy, as the number of feet prescribed for each verse is little regarded.[7] Sometimes, though rarely, they are broken into stanzas of four lines, thence called *redondillas*, or roundelays; and then they have rhymes in the first and fourth lines of each stanza, or in the second and fourth, as in the similar stanzas of other modern languages.[8] Their prominent peculiarity, however, and one which they have succeeded in impressing

Their metrical structure.

[7] Argote de Molina (Discurso sobre la Poesia Castellana, in Conde Lucanor, 1575, f. 92) will have it that the ballad verse of Spain is quite the same with the eight-syllable verse in Greek, Latin, Italian, and French; "but," he adds, "it is properly native to Spain, in whose language it is found earlier than in any other modern tongue, and in Spanish alone it has all the grace, gentleness, and spirit, that are more peculiar to the Spanish genius than to any other." The only example he cites, in proof of this position, is the Odes of Ronsard,—"the most excellent Ronsard," as he calls him,—then at the height of his euphuistical reputation in France; but Ronsard's odes are miserably unlike the freedom and spirit of the Spanish ballads. (See Odes de Ronsard, Paris, 1573, 18mo, Tom. II. pp. 62, 139.) The nearest approach that I recollect to the mere *measure* of the ancient Spanish ballad, where there was no thought of imitating it, is in a few of the old French Fabliaux, in Chaucer's "House of Fame," and in some passages of Sir Walter Scott's poetry. Jacob Grimm, in his "Silva de Romances Viejos" (Viena, 1815, 18mo), taken chiefly from the collection of 1555, has printed the ballads he gives us as if their lines were originally of fourteen or sixteen syllables; so that one of his lines embraces two of those in the old Romanceros. His reason was, that their epic nature and character required such long verses, which are, in fact, substantially the same with those in the old "Poem of the Cid." But his theory, which was not generally adopted, is sufficiently answered by V. A. Huber, in his excellent tract, "De Primitivâ Cantilenarum Popularium Epicarum (vulgo *Romances*) apud Hispanos Formâ" (Berolini, 1844, 4to), and in his preface to his edition of the "Chrónica del Cid," 1844.

[8] An error of Sarmiento about *Redondillas* is corrected by Alcala Galiano in his edition of Depping's Romancero Castellano (Leipsique, 1844, Tom. I. p. lxix.). He does not, however, seem to be quite right, and I have, therefore, followed the definition in the large dictionary of the Spanish Academy, confirmed by the recent editions of the abridgment.

upon a very large portion of all the national poetry, is one which, being found to prevail in no other literature, may be claimed to have its origin in Spain, and becomes, therefore, an important circumstance in the history of Spanish poetical culture.[9]

The peculiarity to which we refer is that of the *asonante*, —an imperfect rhyme confined to the vowels, and beginning with the last accented one in the line; so that it embraces sometimes only the very last syllable, and sometimes goes back to the penultimate, or even the antepenultimate. It is contradistinguished from the *consonante*, or full rhyme, which is made both by the consonants and vowels in the concluding syllable or syllables of the line, and which is, therefore, just what *rhyme* is in English.[10] Thus, *feróz* and *furór*, *cása* and

The asonante.

[9] The only suggestion I have noticed affecting this statement is to be found in the Repertorio Americano (Lóndres, 1827, Tom. II. pp. 21, etc.), where the writer, who, I believe, is Don Andres Bello, endeavors to trace the *asonante* to the "Vita Mathildis," a Latin poem of the twelfth century, reprinted by Muratori (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Mediolani, 1725, fol., Tom. V. pp. 335, etc.), and to a manuscript Anglo-Norman poem, of the same century, on the fabulous journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem. But the Latin poem is, I believe, singular in this attempt, and was, no doubt, wholly unknown in Spain; and the Anglo-Norman poem, which has since been published by Michel (London, 1836, 12mo), with curious notes, turns out to be *rhymed*, though not carefully or regularly. Raynouard, in the *Journal des Savants* (February, 1833, p. 70), made the same mistake with the writer in the Repertorio; probably in consequence of following him. The imperfect rhyme of the ancient Gaelic seems to have been different from the Spanish *asonante*, and, at any rate, can have had nothing to do with it. (Logan's Scottish Gael, London, 1831, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 241.)

[10] Cervantes, in his "Amante Liberal," calls them *consonancias* or *consonantes dificultosos*. No doubt, their greater difficulty caused them to be less used than the *asonantes*. Juan de la Enzina, in his little treatise on Castilian Verse, Cap. 7, written before 1500, explains these two forms of rhyme, and says that the old romances "no van verdaderos consonantes." Curious remarks on the *asonantes* are to be found in Renjifo, "Arte Poetica Española" (Salamanca, 1592, 4to, Cap. 34), and the additions to it in the edition of 1727 (4to, p. 418); to which may well be joined the philosophical suggestions of Martinez de la Rosa, Obras, Paris, 1827, 12mo, Tom. I. pp. 202–204.

Diez, in his valuable Altromanische Sprachdenkmale (8vo, Bonn, 1846, pp. 83, sqq.), thinks that, in the poem on Boethius, and in some other early Provençal poetry, traces of *asonantes* can be found. This suggestion, which I had not seen when I published the preceding note for the first time, does not, however, affect the statement in the text. Asonantes have not *prevailed* in any literature but the Spanish. Indeed, I still think that in the few cases where they occur elsewhere, and are not, as in Germany, intentional imitations of the Spanish, they are the result of accident, like the occasional rhymes in Virgil and the other classical poets of antiquity; or of caprice in the individual author, as in the "Vita Mathildis;" or of an unsuccessful attempt at full rhyme, as in the case of the poem on Charlemagne. Diez, in fact, admits this so far as the poem on Boethius is concerned, when he says, "es ist leicht zu bemerken dass der Dichter *nach dem vollen Reime strebt*." I regard, therefore, generally, such instances rather as unsuccessful rhymes than as intentional *asonantes*. See *post*, notes 15 and 16.

abárca, infámia and *contrária,* are good *asonantes* in the first and third ballads of the Cid, just as *mál* and *desleál, voláre* and *caçáre,* are good *consonantes* in the old ballad of the Marquis of Mantua, cited by Don Quixote. The *asonante,* therefore, is something between our blank verse and our rhyme; and the art of using it is easily acquired in a language like the Castilian, abounding in vowels, and always giving to the same vowel the same value.[11] In the older ballads it generally recurs with every other line; and, from the facility with which it can be found, the same *asonante* is frequently continued through the whole of the poem in which it occurs, whether the poem be longer or shorter. But even with this embarrassment the structure of the ballad is so simple that, while Sarmiento has undertaken to show how Spanish prose from the twelfth century downwards is often written unconsciously in eight-syllable *asonantes,*[12] Sepulveda, in the sixteenth century, actually converted large portions of the old chronicles into the same ballad-measure, with little change of their original phraseology;[13] two circumstances which, taken together, show indisputably that there can be no wide interval between the common structure of Spanish prose and this earliest form of Spanish verse. If to all this we add the national recitatives in which the ballads have

[11] A great poetic license was introduced before long into the use of the *asonante,* as there had been, in antiquity, into the use of the Greek and Latin measures, until the sphere of the *asonante* became, as Clemencin well says, extremely wide. Thus, *u* and *o* were held to be *asonante,* as in *Venus* and *Minos*; *i* and *e,* as in *Paris* and *males*; a diphthong with a vowel, as *gracia* and *alma, cuitas* and *burlas*; and other similar varieties, which, in the times of Lope de Vega and Góngora, made the permitted combinations all but indefinite, and the composition of *asonante* verses indefinitely easy. (Don Quixote, ed. Clemencin, Tom. III. pp. 271, 272, note.)

[12] Poesia Española, Madrid, 1775, 4to, sec. 422–430.

[13] It would be easy to give many specimens of ballads made from the old chronicles; but for the present purpose I will take only a few lines from the "Crónica General" (Parte III. f. 77, a, ed. 1604), where Velasquez, persuading his nephews, the Infantes de Lara, to go against the Moors, despite of certain ill auguries, says, "*Sobrinos estos agueros* que oystes mucho son buenos; *ca nos dan a entender que ganaremos muy gran* algo de lo ageno, e *de lo nuestro non perderemos;* e *fizol muy mal Don Nuño* Salido *en non venir combusco,* e *mande Dios que se arrepienta,*" etc. Now, in Sepulveda (Romances, Anvers, 1551, 18mo, f. 11), in the ballad beginning "Llegados son los Infantes," we have these lines:

Sobrinos esos agueros
Para nos gran bien serian,
Porque *nos dan a entender*
Que bien nos sucediera.
Ganaremos grande victoria,
Nada no se perdiera,
Don Nuño lo hizo mal
Que convusco non venia,
Mande Dios que se arrepienta, etc.

been sung down to our own days, and the national dances by which they have been accompanied,[14] we shall probably be persuaded, not only that the form of the Spanish ballad is as purely national in its origin as the *asonante*, which is its prominent characteristic, but that this form is more happily fitted to its especial purposes, and more easy in its practical application to them, than any other into which popular poetry has fallen, in ancient or modern times.[15]

[14] Duran, Romances Caballarescos, Madrid, 1832, 12mo, Prólogo, Tom. I. pp. xvi., xvii., with xxxv., note (14). Julius, in the German translation of this work, Band II. pp. 504–5.

[15] The peculiarities of a metrical form so entirely national can, I suppose, be well understood only by an example; and I will, therefore, give here, in the original Spanish, a few lines from a spirited and well-known ballad of Góngora, which I select because they have been translated into *English asonantes*, by a writer in the *Retrospective Review*, whose excellent version follows, and may serve still further to explain and illustrate the measure:

> Aquel rayo de la guerra,
> Alferez mayor del réyno,
> Tan galan como valiente,
> Y tan noble como fiéro,
> De los mozos embidiado,
> Y admirado de los viējos,
> Y de los niños y el vulgo
> Señalado con el dédo,
> El querido de las damas,
> Por cortesano y discréto,
> Hijo hasta alli regalado
> De la fortuna y el tiempo, etc.
> Obras, Madrid, 1654, 4to, f. 83.

This rhyme is perfectly perceptible to any ear well accustomed to Spanish poetry, and it must be admitted, I think, that, when, as in the ballad cited, it embraces two of the concluding vowels of the line, and is continued through the whole poem, the effect, even upon a foreigner, is that of a graceful ornament, which satisfies without fatiguing. In English, however, where our vowels have such various powers, and where the consonants preponderate, the case is quite different. This is plain in the following translation of the preceding lines, made with spirit and truth, but failing to produce the effect of the Spanish. Indeed, the rhyme can hardly be said to be perceptible except to the eye, though the measure and its cadences are nicely managed:

> "He the thunderbolt of battle,
> He the first Alferez titled,
> Who as courteous is as valiant,
> And the noblest as the fiercest;
> He who by our youth is envied,
> Honored by our gravest ancients,
> By our youth in crowds distinguished
> By a thousand pointed fingers;
> He beloved by fairest damsels,
> For discretion and politeness,
> Cherished son of time and fortune,
> Bearing all their gifts divinest," etc.
> *Retrospective Review*, Vol. IV. p. 35.

Another specimen of English *asonantes* is to be found in Bowring's "Ancient Poetry of Spain" (London, 1824, 12mo, p. 107); but the result is substantially the same, and always must be, from the difference between the two languages.

In Germany, more than anywhere else, attempts have been made to introduce the Spanish *asonante*. The first of these attempts, I think, was made by Friederich Schlegel, in his "Conde Alarcos," 1802;—a tragedy constructed on the beautiful ballad of the same name. (See *post*, note.) But, though there are passages in it not unworthy the subject, it found little favor. His brother, August Wilhelm Schlegel, in his translations from Calderon, published the very next year, 1803, adopted the *asonante* fully wherever he found it in the original Spanish, whose measures and manner he followed rigorously, and was so successful that his version of the *Principe Constante* became a favorite acting play on the German stage. (See *post*, Period II., Chap. XXII. and Chap. XXIII., notes.) From this time the *asonante* has been recognized and established in German literature, at least so far as translations from the Spanish are concerned. Thus, Gries, in his remarkable versions from Calderon,

A metrical form so natural and obvious became a favorite at once, and continued so. From the ballads it soon passed into other departments of the national poetry, especially the lyrical. At a later period the great mass of the true Spanish drama came to rest upon it; and before the end of the seventeenth century more verses had probably been written in it than in all the other measures used by Spanish poets. Lope de Vega declared it to be fitted for all styles of composition, even the gravest; and his judgment was sanctioned in his own time, and has been justified in ours, by the application of this peculiar form of verse to long epic stories.[16] The eight-syllable *asonante*, therefore, may be considered as now known and used in every department of Spanish poetry; and since it has, from the first, been a chief element in that poetry, we may well believe it will con-

Its success.

is constantly faithful to it; — a happy example of his management of it occurring in the opening of his "Dame Kobold" (*Dama Duende*), Band V. 1822. So, too, is Adolf Martin, in his translations from Calderon (1844, 3 Bände, 12mo), of which the first scene in *Toda es Verdad y toda mentira* (Band I. seite 95) is a favorable specimen. Malsburg and others have trodden in the same path with more or less success; but perhaps nobody has been so fortunate as Cardinal von Diepenbrock, in his translation of *La Vida es sueño*, 1852. But still I think the German *asonante* falls almost as powerless on the ear as the English one does. At least, I find it so. See *post*, Part II., note at the end of Chap. XXIV., on the German translators of Calderon, by whom the Spanish measures are observed, with a fidelity unknown out of their country.

16 Speaking of the ballad verses, he says (Prólogo á las Rimas Humanas, Obras Sueltas, Tom. IV., Madrid, 1776, 4to, p. 176), "I regard them as capable, not only of expressing and setting forth any idea whatever with easy sweetness, but carrying through *any* grave action in a versified poem." His prediction was fulfilled in his own time by the "Fernando" of Vera y Figueroa, a poor epic published in 1632; and in ours by the very attractive narrative poem of Don Ángel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, entitled "El Moro Exposito," in two volumes, 1834. The example of Lope de Vega, in the latter part of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, no doubt did much to give currency to the *asonantes*, which, from that time, have been more used than they were earlier. The opinion of Lope de Vega is repeated by Melendez Valdes, who, in the Preface to his Works (1820, p. viii.), says expressly of the old ballad measure: "Porque no aplicarla a todos los asuntos, aun los de mas aliento y osadia?"

I have noticed particularly an instance of the *asonante* employed for popular effect in a consecutive series of ninety-nine ballads, called "Cantos," on the History of the Passion, beginning with the institution of the Last Supper, and ending with the Madonna's solitary mourning at the cross. They were printed anonymously in successive pamphlets at Malaga, by Francisco Martinez de Aguilar, — three or more in each pamphlet, — in 4to, without date, but apparently in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Their style is much simpler than might be expected from the period, and I think it probable that they were all fashioned out of some prose history of the Saviour written in better times. There is no poetry in them, but they are curious as showing how the ballad form has been used for continuous history, and how fit it is for popular effect in long poems.

tinue such as long as what is most original in the national genius continues to be cultivated.

Some of the ballads embodied in this genuinely Castilian measure are, no doubt, very ancient. That such ballads existed in the earliest times, their very name, *Romances*, may intimate; since it seems to imply that they were, at some period, the only poetry known in the *Romance* language of Spain; and such a period can have been no other than the one immediately following the formation of the language itself. Popular poetry of some sort — and more probably ballad poetry than any other — was sung concerning the achievements of the Cid as early as 1147.[17] A century later than this, but earlier than the prose of the "Fuero Juzgo," Saint Ferdinand, after the capture of Seville, in 1248, gave allotments or *repartimientos* to two poets who had been with him during the siege, Nicolas *de los Romances*, and Domingo Abad *de los Romances*; the first of whom continued for some time afterwards to inhabit the rescued city, and exercise his vocation as a poet.[18] In the next reign, or between 1252 and 1280, such poets are again mentioned. A princess, disguised as a *joglaressa*, or female ballad-singer, is introduced into the poem of "Apollonius," which is supposed to have been written a little before or after the year 1250;[19] and in the Code of Laws of Alfonso the

The name Romance, and its early use.

Early writers of ballads.

[17] See the barbarous Latin poem printed by Sandoval, at the end of his "Historia de los Reyes de Castilla," etc. (Pamplona, 1615, fol., f. 193). It is on the taking of Almeria in 1147, and seems to have been written by an eye-witness, or, at any rate, on the authority of persons who had been at the siege, with whom the author had conversed.

[18] The authority for this is sufficient, though the fact itself of a man being named from the sort of poetry he composed is a singular one. It is found in Diego Ortiz de Zuñiga, "Anales Ecclesiasticos y Seglares de Sevilla" (Sevilla, 1677, fol., pp. 14, 90, 815, etc.). He took it, he says, from the *original* documents of the *repartimientos*, which he describes minutely as having been used by Argote de Molina (Preface and p. 815), and from documents in the archives of the Cathedral. The *repartimiento*, or distribution of lands and other spoils in a city, from which, as Mariana tells us, a hundred thousand Moors emigrated or were expelled, was a serious matter, and the documents in relation to it seem to have been ample and exact. (Zuñiga, Preface and pp. 31, 62, 66, etc.) The meaning of the word *Romance* in this place is a more doubtful matter. But, if *any* kind of popular poetry is meant by it, what was it likely to be at so early a period but ballad poetry? The verses, however, which Ortiz de Zuñiga, on the authority of Argote de Molina, attributes (p. 815) to Domingo Abad de los Romances, are not his; they are by the Arcipreste de Hita. (See Sanchez, Tom. IV. p. 166.)

[19] Stanzas 426, 427, 483–495, ed. Paris, 1844, 8vo.

Tenth, prepared about 1260, good knights are commanded to listen to no poetical tales of the ballad-singers, except such as relate to feats of arms.[20] In the "General Chronicle," also, compiled soon afterwards by the same prince, mention is made more than once of poetical gestes or tales; of "what the ballad-singers (*juglares*) sing in their chants, and tell in their tales;" and "of what we hear the ballad-singers tell in their chants;" — implying that the achievements of Bernardo del Carpio and Charlemagne, to which these phrases refer, were as familiar in the popular poetry used in the composition of this fine old chronicle as we know they have been since to the whole Spanish people through the very ballads we still possess.[21]

It seems, therefore, not easy to escape from the conclusion, to which Argote de Molina, the most sagacious of the early Spanish critics, arrived nearly three centuries ago, that "in these old ballads is, in truth, perpetuated the memory of times past, and that they constitute a good part of those ancient Castilian stories used by King Alfonso in his history;"[22] a conclusion at which we should arrive, even now, merely by reading with care large portions of the Chronicle itself.[23]

Ballads used in the Chronicles.

One more fact will conclude what we know of their early history. It is, that ballads were found among the poetry of Don John Manuel, the nephew of Alfonso the Tenth,

[20] Partida II. Tit. XXI. Leyes 20, 21. "Neither let the singers (*juglares*) rehearse before them other songs (*cantares*) than those of military gestes, or those that relate feats of arms." The *juglares* — a word that comes from the Latin *jocularis* — were originally strolling ballad-singers, like the *jongleurs*, but afterwards sunk to be jesters and *jugglers*. (See Clemencin's curious note to Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 31.) *Juglares* are also mentioned in the Chronica del Cid, c. 228. That the earlier ballad-singers composed their own ballads is not to be doubted; but this, in time, was more or less given up. (Pidal in the Cancionero de Baena, Madrid, 1851, 8vo, pp. xvii., xviii., xxi.)

[21] Crónica General, Valladolid, 1604, Parte III. ff. 30, 33, 45. Galindez de Carvajal — a statesman much considered in the times of Ferdinand and Isabella and of Charles V., and first editor of the Chronicle of John II. — deemed the ballads to be of substantial value as materials for Spanish history; — de gran fé para la verdad de las Historias de España. (Luis de Cabrera, De Historia, 1611, f. 106.) The testimony is of consequence, considering the person from whom it came, and the time when he lived.

[22] El Conde Lucanor, 1575. Discurso de la Poesia Castellana por Argote de Molina, f. 93. a.

[23] The end of the Second Part of the General Chronicle, and much of the third, relating to the great heroes of the early Castilian and Leonese history, seem to me to have been indebted to older poetical materials.

which Argote de Molina possessed, and intended to publish, but which is now lost.[24] This brings our slight knowledge of the whole subject down to the death of Don John, in 1347. But from this period — the same with that of the Archpriest of Hita — we almost lose sight, not only of the ballads, but of all genuine Spanish poetry, whose strains seem hardly to have been heard during the horrors of the reign of Peter the Cruel, the contested succession of Henry of Trastamara, and the Portuguese wars of John the First. And even when its echoes come to us again in the weak reign of John the Second, which stretches down to the middle of the fifteenth century, it presents itself with few of the attributes of the old national character.[25] It is become of the court, courtly; and therefore, though the old and true-hearted ballads may have lost none of the popular favor, and were certainly preserved by the fidelity of popular tradition, we find no further distinct record of them until the end of this century and the beginning of the one that followed, when the mass of the people, whose feelings they embodied, rose to such a degree of consideration, that their peculiar poetry came into the place to which it was entitled, and which it has maintained ever since. This was in the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of Charles the Fifth.

Ballads neglected.

But these few historical notices of ballad poetry are, except those which point to its early origin, too slight to be of much value. Indeed, until after the middle of the sixteenth century, it is difficult to find ballads written by known authors; so that, when we speak of the Old Spanish Ballads, we do not refer to the few whose period can be settled with some accuracy, but to the great mass found in the "Romanceros Generales" and elsewhere, whose authors and dates are alike unknown. This mass consists of above a thousand old poems, unequal in length, and still more unequal in

Romanceros or ballad-books.

[24] Discurso, Conde Lucanor, ed. 1575, ff. 92. a, 93. b. The poetry contained in the Cancioneros Generales, from 1511 to 1573, and bearing the name of Don John Manuel, is, as we have already explained, the work of Don John Manuel of Portugal, who died in 1524.

[25] The Marquis of Santillana, in his well-known letter (Sanchez, Tom. I.), speaks of the *Romances e cantares*, but very slightly.

merit, composed between the period when verse first appeared in Spain and the time when such verse as that of the ballads was thought worthy to be written down; the whole bearing to the mass of the Spanish people, their feelings, passions, and character, the same relations that a single ballad bears to the character of the individual author who produced it.

For a long time, of course, these primitive national ballads existed only in the memories of the common people, from whom they sprang, and were preserved through successive ages and long traditions only by the interests and feelings that originally gave them birth. Tradition of ballads. We cannot, therefore, reasonably hope that we now read any of them exactly as they were first composed and sung, or that there are many to which we can assign a definite age with any good degree of probability. No doubt, we may still possess some which, with little change in their simple thoughts and melody, were among the earliest breathings of that popular enthusiasm which, between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, was carrying the Christian Spaniards onward to the emancipation of their country; — ballads which were heard amidst the valleys of the Sierra Morena, or on the banks of the Turia and the Guadalquivir, with the first tones of the language that has since spread itself through the whole Peninsula. But the idle minstrel, who, in such troubled times, sought a precarious subsistence from cottage to cottage, or the thoughtless soldier, who, when the battle was over, sung its achievements to his guitar at the door of his tent, could not be expected to look beyond the passing moment; so that, if their unskilled verses were preserved at all, they must have been preserved by those who repeated them from memory, changing their tone and language with the changed feelings of the times and events that chanced to recall them. Whatever, then, belongs to this earliest period belongs, at the same time, to the unchronicled popular life and character of which it was a part; and although many of the ballads thus produced may have survived to our own day, many more, undoubtedly, lie buried with the poetical hearts that gave them birth.

This, indeed, is the great difficulty in relation to all researches concerning the oldest Spanish ballads. The very excitement of the national spirit that warmed them into life was the result of an age of such violence and suffering, that the ballads it produced failed to command such an interest as would cause them to be written down. Individual poems, like that of the Cid, or the works of individual authors, like those of the Archpriest of Hita or Don John Manuel, were, of course, cared for, and, perhaps, from time to time transcribed. But the popular poetry was neglected. Even when the especial "Cancioneros" — which were collections of whatever verses the person who formed them happened to fancy, or was able to find[26] — began to come in fashion, during the reign of John the Second, the bad taste of the time caused the old national literature to be so entirely overlooked, that hardly a single ballad occurs in either of them.[27]

First printed ballads.

The first printed ballads — for to these we now come — are to be sought in the earliest edition of the "Cancioneros Generales," compiled by Fernando del Castillo, and published at Valencia in 1511. Their number, including fragments and imitations, is thirty-seven,[28] of which nineteen are by authors whose names are given, and who, like Don John Manuel of Portugal, Cartagena, Juan de la Enzina, and Diego de San Pedro, are known to have flourished in the period between 1450 and 1500, or who, like Lope de Sosa, appear so often in the collections of that age, that they may be fairly assumed to have belonged to it. Of the remainder, several seem

[26] *Cancion*, *Canzone*, *Chansos*, in the Romance language, signified originally any kind of poetry, because all poetry, or almost all, was then sung. (Giovanni Galvani, Poesia dei Trovatori, Modena, 1829, 8vo, p. 29.) In this way, *Cancionero* in Spanish was long understood to mean simply a collection of poetry, — sometimes all by one author, sometimes by many.

Don P. de Gayangos says, in the translation of this History (Vol. I. 1851, p. 509), that he has found one ballad in the MS. Cancionero called Stuñigas or Estuñiga's, and three or four in that of Martinez de Burgos. Perhaps there may be others in other MS. Cancioneros, but not, I think, many.

[27] It is a striking fact that no such thing as a collection of ballads can be found in any old manuscript.

[28] It should, however, be observed that about twenty of the thirty-seven are in the Cancionero of Constantina, to be noticed hereafter (Chap. XXIII.), and that this Cancionero, which is without date, may have been printed a few years earlier, and probably was. But we have no ballads with printed dates earlier than 1511.

much more ancient, and are, therefore, more interesting and important.

The first, for instance, called "Count Claros," is the fragment of an old ballad afterwards printed in full. It is inserted in this Cancionero on account of an elaborate gloss made on it in the Provençal manner by Francisco de Leon, as well as on account of an imitation of it by Lope de Sosa, and a gloss upon the imitation by Soria; all of which follow, and leave little doubt that the ballad itself had long been known and admired. The fragment, which alone is worth notice, consists of a dialogue between the Count Claros and his uncle, the Archbishop, on a subject and in a tone which made the name of the Count, as a true lover, pass almost into a proverb.

Count Claros.

"It grieves me, Count, it grieves my heart,
  That thus they urge thy fate;
Since this fond guilt upon thy part
  Was still no crime of state.
For all the errors love can bring
  Deserve not mortal pain;
And I have knelt before the king,
  To free thee from thy chain.
But he, the king, with angry pride,
  Would hear no word I spoke;
'The sentence is pronounced,' he cried;
  'Who may its power revoke?'
The Infanta's love you won, he says,
  When you her guardian were.
O cousin, less, if you were wise,
  For ladies you would care.
For he that labors most for them
  Your fate will always prove;
Since death or ruin none escape,
  Who trust their dangerous love."
"O uncle, uncle, words like these
  A true heart never hears;
For I would rather die to please
  Than live and not be theirs."[29]

[29] The whole ballad, with a different reading of the passage here translated, is in the Cancionero de Romances, Saragossa, 1550, 12mo, Parte II. f. 188, beginning "Media noche era por hilo." Often, however, as the adventures of the Count Claros are alluded to in the old Spanish poetry, there is no trace of them in the old

The next is also a fragment, and relates, with great simplicity, an incident which belongs to the state of society that existed in Spain between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the two races were much mingled together, and constantly in conflict.

Morayma.

I was the Moorish maid, Morayma,
  I was that maiden dark and fair; —
A Christian came, he seemed in sorrow,
  Full of falsehood came he there.
Moorish he spoke, — he spoke it well, —
  "Open the door, thou Moorish maid,
So shalt thou be by Allah blessed,
  So shall I save my forfeit head."
"But how can I, alone and weak,
  Unbar, and know not who is there?"
"But I 'm the Moor, the Moor Mazote,
  The brother of thy mother dear.
A Christian fell beneath my hand,
  The Alcalde comes, he comes apace,
And if thou open not the door,
  I perish here before thy face."
I rose in haste, I rose in fear,
  I seized my cloak, I missed my vest,
And, rushing to the fatal door,
  I threw it wide at his behest.[30]

The next is complete, and, from its early imitations and glosses, it must probably be quite ancient. It begins

chronicles. The fragment in the text begins thus, in the Cancionero General (1535, f. 106. a):

Pesame de vos, el Conde,
Porque assi os quieren matar;
Porque el yerro que hezistes
No fue mucho de culpar;
Que los yerros por amores
Dignos son de perdonar.
Suplique por vos al Rey,
Cos mandasse de librar;
Mas el Rey, con gran enojo,
No me quisiera escuchar, etc.

The beginning of this ballad, in the complete copy from the Saragossa Romancero, shows that it was composed before clocks were known.

[30] The forced alliteration of the first lines, and the phraseology of the whole, indicate the rudeness of the very early Castilian:

Yo mera mora Morayma,
Morilla d'un bel catar;
Christiano vino a mi puerta,
Cuytada, por me engañar.
Hablome en algaravia,
Como aquel que la bien sabe:
"Abras me las puertas, Mora,
Si Ala te guarde de mal!"
"Como te abrire, mezquina,
Que no se quien tu seras?"
"Yo soy el Moro Maçote,
Hermano de la tu madre,
Que un Christiano dejo muerto;
Tras mi venia el alcalde.
Sino me abres tu, mi vida,
Aqui me veras matar."
Quando esto oy, cuytada,
Comenceme a levantar;
Vistierame vn almexia,
No hallando mi brial;
Fuerame para la puerta,
Y abrila de par en par.

Cancionero General, 1535, f. 111. a.

"Fonte frida, Fonte frida," and is, perhaps, itself an imitation of "Rosa fresca, Rosa fresca," another of the early and very graceful lyrical ballads which were always so popular. Fonte Frida.

Cooling fountain, cooling fountain,
  Cooling fountain, full of love!
Where the little birds all gather,
  Thy refreshing power to prove;
All except the widowed turtle
  Full of grief, the turtle-dove.
There the traitor nightingale
  All by chance once passed along,
Uttering words of basest falsehood
  In his guilty, treacherous song:
"If it please thee, gentle lady,
  I thy servant love would be."
"Hence, begone, ungracious traitor,
  Base deceiver, hence from me!
I nor rest upon green branches,
  Nor amidst the meadow's flowers;
The very wave my thirst that quenches
  Seek I where it turbid pours.
No wedded love my soul shall know,
  Lest children's hearts my heart should win;
No pleasure would I seek for, no!
  No consolation feel within;—
So leave me sad, thou enemy!
  Thou foul and base deceiver, go!
For I thy love will never be,
  Nor ever, false one, wed thee, no!"

The parallel ballad of "Rosa fresca, Rosa fresca," is no less simple and characteristic; Rosa being the name of the lady-love. Rosa Fresca.

"Rose, fresh and fair, Rose, fresh and fair,
  That with love so bright dost glow,
When within my arms I held thee,
  I could never serve thee, no!
And now that I would gladly serve thee,
  I no more can see thee, no!"

"The fault, my friend, the fault was thine,—
  Thy fault alone, and not mine, no!
A message came,—the words you sent,—
  Your servant brought it, well you know.

And naught of love, or loving bands,
But other words, indeed, he said:
That you, my friend, in Leon's lands
A noble dame had long since wed; —
A lady fair, as fair could be;
Her children bright as flowers to see."

"Who told that tale, who spoke those words,
No truth he spoke, my lady, no!
For Castile's lands I never saw,
Of Leon's mountains nothing know,
Save as a little child, I ween,
Too young to know what love should mean."[31]

Several of the other anonymous ballads in this little collection are not less interesting and ancient, among which may be noted those beginning "Decidme vos pensamiento," — "Que por Mayo era por Mayo," — and "Durandarte, Durandarte,"—together with parts of those beginning "Triste estaba el caballero," and "Amara yo una Señora."[32] Most of the rest, and all whose authors are known, are of less value, and belong to a later period.

[31] These two ballads are in the Cancionero of 1535, ff. 107 and 108; both evidently very old. The use of *carta* in the last for an unwritten message is one proof of this. I give the originals of both, for their beauty. And first:

Fonte frida, fonte frida,
Fonte frida, y con amor,
Do todas las avezicas
Van tomar consolacion,
Sino es la tortolica,
Que esta biuda y con dolor.
Por ay fue a passar
El traydor del ruyseñor;
Las palabras que el dezia
Llenas son de traicion:
"Si tu quisiesses, Señora,
Yo seria tu seruidor."
"Vete de ay, enemigo,
Malo, falso, engañador,
Que ni poso en ramo verde
Ni en prado que tenga flor;
Que si hallo el agua clara,
Turbia la bebia yo:
Que no quiero aver marido,
Porque hijos no haya, no;
No quiero plazer con ellos,
Ni menos consolacion.
Dejame triste enemigo,
Malo, falso, mal traidor,
Que no quiero ser tu amiga,
Ni casar contigo, no."

The other is as follows:

"Rosa fresca, Rosa fresca,
Tan garrida y con amor;
Quando yos tuve en mis brazos,
No vos supe servir, no!
Y agora quos serviria,
No vos puedo aver, no!"
"Vuestra fue la culpa, amigo,
Vuestra fue, que mia, no!
Embiastes me una carta,
Con un vuestro servidor,
Y en lugar de recaudar,
El dixera otra razon:
Querades casado, amigo,
Alla en tierras de Leon;
Que teneis muger hermosa,
Y hijos como una flor."
"Quien os lo dixo, Señora
No vos dixo verdad, no!
Que yo nunca entre en Castilla,
Ni alla en tierras de Leon,
Si no quando era pequeño,
Que no sabia de amor."

[32] These ballads are in the edition of 1535, on ff. 109, 111, and 113.

The Cancionero of Castillo, where they appeared, was enlarged or altered in nine subsequent editions, the last of which was published in 1573; but in all of them this little collection of ballads, as originally printed in the first edition, remained by itself, unchanged, though in the additions of newer poetry a modern ballad is occasionally inserted.[33] It may, therefore, be doubted whether the General Cancioneros did much to attract attention to the ballad poetry of the country, especially when we bear in mind that they are almost entirely filled with the works of the conceited school of the period that produced them, and were probably little known except among the courtly classes, who placed small value on what was old and national in their poetical literature.[34]

Cancionero de Castillo.

But, while the Cancioneros were still in course of publication, a separate effort was made in the right direction to preserve the old ballads, and proved successful. In Antwerp and Saragossa, between about 1546 and 1550, there was published by Martin Nucio and Stevan G. de Najera a ballad-book called "Cancionero de Romances" in the first instance, and "Libro de Romances" in the other. In which form it is the oldest has been somewhat disputed; but it was probably published at Antwerp before it appeared at Saragossa. In each case, however, the editor in his Preface excuses the errors into which he may have fallen, on the ground that the memories of those from whom he, in part, at least, gathered them, were often imperfect.[35] Here, then, is the oldest of the proper ballad-books, one obviously taken from the traditions of the country. It is, therefore, the most interesting and important of them all. A considerable number of the short poems it contains must, however,

Oldest ballad-books.

[33] One of the most spirited of these later ballads, in the edition of 1573, begins thus (f. 373):

Ay, Dios de mi tierra,
 Saqueis me de aqui!
Ay, que Yngalaterra
 Ya no es para mi.

God of my native land,
 O, once more set me free!
For here, on England's soil,
 There is no place for me.

It was probably written by some homesick follower of Philip II.

[34] Salvá (Catalogue, London, 1826, 8vo, No. 60) reckons nine Cancioneros Generales, the principal of which will be noticed hereafter. I believe there is one more, — making ten in all, at least.

[35] See Appendix B for an account of the earliest Romanceros.

be regarded only as fragments of popular ballads already lost; while, on the contrary, that on the Count Claros is the complete one, of which the Cancionero, published above thirty years earlier, had given only such small portions as its editor had been able to pick up; both striking facts, which show, in opposite ways, that the ballads here collected were obtained, partly at least, as the Preface says they were, from the memories of the people.

As might be anticipated from such an origin, their character and tone are very various. Some are connected with the fictions of chivalry, and the story of Charlemagne; the most remarkable of which are those on Gayferos and Melisendra, on the Marquis of Mantua, and on Count D'Irlos.[36] Others, like that of the cross miraculously made for Alfonso the Chaste, and that on the fall of Valencia, belong to the early history of Spain,[37] and may well have been among those old Castilian ballads which Argote de Molina says were used in compiling the "General Chronicle." And, finally, we have that deep domestic tragedy of Count Alarcos, which goes back to some period in the national history or traditions of which we have no other early record.[38] Few among them, even the shortest and least perfect, are without interest; as, for instance, the obviously old one in which Virgil figures as

[36] Those on Gayferos begin, "Estabasel a Condessa," "Vamonos, dixo mi tio," and "Assentado esta Gayferos." The two long ones on the Marquis of Mantua and the Conde d'Irlos begin, "De Mantua salió el Marqués," and "Estabase el Conde d'Irlos."

[37] Compare the story of the angels in disguise, who made the miraculous cross for Alfonso, A. D. 794, as told in the ballad "Reynando el Rey Alfonso," in the Romancero of 1550, with the same story as told in the "Crónica General" (1604, Parte III. f. 29); — and compare the ballad "Apretada está Valencia" (Romancero, 1550) with the "Crónica del Cid," 1593, c. 183, p. 154.

[38] It begins, "Retrayida está la Infanta" (Romancero, 1550), and is one of the most tender and beautiful ballads in any language. It can be traced back to a single sheet, published, as Brunet thinks, about 1520, in which, as well as in a sheet mentioned by Wolf (Über eine Sammlung Spanischer Romanzen, Wien, 1850, p. 99), it is attributed to Pedro de Riaño, of whom I have no other notice. There are translations of it in English by Bowring (p. 51), and by Lockhart (Spanish Ballads, London, 1823, 4to, p. 202), and in German by Pandin Beauregard, in a small volume, entitled Spanische Romanzen (Berlin, 1823, 12mo). It has been at least four times brought into a dramatic form; — namely, by Lope de Vega in his "Fuerza Lastimosa," by Guillen de Castro, by Mira de Mescua, and by José J. Milanes, a Cuban poet, whose works were printed in Havana in 1846 (5 vols. 8vo); — the three last giving their dramas simply the name of the ballad, — "Conde Alarcos." The best of them all is, I think, that of Mira de Mescua, which is found in Vol. V. of the "Comedias Escogidas" (1653, 4to); but that of Milanes contains passages of very passionate poetry.

a person punished for seducing the affections of a king's daughter.[39] As specimens, however, of the national tone which prevails in most of the collection, it is better to read such ballads as that upon the rout of Roderic on the eighth day of the battle that surrendered Spain to the Moors,[40] or that on Garci Perez de Vargas, taken, probably, from the "General Chronicle," and founded on a fact of so much consequence as to be recorded by Mariana, and so popular as to be referred to for its notoriety by Cervantes.[41]

The genuine ballad-book thus published was so successful, that, in less than ten years, three editions or recensions of it appeared; that of 1555, commonly called the Cancionero of Antwerp, being the last, the amplest, and the best known. Other similar collections followed; particularly one, in nine parts, which, between 1593 and 1597, were separately published at Valencia, Burgos, Toledo, Alcalá, and Madrid; a variety of sources, to which we no doubt owe, not only the preservation of so great a number of old ballads, but much of the richness and diversity we find in their subjects and tone; — all the great divisions of the kingdom, except the south-west, having sent in their long-accumulated wealth to fill this first great treasure-house of the national popular poetry. Like its humbler predecessor, it had great suc-

39 "Mandó el Rey prender Virgilios" (Romancero, 1550). It is among the very old ballads, and is full of the loyalty of its time. Virgil, it is well known, was treated in the Middle Ages sometimes as a knight, and sometimes as a wizard.

40 Compare the ballads beginning "Las Huestes de Don Rodrigo," and "Despues que el Rey Don Rodrigo," with the "Crónica del Rey Don Rodrigo y la Destruycion de España" (Alcalá, 1587, fol., Capp. 238, 254). There is a stirring translation of the first by Lockhart, in his "Ancient Spanish Ballads" (London, 1823, 4to, p. 5), — a work of genius beyond any of the sort known to me in any language. This pre-eminence of Lockhart may be seen by a comparison of his translation of this very ballad with the translation of it into Italian by Pietro Monti, in his Romanze Storiche e Moresche, &c. (Seconda Edizione, Milano, 1855, p. 163). Indeed, the two volumes, comprising not only ballads, but other popular Spanish poetry, must naturally be compared; and, respectable and careful as Monti is, it is not possible to avoid seeing how far he is from the vigor and brilliancy of Lockhart.

41 Ortiz de Zuñiga (Anales de Sevilla, 1677. Appendix, p. 811) gives this ballad, and says it had been printed two hundred years! If this be true, it is, no doubt, the oldest *printed* ballad in the language. But Ortiz is uncritical in such matters, like nearly all of his countrymen. The story of Garci Perez de Vargas is in the "Crónica General," Parte IV., in the "Crónica de Fernando III.," c. 48, etc., and in Mariana, Historia, Lib. XIII. c. 7.

found in the stories connected with Charlemagne and his peers. That great sovereign—who, in the darkest period of Europe since the days of the Roman republic, roused up the nations, not only by the glory of his military conquests, but by the magnificence of his civil institutions — crossed the Pyrenees in the latter part of the eighth century, at the solicitation of one of his Moorish allies, and ravaged the Spanish marches as far as the Ebro, taking Pamplona and Saragossa. The impression he made there seems to have been the same he made everywhere; and from this time the splendor of his great name and deeds was connected in the minds of the Spanish people with wild imaginations of their own achievements, and gave birth to that series of fictions which is embraced in the story of Bernardo del Carpio, and ends with the great rout, when, according to the persuasions of the national vanity,

Ballads on Charlemagne.

> "Charlemain with all his peerage fell
> By Fontarabbia."

These marvellous adventures, chiefly without countenance from history,[1] in which the French paladins appear associated with fabulous Spanish heroes, such as Montesinos and Durandarte,[2] and once with the noble Moor Calaynos, are represented with some minuteness in the old Spanish ballads. The largest number, including the longest and the best, are to be found in the ballad-book of 1550–1555, to which may be added a few from that of 1593–1597, making together somewhat more than fifty, of which only twenty occur in the collection expressly devoted to the Twelve Peers, and first published in 1608. Some of them are evidently very old; as, for instance, that on the Conde d' Irlos, that on the Marquis of Mantua, two on Claros of Montalban, and both the fragments

[1] Sismondi, Hist. des Français, Paris, 1821, 8vo, Tom. II. pp. 257–260. There was, however, as is usual in such cases, some historical foundation for the fiction. The rear guard of Charlemagne's army, when it was leaving Spain, was defeated by the Navarrese in the mountain-pass of Roncesvalles, and its baggage plundered. Aschbach, Geschichte der Ommaijaden in Spanien, 8vo, 1829, Tom. I. pp. 171–178.

[2] Montesinos and Durandarte figure so largely in Don Quixote's visit to the cave of Montesinos, that all relating to them is to be found in the notes of Pellicer and Clemencin to Parte II. cap. 23 of the history of the mad knight.

on Durandarte, the last of which can be traced back to the Cancionero of 1511.[3] One of the best of them is "Lady Alda's Dream," full of the spirit of a chivalrous age, and of a simple pathos which is of all ages and all countries. It is from the Ballad-Book of 1550. Lady Alda's Dream.

In Paris Lady Alda sits, Sir Roland's destined bride,
With her three hundred maidens, to tend her, at her side;
Alike their robes and sandals all, and the braid that binds their hair,
And alike the meal, in their Lady's hall, the whole three hundred share.
Around her, in her chair of state, they all their places hold:
A hundred weave the web of silk, and a hundred spin the gold,
And a hundred touch their gentle lutes to soothe that lady's pain,
As she thinks on him that 's far away with the host of Charlemagne.
Lulled by the sound, she sleeps, but soon she wakens with a scream,
And, as her maidens gather round, she thus recounts her dream:
"I sat upon a desert shore, and from the mountain nigh,
Right toward me, I seemed to see a gentle falcon fly;
But close behind an eagle swooped and struck that falcon down,
And with talons and beak he rent the bird, as he cowered beneath my gown."
The chief of her maidens smiled, and said: "To me it doth not seem
That the Lady Alda reads aright the boding of her dream.
Thou art the falcon, and thy knight is the eagle in his pride,
As he comes in triumph from the war and pounces on his bride."
The maidens laughed, but Alda sighed, and gravely shook her head.
"Full rich," quoth she, "shall thy guerdon be, if thou the truth hast said."
'T is morn: her letters, stained with blood, the truth too plainly tell,
How, in the chase of Ronceval, Sir Roland fought and fell.[4]

The ballads of this class are occasionally quite long, and approach the character of the old French and English

[3] These ballads begin, "Estabase el Conde d' Irlos," which is the longest I know of; "Assentado esta Gayferos," which is one of the best, and cited more than once by Cervantes; "Media noche era por hilo," where the counting of time by the dripping of water is a proof of antiquity in the ballad itself; "A caça va el Emperador," also cited repeatedly by Cervantes; and "O Belerma, O Belerma," translated by M. G. Lewis; to which may be added, "Durandarte, Durandarte," found in the Antwerp Romancero, and in the old Cancioneros Generales.

[4] It may be found in most of the good recent collections of Spanish ballads, as, for instance, in Grimm's Silva, 1815, p. 108, and in Wolf's Primavera, 1856, Tom. II. p. 314. The beautiful translation in the text I have received from the kindness of Sir Edmund Head, Bart., and it is, I think, much better than the one by Lockhart, which, though spirited, is diffuse and unfaithful. In the original it begins: En Paris està Doña Alda, la esposa de Don Roldan.

metrical romances; that of the Conde d' Irlos extending to about thirteen hundred lines. The longer ballads, too, are generally the best; and those through large portions of which the same *asonante*, and sometimes, even, the same *consonante* or full rhyme, is continued to the end, have a solemn harmony in their protracted cadences, that produces an effect on the feelings like the chanting of a rich and well-sustained recitative.

Taken as a body, they have a grave tone, combined with the spirit of a picturesque narrative, and entirely different from the extravagant and romantic air afterwards given to the same class of fictions in Italy, and even from that of the few Spanish ballads which, at a later period, were constructed out of the imaginative and fantastic materials found in the poems of Bojardo and Ariosto. But, in all ages and in all forms, they have been favorites with the Spanish people. They were alluded to as such above five hundred years ago, in the oldest of the national chronicles; and when, at the end of the last century, Sarmiento notices the ballad-book of the Twelve Peers, he speaks of it as one which the peasantry and the children of Spain still knew by heart.[5]

Historical Ballads.— The most important and the largest division of the Spanish ballads is, however, the historical. Nor is this surprising. The early heroes in Spanish history grew so directly out of the popular character, and the early achievements of the national arms so nearly touched the personal condition of every Christian in the Peninsula, that they naturally became the first and chief subjects of a poetry which has always, to a remarkable degree, been the breathing of the popular feelings and passions. It would be easy, therefore, to collect a series of ballads,— few in number as far as respects the Gothic and Roman periods, but ample from the time of Roderic and the Moorish conquest of Spain down to the moment when its restoration was gloriously fulfilled in the fall of Granada,— a series which would constitute such a poetical illustration of Spanish history as

Ballads on early Spanish heroes.

[5] Memorias para la Poesia Española, Sect. 528.

can be brought in aid of the history of no other country. But, for our present purpose, it is enough to select a few sketches from these remarkable ballads devoted to the greater heroes,—personages half-shadowy, half-historical, —who, between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the twelfth century, occupy a wide space in all the old traditions, and serve alike to illustrate the early popular character in Spain, and the poetry to which that character gave birth.

The first of these, in the order of time, is Bernardo del Carpio, concerning whom we have about fifty ballads, which, with the accounts in the Chronicle of Alfonso the Wise, have constituted the foundations for many a drama and tale, and at least three long heroic poems. According to these early narratives, Bernardo flourished about the year 800, and was the offspring of a secret marriage between the Count de Saldaña and the sister of Alfonso the Chaste, at which the king was so much offended, that he kept the Count in perpetual imprisonment, and sent the Infanta to a convent; educating Bernardo as his own son, and keeping him ignorant of his birth. The achievements of Bernardo, ending with the victory of Roncesvalles; his efforts to procure the release of his father, when he learns who his father is; the falsehood of the king, who promises repeatedly to give up the Count de Saldaña, and as often breaks his word; with the despair of Bernardo, and his final rebellion, after the Count's death in prison,—are all as fully represented in the ballads as they are in the chronicles, and constitute some of the most romantic and interesting portions of each.[6]

Bernardo del Carpio.

Of the ballads which contain this story, and which generally suppose the whole of it to have passed in one reign, though the Chronicle spreads it over three, none, perhaps, is finer than the one in which the Count de Saldaña, in his solitary prison, complains of his son, who, he supposes, must know his descent, and of his wife, the Infanta, who, he presumes, must be in league with her royal brother.

[6] The story of Bernardo is in the "Crónica General," Parte III., beginning at f. 30, in the edition of 1604. But it must be almost entirely fabulous.

After a description of the castle in which he is confined, the Count says:

The tale of my imprisoned life
  Within these loathsome walls,
Each moment, as it lingers by,
  My hoary hair recalls;
For when this castle first I saw,
  My beard was scarcely grown,
And now, to purge my youthful sins,
  Its folds hang whitening down.
Then where art thou, my careless son?
  And why so dull and cold?
Doth not my blood within thee run?
  Speaks it not loud and bold?
Alas! it may be so, but still
  Thy mother's blood is thine;
And what is kindred to the king
  Will plead no cause of mine:
And thus all three against me stand;—
  For, the whole man to quell,
'T is not enough to have our foes—
  Our heart's blood must rebel.
Meanwhile, the guards that watch me here
  Of thy proud conquests boast;
But if for me thou lead'st it not,
  For whom, then, fights thy host?
And since thou leav'st me prisoned here,
  In cruel chains to moan,
O! I must be a guilty sire,
  Or thou a guilty son!
Yet pardon me, if I offend
  By uttering words so free;
For while oppressed with age I grieve,
  No words come back from thee.[7]

[7] Los tiempos de mi prision
Tan aborrecida y larga,
Por momentos me lo dizen
Aquestas mis tristes canas.
  Quando entre en este castillo,
Apenas entre con barbas,
Y agora por mis pecados
Las veo crecidas y blancas.
  Que descuydo es este, hijo?
Como a vozes no te llama
La sangre que tienes mia,
A socorrer donde falta?
  Sin duda que te detiene
La que de tu madre alcanças,
Que por ser de la del Rey
Juzgaras qual el mi causa.
  Todos tres sois mis contrarios;
Que a un desdichado no basta
Que sus contrarios lo sean,
Sino sus propias entrañas.
  Todos los que aqui me tienen
Me cuentan de tus hazañas:
Si para tu padre no,
Dime para quien las guardas?
  Aqui estoy en estros hierros,
Y pues dellos no me sacas,
Mal padre deuo de ser,
O mal hijo pues me faltas.
  Perdoname, si te ofendo,
Que descanso en las palabras,
Que yo como viejo lloro,
Y tu como ausente callas.
    Romancero General, 1602, f. 46.

But it was printed as early as 1593.

The old Spanish ballads have often a resemblance to each other in their tone and phraseology; and occasionally several seem imitated from some common original. Thus, in another, on this same subject of the Count de Saldaña's imprisonment, we find the length of time he had suffered, and the idea of his relationship and blood, enforced in the following words, not of the Count himself, but of Bernardo, when addressing the king:

The very walls are wearied there,
So long in grief to hold
A man whom first in youth they saw,
But now see gray and old.
And if, for errors such as these,
The forfeit must be blood,
Enough of his has flowed from me,
When for your rights I stood.[8]

In reading the ballads relating to Bernardo del Carpio, it is impossible not to be often struck with their resemblance to the corresponding passages of the "General Chronicle." Some of them are undoubtedly copied from it; others possibly may have been, in more ancient forms, among the poetical materials out of which we know that Chronicle was in part composed.[9] The best are those which

[8] This is evidently among the older ballads. The earliest printed copy of it that I know is to be found in the "Flor de Romances," Novena Parte (Madrid, 1597, 18mo, f. 45), and the passage I have translated is very striking in the original:

Cansadas ya las paredes
De guardar en tanto tiempo
A un hombre, que vieron moço
Y ya le ven cano y viejo.
Si ya sus culpas merecen,
Que sangre sea en su descuento,
Harta suya he derramado,
Y toda en servicio vuestro,

It is given a little differently by Duran.

[9] The ballad beginning "En Corte del casto Alfonso," in the ballad-book of 1555, is taken from the "Crónica General" (Parte III. ff. 32, 33, ed. 1604), as the following passage, speaking of Bernardo's first knowledge that his father was the Count of Saldaña, will show:

Quando Bernaldo *lo supo*
Pesóle a gran demasia,
Tanto que *dentro en el cuerpo*
La sangre se le volvia.
Yendo *para su posada*
Muy grande llanto hacia,
Vistióse paños de luto,
Y delante el Rey se iba.
El Rey quando asi le vio,
Desta suerte le decia:
"*Bernaldo*, por aventura
Cobdicias la muerte mia?"

The Chronicle reads thus: "E el [Bernardo] *quandol supo*, que su padre era preso, *pesol* mucho de coraçon, e *bolbiosele la sangre en el cuerpo*, e fuesse *para su posada*, faziendo el mayor duelo del mundo; e *vistióse paños de duelo*, e fuesse para el Rey Don Alfonso; e *el Rey, quando lo vido*, dixol: '*Bernaldo, cobdiciades la muerte mia?*'" It is plain enough, in this case, that the Chronicle is the original of the ballad; but it is very difficult, if not impossible, from the nature of the case, to show that any particular ballad was used in the composition of the Chronicle, because we have undoubtedly none of the

are least strictly conformed to the history itself; but all, taken together, form a curious and interesting series, that serves strikingly to exhibit the manners and feelings of the people in the wild times of which they speak, as well as in the later periods when many of them must have been written.

The next series is that on Fernan Gonzalez, a popular chieftain, whom we have already mentioned, when noticing his metrical chronicle; and one who, in the middle of the tenth century, recovered Castile anew from the Moors, and became its first sovereign Count. The number of ballads relating to him is not large; probably about twenty. The most poetical are those which describe his being twice rescued from prison by his courageous wife, and those which relate his contest with King Sancho, where he displayed all the turbulence and cunning of a robber baron in the Middle Ages. Nearly all their facts may be found in the Third Part of the "General Chronicle;" and though only a few of the ballads themselves appear to be derived from it as distinctly as some of those on Bernardo del Carpio, still two or three are evidently indebted to that Chronicle for their materials and phraseology, while yet others may, possibly, in some ruder shape, have preceded it, and contributed to its composition.[10]

Fernan Gonzalez.

The ballads which naturally form the next group are those on the Seven Lords of Lara, who lived in the time

ballads in the form in which they existed when the Chronicle was compiled in the middle of the thirteenth century, and therefore a correspondence of phraseology like that just cited is not to be expected. Yet it would not be surprising if some of these ballads on Bernardo, found in the Sixth Part of the "Flor de Romances" (Toledo, 1594, 18mo), which Pedro Flores tells us he collected far and wide from tradition, were known in the time of Alfonso the Wise, and were among the Cantares de Gesta to which he alludes. I would instance particularly the three beginning "Contandole estaba un dia," "Antes que barbas tuviesse," and "Mal mis servicios pagaste." The language of those ballads is, no doubt, chiefly that of the age of Charles V. and Philip II.; but the thoughts and feelings are evidently much older.

10 Among the ballads taken from the "Crónica General" is, I think, the one in the ballad-book of 1555, beginning "Preso esta Fernan Gonzalez," though the Chronicle says (Parte III. f. 62, ed. 1604) that it was a Norman Count who bribed the castellan, and the ballad says it was a Lombard. Another, which, like the two last, is very spirited, is found in the "Flor de Romances," Séptima Parte (Alcalá, 1597, 18mo, f. 65), beginning "El Conde Fernan Gonzalez," and contains an account of one of his victories over Almanzor not told elsewhere, and therefore the more curious.

of Garcia Fernandez, the son of Fernan Gonzalez. Some of them are beautiful, and the story they contain is one of the most romantic in Spanish history. The Seven Lords of Lara, in consequence of a family quarrel, are betrayed by their uncle into the hands of the Moors, and put to death; while their father, with the basest treason, is confined in a Moorish prison, where, by a noble Moorish lady, he has an eighth son, the famous Mudarra, who at last avenges all the wrongs of his race. On this story there are above thirty ballads; some very old, and exhibiting either inventions or traditions not elsewhere recorded, while others seem to have come directly from the "General Chronicle." The following is a part of one of the last, and a good specimen of the whole:[11]

Infantes de Lara.

What knight goes there, so false and fair,
  That thus for treason stood?
Velasquez hight is that false knight,
  Who sold his brother's blood.
Where Almenár extends afar,
  He called his nephews forth,
And on that plain he bade them gain
  A name of fame and worth.
The Moors he shows, the common foes,
  And promises their rout;
But while they stood prepared for blood
  A mighty host came out.
Of Moorish men were thousands ten,
  With pennons flowing fair;
Whereat each knight, as well he might,
  Inquired what host came there.
"O, do not fear, my kinsmen dear,"
  The base Velasquez cried;

[11] The story of the Infantes de Lara is in the "Crónica General," Parte III., and in the edition of 1604 begins at f. 74. I possess, also, a striking volume, containing forty plates, on their history, by Otto Vaenius, the master of Rubens, and a scholar and artist, who died in 1634. It is entitled "Historia Septem Infantium de Lara" (Antverpiae, 1612, fol.); the same, no doubt, an imperfect copy of which Southey praises in his notes to the "Chronicle of the Cid" (p. 401). Sepulveda (1551–84) has a good many ballads on the subject; the one I have partly translated in the text beginning:

Quien es aquel caballero
Que tan gran traycion hacia?
Ruy Velasquez es de Lara,
Que à sus sobrinos vendia.

The corresponding passage of the Chronicle is at f. 78, ed. 1604.

Important ballads on the Infantes de Lara are to be found in Wolf's tract, Über eine Sammlung Spanischer Romanzen, Wien, 1850.

"The Moors you see can never be
Of power your shock to bide;
I oft have met their craven set,
And none dared face my might:
So think no fear, my kinsmen dear,
But boldly seek the fight."
Thus words deceive, and men believe,
And falsehood thrives amain;
And those brave knights, for Christian rights,
Have sped across the plain;
And men ten score, but not one more,
To follow freely chose:
So Velasquez base his kin and race
Has bartered to their foes.

But, as might be anticipated, the Cid, even more than Bernardo and Fernan Gonzalez, was seized upon, with the first formation of the language, as the subject of popular poetry, and has been the occasion of more ballads than any other of the great heroes of Spanish history or fable.[12] They were first collected in a separate ballad-book as early as 1612, and have continued to be published and republished, at home and abroad, down to our own times.[13] It would be easy to find two hundred: some of them very ancient; some poetical; many prosaic and poor. The chronicles seem to have been but little resorted to in their composition.[14]

The Cid.

[12] In the barbarous rhymed Latin poem, printed with great care by Sandoval (Reyes de Castilla, Pamplona, 1615, f. 189, etc.), and apparently written, as we have noticed, by some one who witnessed the siege of Almeria in 1147, we have the following lines:

Ipse Rodericus, *Mio Cid* semper vocatus,
De quo cantatur, quod ab hostibus haud superatus,
Qui domuit Moros, comites quoque domuit nostros, etc.

These poems must, by the phrase *Mio Cid*, have been in Spanish; and, if so, could hardly have been anything but ballads.

[13] Nic. Antonio (Bib. Nova, Tom. I. p. 684) gives 1612 as the date of the oldest Romancero del Cid. The oldest I possess is of Pamplona (1706, 18mo); but the Madrid edition (1818, 18mo), the Frankfort (1827, 12mo), and the collection in Duran (Caballerescos, Madrid, 1832, 12mo, Tom. II. pp. 43–191), are more complete. The one by Keller (Stuttgard, 1840, 12mo) is larger yet, and contains one hundred and fifty-four ballads; but Duran's Romancero General, Tom. I., Madrid, 1849, brings up the number to one hundred and eighty-four. A few, however, could be added even to this ample mass; — seven from Wolf's "Sammlung," 1850.

Seventy-eight ballads on the Cid are translated into *asonantes*, preserving the measure of the original, in Der Cid, ein Romanzen-Kranz, von F. M. Duttenhofer of which the second edition was printed at Stuttgart in 1837.

[14] The ballads beginning "Guarte, guarte, Rey Don Sancho," and "De Zamora sale Dolfos," are indebted to the "Crónica del Cid" (1593, c. 61, 62). Others, especially

The circumstances of the Cid's history, whether true or fictitious, were too well settled in the popular faith, and too familiar to all Christian Spaniards, to render the use of such materials necessary. No portion of the old ballads, therefore, is more strongly marked with the spirit of their age and country; and none constitutes a series so complete. They give us apparently the whole of the Cid's history, which we find nowhere else entire; neither in the ancient poem, which does not pretend to be a life of him; nor in the prose chronicle, which does not begin so early in his story; nor in the Latin document, which is too brief and condensed. At the very outset, we have the following minute and living picture of the mortification and sufferings of Diego Laynez, the Cid's father, in consequence of the insult he had received from Count Lozano, which his age rendered it impossible for him to avenge:

Sorrowing old Laynez sat,
  Sorrowing on the deep disgrace
Of his house, so rich and knightly,
  Older than Abarca's race.
For he saw that youthful strength
  To avenge his wrong was needed;
That, by years enfeebled, broken,
  None his arm now feared or heeded.
But he of Orgaz, Count Lozano,
  Walks secure where men resort;
Hindered and rebuked by none,
  Proud his name, and proud his port.
While he, the injured, neither sleeps,
  Nor tastes the needful food,
Nor from the ground dares lift his eyes,
  Nor moves a step abroad,
Nor friends in friendly converse meets,
  But hides in shame his face;
His very breath, he thinks, offends,
  Charged with insult and disgrace.[15]

those in Sepulveda's collection, show marks of other parts of the same chronicle, or of the "Crónica General," Parte IV. But the whole amount of such indebtedness in the ballads of the Cid is comparatively small.

[15] The earliest place in which I have seen this ballad — evidently very old in its *matériel* — is "Flor de Romances," Novena Parte, 1597, f. 138.

Cuydando Diego Laynez
En la mengua de su casa,
Fidalga, rica y antigua,
Antes de Nuño y Abarca;
Y viendo que le fallecen
Fuerças para la vengança,
Porque por sus luengos años,
Por si no puede tomalla,
Y que el de Orgaz se passea
Seguro y libre en la plaça,

In this state of his father's feelings, Roderic, a mere stripling, determines to avenge the insult by challenging Count Lozano, then the most dangerous knight and the first nobleman in the kingdom. The result is the death of his proud and injurious enemy; but the daughter of the fallen Count, the fair Ximena, demands vengeance of the king, and the whole is adjusted, after the rude fashion of those times, by a marriage between the parties, which necessarily ends the feud.

The ballads, thus far, relate only to the early youth of the Cid in the reign of Ferdinand the Great, and constitute a separate series, that gave to Guillen de Castro, and after him to Corneille, the best materials for their respective tragedies on this part of the Cid's story. But, at the death of Ferdinand, his kingdom was divided, according to his will, among his four children; and then we have another series of ballads on the part taken by the Cid in the wars almost necessarily produced by such a division, and in the siege of Zamora, which fell to the share of Queen Urraca, and was assailed by her brother, Sancho the Brave. In one of these ballads, the Cid, sent by Sancho to summon the city, is thus reproached and taunted by Urraca, who is represented to be standing on one of its towers, and answering him as he addressed her from below:

Away! away! proud Roderic!
  Castilian proud, away!
Bethink thee of that olden time,
  That happy, honored day,
When, at Saint James's holy shrine,
  Thy knighthood first was won;
When Ferdinand, my royal sire,
  Confessed thee for a son.

Sinque nadie se lo impida,
Loçano en nombre y en gala,
Non puede dormir de noche,
Nin gustar de las viandas,
Nin alçar del suelo los ojos,
Nin osa salir de su casa,
Nin fablar con sus amigos,
Antes les niega la fabla,
Temiendo no les ofenda
El aliento de su infamia.

The pun on the name of Count *Lozano* (Haughty or Proud) is of course not translated.

It will be observed that no mention is made here of the *blow* to the Cid's father, which constitutes the insult of Count Lozano in Guillen de Castro and Corneille. Indeed, I think the *blow* does not occur in any old ballad or chronicle.

He gave thee then thy knightly arms,
  My mother gave thy steed;
Thy spurs were buckled by these hands,
  That thou no grace might'st need.
And had not chance forbid the vow,
  I thought with thee to wed;
But Count Lozano's daughter fair
  Thy happy bride was led.
With her came wealth, an ample store,
  But power was mine, and state;
Broad lands are good, and have their grace,
  But he that reigns is great.
Thy wife is well; thy match was wise;
  Yet, Roderic! at thy side
A vassal's daughter sits by thee,
  And not a royal bride![16]

Alfonso the Sixth succeeded on the death of Sancho, who perished miserably by treason before the walls of Zamora; but the Cid quarrelled with his new master, and was exiled. At this moment begins the old poem already mentioned; but even here and afterwards the ballads form a more continuous account of his life, carrying us, often with great minuteness of detail, through his conquest of Valencia, his restoration to the king's favor, his triumph over the Counts of Carrion, his old age, death, and burial, and giving us, when taken together, what Müller the historian and Herder the philosopher consider, in its main circumstances, a trustworthy history, but what can hardly

[16] This is a very old, as well as a very spirited ballad. It occurs first in print in 1555; but "Durandarte, Durandarte," found as early as 1511, is an obvious imitation of it, so that it was probably old and famous at that time. In the oldest copy now known it reads thus, but was afterwards changed. I omit the last lines, which seem to be an addition.

A fuera, a fuera, Rodrigo,
El soberbio Castellano!
Acordarte te debria
De aquel tiempo ya passado,
Quando fuiste caballero
En el altar de Santiago;
Quando el Rey fue tu padrino,
Tu Rodrigo el ahijado.
Mi padre te dio las armas,
Mi madre te dio el caballo,
Yo te calze las espuelas,
Porque fuesses mas honrado,
Que pensè casar contigo.
No lo quiso mi pecado;
Casaste con Ximena Gomez,
Hija del Conde Loçano.
Con ella uviste dineros;
Conmigo uvieras estado.
Bien casaste, Rodrigo,
Muy mejor fueras casado;
Dexaste hija de Rey,
Por tomar la de su vasallo.

This was one of the most popular of the old ballads. It is often alluded to by the writers of the best age of Spanish literature; for example, by Cervantes, in "Persiles y Sigismunda" (Lib. III. c. 21), and it was used by Guillen de Castro in his play on the Cid.

be more than a poetical version of traditions current at the different times when its different portions were composed.

Indeed, in the earlier part of the period when historical ballads were written, their subjects seem rather to have been chosen among the traditional heroes of the country, than among the known and ascertained events in its annals. Much fiction, of course, was mingled with whatever related to such personages by the willing credulity of patriotism, and portions of the ballads about them are incredible to any modern faith; so that we can hardly fail to agree with the good sense of the canon in Don Quixote, when he says, "There is no doubt there was such a man as the Cid and such a man as Bernardo del Carpio, but much doubt whether they achieved what is imputed to them;"[17] while, at the same time, we must admit there is not a little truth in the shrewd intimation of Sancho, that, after all, the old ballads are too old to tell lies. At least, some of them are so.

At a later period all sorts of subjects were introduced into the ballads; ancient subjects as well as modern, sacred as well as profane. Even the Greek and Roman fables were laid under contribution, as if they were historically true; but more ballads are connected with Spanish history than with any other, and, in general, they are better. The most striking peculiarity of the whole mass is, perhaps, to be found in the degree in which it expresses the national character. Loyalty is constantly prominent. The Lord of Buitrago sacrifices his own life to save that of his sovereign.[18] The Cid sends rich spoils from his conquests in Valencia to the un-

Miscellaneous historical ballads.

[17] "En lo que hubo Cid, no hay duda, ni menos Bernardo del Carpio; pero de que hicieron las hazañas que dicen, creo que hay muy grande." (Parte I. c. 49.) This, indeed, is the good sense of the matter, — a point in which Cervantes rarely fails, — and it forms a strong contrast to the extravagant faith of those who, on the one side, consider the ballads good historical documents, as Müller and Herder are disposed to do, and the sturdy incredulity of Masdeu, on the other, who denies that there ever was a Cid. There is a ballad in Escobar's Romancero beginning "Quantos dicen mal del Cid," maintaining the genuineness of the Cid's adventures; — but it is, I think, later than the date of the Don Quixote.

[18] See the fine ballad beginning "Si el cavallo vos han muerto," which first appears in the "Flor de Romances," Octava Parte (Alcalá, 1597, f. 129). It is boldly translated by Lockhart. The battle was that of Aljubarotta, 1385.

grateful king who had driven him thither as an exile.[19] Bernardo del Carpio bows in submission to the uncle who basely and brutally outrages his filial affections;[20] and when, driven to despair, he rebels, the ballads and the chronicles absolutely forsake him. In short, this and the other strong traits of the national character are constantly appearing in the old historical ballads, and constitute a chief part of the peculiar charm that invests them.

Ballads on Moorish Subjects. — The Moorish ballads form a brilliant and large class by themselves, but none of them are as old as the earliest historical ballads. Indeed, their very subjects intimate their later origin. Few can be found alluding to known events or to personages that occur before the period immediately preceding the fall of Granada; and even in these few the proofs of a more recent and Christian character are abundant. The truth appears to be that, after the final overthrow of the Moorish power, when the conquerors for the first time came into full possession of whatever was most luxurious in the civilization of their enemies, the tempting subjects their situation suggested were at once seized upon by the spirit of their popular poetry. The sweet South, with its gorgeous and effeminate refinement; the foreign, yet not absolutely stranger manners of its people; its magnificent and fantastic architecture; the stories of the warlike achievements and disasters at Baza, at Ronda, and at Alhama, with the romantic adventures and fierce feuds of the Zegris and Abencerrages, the Gomeles, and the Aliatares, — all took strong hold of the Spanish imagination, and made of

Ballads on Moorish subjects.

[19] I refer to the ballad in the "Romancero del Cid" beginning "Llego Alvar Fañez a Burgos," with the letter following it, — "El vasallo desleale." This trait in the Cid's character is noticed by Diego Ximenez Ayllon, in his poem on that hero, 1579, where, having spoken of his being treated by the king with harshness, — "Tratado de su Rey con aspereza," — the poet adds:

> Jamas le dio lugar su virtud alta
> Que en su lealtad viniese alguna falta.
> Canto I.

[20] On one of the occasions when Bernardo had been most foully and falsely treated by the king, he says:

> Señor, Rey sois, y haredes
> A vuestro querer y guisa.

> A king you are, and you must do,
> In your own way, what pleases you.

And on another similar occasion, in another ballad, he says to the king, -

> De servir no os dejaré
> Mientras que tengo la vida.

> Nor shall I fail to serve your Grace
> While life within me keeps its place.

Granada, its rich plain and snow-capped mountains, that fairy land which the elder and sterner ballad poetry of the North had failed to create. From this time, therefore, we find a new class of subjects, such as the loves of Gazul and Abindarraez, with games and tournaments in the Bivarrambla, and tales of Arabian nights in the Generalife; in short, whatever was matter of Moorish tradition or manners, or might by the popular imagination be deemed such, was wrought into Spanish ballad poetry, until the very excess became ridiculous, and the ballads themselves laughed at one another for deserting their own proper subjects, and becoming, as it were, renegades to nationality and patriotism.[21]

The period when this style of poetry came into favor was the century that elapsed after the fall of Granada; the same in which all classes of the ballads were first written down and printed. The early collections give full proof of this. Those of 1511 and 1550 contain only a few Moorish ballads, while that of 1593 contains above two hundred. But, though their subjects involve known occurrences, they are hardly ever really historical; as, for instance, the well-known ballad on the tournament in Toledo, which is supposed to have happened before the year 1085, while its names belong to the period immedi-

[21] In the humorous ballad, "Tanta Zayda y Adalifa" (first printed, Flor de Romances, Quinta Parte, Burgos, 1594, 18mo, f. 158), we have the following:

Renegaron de su ley
Los Romancistas de España,
Y ofrecieronle a Mahoma
Las primicias de sus galas.
Dexaron los graves hechos
De su vencedora patria,
Y mendigan de la agena
Invenciones y patrañas.

Like renegades to Christian faith,
These ballad-mongers vain
Have given to Mahound himself
The offerings due to Spain;
And left the record of brave deeds,
Done by their sires of old,
To beg abroad, in heathen lands,
For fictions poor and cold.

Góngora, too, attacked them in an amusing ballad, — "A mis Señores poetas," — and they were defended in another, beginning "Porque, Señores poetas."

I do not intend by this to imply that a considerable number of the ballads on Moorish subjects, and especially those on the wars of Granada, are not of popular origin, and sometimes nearly contemporary in their dates with the events they record. Undoubtedly there are such: so there are others relating to what is called the Moorish rebellion in the time of Philip II., and to the cruel expulsion of the Moorish race in the time of Philip III. They will be found scattered among the large collection in Duran's Romancero, Tom. II. 1851, pp. 103-142, and 162-192. Many of them, however, are by known authors. Those of more popular origin will generally be best found in Wolf's Primavera, 1856, Tom. I. pp. 234-325. Even here, however, all are not such. But, wherever they may be sought, the best of them, with very few exceptions, come originally from Hita's Guerras de Granada.

ately preceding the fall of Granada; and the ballad of King Belchite, which, like many others, has a subject purely imaginary. Indeed, this romantic character is the prevalent one in the ballads of this class, and gives them much of their interest; a fact well illustrated by that beginning "The star of Venus rises now," which is one of the best and most consistent in the "Romancero General," and yet, by its allusions to Venus and to Rodamonte, and its mistake in supposing a Moor to have been Alcayde of Seville a century after Seville had become a Christian city, shows that there was in its composition no serious thought of anything but poetical effect.[22]

These, with some of the ballads on the famous Gazul, occur in the popular story of the "Wars of Granada," where they are treated as if contemporary with the facts they record, and are beautiful specimens of the poetry which the Spanish imagination delighted to connect with that most glorious event in the national history.[23] Others can be found, in a similar tone, on the stories, partly or wholly fabulous, of Muça, Xarifé, Lisaro, and Tarfé; while yet others, in greater number, belong to the treasons and rivalries, the plots and adventures, of the more famous Zegris and Abencerrages, which, so far as they are founded in fact, show how internal dissensions, no less than external disasters, prepared the way for the final overthrow of the Moorish empire. Some of them were probably written in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella; many more in the time of Charles the Fifth; the most brilliant, but not the best, somewhat later.

Wars of Granada.

Ballads on Manners and Private Life.— But the ballad poetry of Spain was not confined to heroic subjects drawn from romance or history, or to subjects depending on Moorish traditions and manners; and therefore, though these are the three largest classes into which it is divided, there is yet a fourth, which may be called miscellaneous, and which is of no little moment. For, in truth, the poet-

[22] "Ocho á ocho, diez á diez," and "Sale la estrella de Venus," two of the ballads here referred to, are in the Romancero of 1593. Of the last there is a good translation in an excellent article on Spanish Poetry in the *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XXXIX. p. 419.

[23] Among the fine ballads on Gazul are: "Por la plaza de San Juan," and "Estando toda la corte."

ical feelings even of the lower portions of the Spanish people were spread out over more subjects than we should anticipate; and their genius, which, from the first, had a charter as free as the wind, has thus left us a vast number of records, that prove at least the variety of the popular perceptions, and the quickness and tenderness of the popular sensibility. Many of the miscellaneous ballads thus produced—perhaps most of them—are effusions of love: but many are pastoral; many are burlesque, satirical, and *picaresque*; many are called *Letras* or *Letrillas*, which are merely poems that are sung; many are lyrical in their tone, if not in their form; and many are descriptive of the manners and amusements of the people at large. But one characteristic runs through the whole of them. They are true representations of Spanish life. Some of those first printed have already been referred to; but there is a considerable class marked by an attractive simplicity of thought and expression, united to a sort of mischievous shrewdness, that should be particularly noticed. No such popular poetry exists in any other language. A number of these ballads occur in the peculiarly valuable Sixth Part of the Romancero, that appeared in 1594, and was gathered by Pedro Flores, as he himself tells us, in part at least, from the memories of the common people.[24] They remind us not unfrequently of the lighter poetry of the Archpriest of Hita in the middle of the fourteenth century, and may, probably, be traced back in their tone and spirit to a yet earlier period. Indeed, they are quite a prominent and charming part of all the earliest Romanceros, not a few of them being as simple, and yet as shrewd and humorous, as the following, in which an elder sister is represented lecturing a younger one, on first noticing in her the symptoms of love:

Ballads on popular manners.

Riño con Juanilla.

Her sister Miguela
  Once chid little Jane,
But the words that she spoke
  Gave a great deal of pain.

[24] For example, "Que es de mi contento," "Plega á Dios que si yo creo," "Aquella morena," "Madre, un cavallero," "Mal ayan mis ojos," "Niña, que vives," etc.

"You went yesterday playing,
  A child like the rest;
And now you come out,
  More than other girls dressed.

"You take pleasure in sighs,
  In sad music delight;
With the dawning you rise,
  Yet sit up half the night.

"When you take up your work,
  You look absent and stare,
And gaze on your sampler,
  But miss the stitch there.

"You 're in love, people say,
  Your actions all show it;—
New ways we shall have,
  When Mother shall know it.

"She 'll nail up the windows,
  And lock up the door;
Leave to frolic and dance
  She will give us no more.

"Old Aunt will be sent
  To take us to mass,
And stop all our talk
  With the girls as we pass.

"And when we walk out,
  She will bid the old shrew
Keep a faithful account
  Of what our eyes do;

"And mark who goes by,
  If I peep through the blind,
And be sure and detect us
  In looking behind.

"Thus for your idle follies
  Must I suffer too,
And, though nothing I 've done,
  Be punished like you."

"O sister Miguela,
  Your chiding pray spare;—
That I 've troubles you guess,
  But not what they are.

"Young Pedro it is,
Old Juan's fair youth;
But he 's gone to the wars,
And where is his truth?

"I loved him sincerely,
I loved all he said;
But I fear he is fickle,
I fear he is fled!

"He is gone of free choice,
Without summons or call,
And 'tis foolish to love him,
Or like him at all."

"Nay, rather do thou
To God pray above,
Lest Pedro return,
And again you should love,"

Said Miguela, in jest,
As she answered poor Jane;
"For when love has been bought
At cost of such pain,

"What hope is there, sister,
Unless the soul part,
That the passion you cherish
Should yield up your heart?

"Your years will increase,
But so will your pains,
And this you may learn
From the proverb's old strains:

"'If, when but a child,
Love's power you own,
Pray, what will you do
When you older are grown?'"[25]

[25] The oldest copy of this ballad or *letra* that I have seen is in the "Flor de Romances," Sexta Parte (1594, f. 27), collected by Pedro Flores, from popular traditions, and of which a less perfect copy is given, by an oversight, in the Ninth Part of the same collection, 1597, f. 116. I have not translated the verses at the end, because they seem to be a poor gloss by a later hand and in a different measure. The ballad itself is as follows:

Riño con Juanilla
Su hermana Miguela;
Palabras le dize,
Que mucho le duelan:
"Ayer en mantillas
Andauas pequeña,
Oy andas galana
Mas que otras donzellas.
Tu gozo es suspiros,
Tu cantar endechas;
Al alua madrugas,
Muy tarde te acuestas;
Quando estas labrando,
No se en que te piensas,

A single specimen like this, however, can give no idea of the great variety in the class of ballads to which it belongs, nor of their poetical beauty. To feel their true value and power, we must read large numbers of them, and read them, too, in their native language; for there is a winning freshness in the originals, as they lie imbedded in the old Romanceros, that escapes in translations, however free or however strict;—a remark that should be extended to the historical as well as the miscellaneous portions of that great mass of popular poetry which is found in the early ballad-books, and which, though it is all nearly three centuries old, and some of it older, has been much less carefully considered than it deserves to be.

Yet there are certainly few portions of the literature of any country that will better reward a spirit of adventurous inquiry than these ancient Spanish ballads, in all their forms. In many respects they are unlike the earliest narrative poetry of any other part of the world; in some, they are better. The English and Scotch ballads, with which they may most naturally be compared, belong to a ruder state of society, where a personal coarseness and violence prevailed, which did not,

English and Scotch Ballads.

Al dechado miras,
  Y los puntos yerras.
Dizenme que hazes
  Amorosas señas:
Si madre lo sabe,
  Aura cosas nueuas:
Clauara ventanas,
  Cerrara las puertas;
Para que baylemos,
  No dara licencia;
Mandara que tia
  Nos lleue a la Yglesia,
Porque no nos hablen
  Las amigas nuestras.
Quando fuera salga,
  Dirale a la dueña,
Que con nuestros ojos
  Tenga mucha cuenta;
Que mire quien passa,
  Si miro a la reja,
Y qual de nosotras
  Boluio la cabeça.
Por tus libertades
  Sere yo sugeta;
Pagaremos justos
  Lo que malos pecan."
"Ay! Miguela hermana,
  Que mal que sospechas!
Mis males presumes,
  Y no los aciertas.
A Pedro, el de Juan,
  Que se fue a la guerra,
Aficion le tuue,
  Y escuche sus quexas;
Mas visto que es vario
  Mediante el ausencia,
De su fe fingida
  Ya no se me acuerda.
Fingida la llamo,
  Porque, quien se ausenta,
Sin fuerça y con gusto,
  No es bien que le quiera."
"Ruegale tu a Dios
  Que Pedro no buelua,"
Respondio burlando
  Su hermana Miguela,
"Que el amor comprado
  Con tan ricas prendas
No saldra del alma
  Sin salir con ella.
Creciendo tus años,
  Creceran tus penas;
Y si no lo sabes,
  Escucha esta letra:
Si eres niña y has amor,
  Que haras quando mayor?"

Sexta Parte de Flor de Romances, Toledo, 1594, 18mo, f. 27.

CHAPTER VIII.

SECOND CLASS. — CHRONICLES. — ORIGIN. — ROYAL CHRONICLES. — GENERAL CHRONICLE BY ALFONSO THE TENTH. — ITS DIVISIONS AND SUBJECTS. — ITS MORE POETICAL PORTIONS. — ITS CHARACTER. — CHRONICLE OF THE CID. — ITS ORIGIN, SUBJECT, AND CHARACTER.

Chronicles. — Ballad poetry constituted, no doubt, originally, the amusement and solace of the whole mass of the Spanish people; for, during a long period of their early history, there was little division of the nation into strongly-marked classes, little distinction in manners, little variety or progress in refinement. The wars going on with unappeased violence from century to century, though by their character not without an elevating and poetical influence upon all, yet oppressed and crushed all by the sufferings that followed in their train, and kept the tone and condition of the body of the Spanish nation more nearly at the same level than the national character was probably ever kept, for so long a period, in any other Christian country. But, as the great Moorish contest was transferred to the South, Leon, Castile, and indeed the whole North, became comparatively quiet and settled. Wealth began to be accumulated in the monasteries, and leisure followed. The castles, instead of being constantly in a state of anxious preparation against the common enemy, were converted into abodes of a crude, but free hospitality; and those distinctions of society that come from different degrees of power, wealth, and cultivation, grew more and more apparent. From this time, then, the ballads, though not really neglected, began to subside into the lower portions of society, where for so long a period they remained; while the more advanced and educated sought, or created for themselves, forms of literature bet-

ter suited, in some respects, to their altered condition, and marking at once more leisure and knowledge, and a more settled system of social life.

The oldest of these forms was that of the Spanish prose chronicles, which, besides being called for by the changed condition of things, were the proper successors of the monkish Latin chronicles and legends, long before known in the country, and were of a nature to win favor with men who themselves were every day engaged in achievements such as these very stories celebrated, and who consequently looked on the whole class of works to which they belonged as the pledge and promise of their own future fame. The chronicles were, therefore, not only the natural offspring of the times, but were fostered and favored by the men who controlled the times.[1]

I. *General Chronicles and Royal Chronicles.* — Under such circumstances, we might well anticipate that the proper style of the Spanish chronicle would first appear at the court, or in the neighborhood of the throne; because at court were to be found the spirit and the materials most likely to give it birth. But it is still to be considered remarkable that the first of the chronicles in the order of time, and the first in merit, comes directly from a royal hand. It is called in the printed copies "The Chronicle of Spain," or "The General Chronicle of Spain," and is, no doubt, the same work earlier cited in manuscript as "The History of Spain."[2] In its characteristic Prologue, after solemnly giving the reasons why such a work ought to be compiled, we are told: "And therefore we, Don Alfonso, ... son of the very noble King Don Fernando, and of the Queen Doña Beatrice, have ordered to be collected as many books as we could have of histories that relate anything of the deeds done aforetime in Spain, and have taken the chronicle of the

The Crónica General.

[1] In the code of the Partidas (circa A. D. 1260) good knights are directed to listen at their meals to the reading of "las hestorias de los grandes fechos de armas que los otros fecieran," etc. (Parte II. Titulo XXI. Ley 20.) Few knights at that time could understand Latin, and the "*hestorias*" in Spanish must probably have been the Chronicle now to be mentioned, and the ballads or gestes on which it was, in part, founded.

[2] It is the opinion of Mondejar that the original title of the "Crónica de España" was "Estoria de España." Memorias de Alfonso el Sabio, p. 464.

Archbishop Don Rodrigo, ... and of Master Lucas, Bishop of Tuy, ... and composed this book;" words which give us the Declaration of Alfonso the Wise, that he himself composed this Chronicle,[3] and which thus carry it back certainly to a period before the year 1284, in which he died. From internal evidence, however, it is probable that it was written in the early part of his reign, which began in 1252; and that he was assisted in its composition by persons familiar with Arabic literature, and with whatever there was of other refinement in the age.[4]

[3] The distinction Alfonso makes between *ordering* the *materials* to be collected by others ("mandamos ayuntar") and *composing* or *compiling* the *Chronicle* himself ("composimos este libro") seems to show that he was its author or compiler, — certainly that he claimed to be such. But there are different opinions on this point. Florian de Ocampo, the historian, who, in 1541, published in folio, at Zamora, the first edition of the Chronicle, says, in notes, at the end of the Third and Fourth Parts, that some persons believe only the first three parts to have been written by Alfonso, and the fourth to have been compiled later; an opinion to which it is obvious that he himself inclines, though he says he will neither affirm nor deny anything about the matter. Others have gone further, and supposed the whole to have been compiled by several different persons. But to all this it may be replied, — 1. That the Chronicle is more or less well ordered, and more or less well written, according to the materials used in its composition; and that the objections made to the looseness and want of finish in the Fourth Part apply also, in a good degree, to the Third; thus proving more than Florian de Ocampo intends, since he declares it to be certain ("sabemos por cierto") that the first three parts were the work of Alfonso. 2. Alfonso declares, more than once, in his Prólogo, whose genuineness has been made sure by Mondejar, from the four best manuscripts, that his History comes down to his own times ("fasta el nuestro tiempo"), — which we reach only at the end of the Fourth Part, — treating the whole, throughout the Prólogo, as his own work. 3. There is strong internal evidence that he himself wrote the last part of the work, relating to his father; as, for instance, the beautiful account of the relations between St. Ferdinand and his mother, Berenguela (ed. 1541, f. 404); the solemn account of St. Ferdinand's death, at the very end of the whole; and other passages between ff. 402 and 426. 4. His nephew Don John Manuel, who made an abridgment of the Crónica de España, speaks of his uncle Alfonso the Wise as if he were its acknowledged author.

Dozy, in his learned and acute "Recherches sur l'Histoire politique et littéraire de l'Espagne, pendant le moyen age" (Leyde, 1849, 8vo, Tom. I. pp. 388–9), expresses his full belief that all four of the Parts of the Crónica de España were the work of Alfonso X., and gives strong reasons for it.

It should be borne in mind, also, that Mondejar says the edition of Florian de Ocampo is very corrupt and imperfect, omitting whole reigns in one instance; and the passages he cites from the old manuscripts of the entire work prove what he says. (Memorias, Lib. VII. Capp. 15, 16.) The only other edition of the Chronicle, that of Valladolid (fol., 1604), is still worse. Indeed, it is, from the number of its gross errors, one of the worst printed books I have ever used.

[4] The statement referred to in the Chronicle, that it was written four hundred years after the time of Charlemagne, is, of course, a very loose one; for Alfonso was not born in 1210. But I think he would hardly have said, "It is now full four hundred years" (ed. 1541, fol. 228), if it had been full four hundred and fifty. From this it may be inferred that the Chronicle was composed before 1260. Other passages tend to the same conclusion. Conde, in his Preface to his "Árabes en España," notices the Arabic air of the Chronicle, which, however, seems to me to have been rather the air of its age throughout Europe.

It is divided, perhaps not by its author, into four parts: the first opening with the creation of the world, and giving a large space to Roman history, but hastening over everything else till it comes to the occupation of Spain by the Visigoths; the second comprehending the Gothic empire of the country and its conquest by the Moors; the third coming down to the reign of Ferdinand the Great, early in the eleventh century; and the fourth closing in 1252, with the death of Saint Ferdinand, the conqueror of Andalusia and father of Alfonso himself.

Its earlier portions.

Its earliest portions are the least interesting. They contain such notions and accounts of antiquity, and especially of the Roman empire, as were current among the common writers of the Middle Ages, though occasionally, as in the case of Dido,—whose memory has always been defended by the more popular chroniclers and poets of Spain against the imputations of Virgil,[5]—we have a glimpse of feelings and opinions which may be considered more national. Such passages naturally become more frequent in the Second Part, which relates to the empire of the Visigoths in Spain; though here, as the ecclesiastical writers are almost the only authority that could be resorted to, their peculiar tone prevails too much. But the Third Part is quite free and original in its spirit, and truly Spanish; setting forth the rich old traditions of the country about the first outbreak of Pelayo from the mountains;[6] the stories of Bernardo del Carpio,[7] Fernan Gonzalez,[8] and the Seven Lords of Lara;[9] with spirited sketches of Charlemagne,[10] and accounts of miracles like those of the cross made by angels for Alfonso the Chaste,[11]

5 The account of Dido is worth reading, especially by those who have occasion to see her story referred to in the Spanish poets, as it is by Ercilla and Lope de Vega, in a way quite unintelligible to those who know only the Roman version of it as given by Virgil. It is found in the Crónica de España (Parte I. c. 51-57), and ends with a very heroical epistle of the queen to Æneas;—the Spanish view taken of the whole matter being in substance that which is taken by Justin, very briefly, in his "Universal History," Lib. XVIII. c. 4-6.

6 Crónica de España, Parte III. c. 1, 2.

7 Ibid., Capp. 10 and 13.

8 Ibid., Capp. 18, etc.

9 Ibid., Cap. 20.

10 Ibid., Cap. 10.

11 Ibid., Cap. 10, with the ballad made out of it, beginning "Reynando el Rey Alfonso."

and of Santiago fighting against the infidels in the glorious battles of Clavijo and Hazinas.[12]

The last part, though less carefully compiled and elaborated, is in the same general tone. It opens with the well-known history of the Cid,[13] to whom, as to the great hero of the popular admiration, a disproportionate space is assigned. After this, being already within a hundred and fifty years of the writer's own time, we, of course, approach the confines of more sober history, and finally, in the reign of his father, Saint Ferdinand, fairly settle upon its sure and solid foundations.

The striking characteristic of this remarkable Chronicle is that, especially in its Third Part, and in a portion of the Fourth, it is a translation, if we may so speak, of the old poetical fables and traditions of the country into a simple but rich prose, intended to be sober history. What were the sources of those purely national passages which we should be most curious to trace back and authenticate, we can never know. Sometimes, as in the case of Bernardo del Carpio and Charlemagne, the ballads and gestes of the olden time [14] are distinctly appealed to. Sometimes, as in the case of the Infantes de Lara, an early Latin chronicle, or perhaps some poetical legend, of which all trace is now lost, may have constituted the foundations of the narrative.[15] And once at least, if not

Its later portions.

[12] Crónica de España, Parte III. Capp. 11 and 19. A drama by Rodrigo de Herrera, entitled "Voto de Santiago y Batalla de Clavijo" (Comedias Escogidas, Tom. XXXIII., 1670, 4to), is founded on the first of these passages, but has not used its good material with much skill.

[13] The separate history of the Cid begins with the beginning of Part Fourth, f. 279, and ends on f. 346, ed. 1541.

[14] These *Cantares* and *Cantares de Gesta* are referred to in Parte III. c. 10 and 13. The Marques Pidal thinks (Baena, Cancionero 1851, pp. xiv.–xv, note 4) that he finds fragments of these old poems occasionally in the Chronicle of the Cid.

[15] I cannot help feeling, as I read it, that the beautiful story of the Infantes de Lara, as told in this Third Part of the Crónica de España, beginning f. 261 of the edition of 1541, is from a separate and older chronicle; probably from some old monkish Latin legend. But it can be traced no further back than to this passage in the Crónica de España, on which rests everything relating to the Lords of Lara in Spanish poetry and romance.

Fauriel (Histoire de la Poésie Provençale, 1846, Tom. III. p. 465) says that the Provençal tale of "Karles le mainet," or Charles the Small, is used in the Crónica de España. He refers, I suppose, to the story of Galiana, Parte III. cap. 5, ed. 1604. ff. 21, sqq.; but, perhaps, the reverse of his conjecture is true, and the tale of Karles, which has strong internal evidence of a Spanish origin, and relates to Spanish history, was taken from the Crónica de España, or from some Spanish source open to both.

oftener, an entire and separate history, that of the Cid, is inserted without being well adapted to its place. Throughout all these portions, the poetical character predominates much oftener than it does in the rest; for while, in the earlier parts, what had been rescued of ancient history is given with a grave sort of exactness, that renders it dry and uninteresting, we have in the concluding portion a simple narrative, where, as in the account of the death of Saint Ferdinand, we feel persuaded that we read touching details sketched by a faithful and affectionate eye-witness.

Among the more poetical passages are two, at the end of the Second Part, which are introduced, as contrasts to each other, with a degree of art and skill rare in these simple-hearted old chronicles. They relate to what was long called "the Ruin of Spain," [16] or its conquest by the Moors, and consist of two picturesque presentments of its condition before and after that event, which the Spaniards long seemed to regard as dividing the history of the world into its two great constituent portions. In the first of these passages, entitled "Of the Good Things of Spain," [17] after a few general remarks, the fervent old chronicler goes on: "For this Spain, whereof we have spoken, is like the very Paradise of God; for it is watered by five noble rivers, which are the Duero, and the Ebro, and the Tagus, and the Guadalquivir, and the Guadiana; and each of these hath, between itself and the others, lofty mountains and sierras; [18] and their valleys and plains are great and broad; and, through the richness of the soil and the watering of the rivers, they bear many fruits and are full of abundance. And Spain, above all other things, is skilled in war, feared and very bold in battle; light of heart, loyal to her lord, diligent in learning, courtly in speech, accomplished in all

Los Bienes de España.

[16] "La Pérdida de España" is the common name, in the older writers, for the Moorish conquest.

[17] "Los Bienes que tiene España" (ed. 1541, f. 202), — and, on the other side of the leaf, the passage that follows, called "El Llanto de España."

[18] The original, in *both* the printed editions, is *tierras*, though it should plainly be *sierras*, from the context; but this is noticed as only one of the thousand gross typographical errors with which these editions are deformed.

good things. Nor is there land in the world that may be accounted like her in abundance, nor may any equal her in strength, and few there be in the world so great. And above all doth Spain abound in magnificence, and more than all is she famous for her loyalty. O Spain! there is no man can tell of all thy worthiness!"

But now reverse the medal, and look on the other picture, entitled "The Mourning of Spain," when, as the Chronicle tells us, after the victory of the Moors, "all the land remained empty of people, bathed in tears, a byword, nourishing strangers, deceived of her own people, widowed and deserted of her sons, confounded among barbarians, worn out with weeping and wounds; decayed in strength, weakened, uncomforted, abandoned of all her own. . . . . . Forgotten are her songs, and her very language is become foreign, and her words strange."

El Llanto de España.

The more attractive passages of the Chronicle, however, are its long narratives. They are also the most poetical; — so poetical, indeed, that large portions of them, with little change in their phraseology, have since been converted into popular ballads;[19] while other portions, hardly less considerable, are probably derived from similar, but older, popular poetry, now either wholly lost, or so much changed by successive oral traditions that it has ceased to show its relationship with the chronicling stories to which it originally gave birth. Among these narrative passages, one of the most happy is the history of Bernardo del Carpio, for parts of which the Chronicle appeals to ballads more ancient than itself;

Bernardo del Carpio.

[19] This remark will apply to many passages in the Third Part of the Chronicle of Spain, but to none, perhaps, so strikingly as to the stories of Bernardo del Carpio and the Infantes de Lara, large portions of which may be found almost verbatim in the ballads. I will now refer only to the following: 1. On Bernardo del Carpio, the ballads beginning "El Conde Don Sancho Diaz," "En corte del Casto Alfonso," "Estando en paz y sosiego," "Andados treinta y seis años," and "En gran pesar y tristeza." 2. On the Infantes de Lara, the ballads beginning "A Calatrava la Vieja," which was evidently arranged for singing at a puppet-show or some such exhibition, "Llegados son los Infantes," "Quien es aquel caballero," and "Ruy Velasquez el de Lara." All these are found in the older collections of ballads; those, I mean, printed before 1560; and it is worthy of particular notice that this same General Chronicle makes especial mention of *Cantares de Gesta* about Bernardo del Carpio that were known and popular when it was itself compiled, in the thirteenth century.

while to the whole, as it stands in the Chronicle, ballads more modern have, in their turn, been much indebted. It is founded on the idea of a poetical contest between Bernardo's loyalty to his king, on the one side, and his attachment to his imprisoned father, on the other. For he was, as we have already learned from the old ballads and traditions, the son of a secret marriage between the king's sister and the Count de Sandias de Saldaña, which had so offended the king, that he kept the Count in prison from the time he discovered it, and concealed whatever related to Bernardo's birth; educating him, meantime, as his own son. When, however, Bernardo grew up, he became the great hero of his age, rendering important military services to his king and country. "But yet," according to the admirably strong expression of the old Chronicle,[20] "when he knew all this, and that it was his own father that was in prison, it grieved him to the heart, and his blood turned in his body, and he went to his house, making the greatest moan that could be, and put on raiment of mourning, and went to the king, Don Alfonso. And the king, when he saw it, said to him, 'Bernardo, do you desire my death?' for Bernardo until that time had held himself to be the son of the king, Don Alfonso. And Bernardo said, 'Sire, I do not wish for your death, but I have great grief because my father, the Count of Sandias, lieth in prison, and I beseech you of your grace that you would command him to be given up to me.' And the king, Don Alfonso, when he heard this, said to him, 'Bernardo, begone from before me, and never be so bold as to speak to me again of this matter; for I swear to you that, in all the days that I shall live, you shall never see your father out of his prison.' And Bernardo said to him, 'Sire, you are my king, and may do whatsoever you shall hold for good; but I pray God that he will put it into your heart to take him thence; nevertheless, I, Sire, shall in no wise cease to serve you in all that I may.'"

Notwithstanding this refusal, however, when great services are wanted from Bernardo in troubled times,

[20] See the Crónica General de España, ed. 1541, f. 227, a.

his father's liberty is promised him as a reward; but these promises are constantly broken, until he renounces his allegiance, and makes war upon his false uncle, and on one of his successors, Alfonso the Great.[n] At last Bernardo succeeds in reducing the royal authority so low, that the king again, and more solemnly, promises to give up his prisoner if Bernardo, on his part, will give up the great castle of Carpio, which had rendered him really formidable. The faithful son does not hesitate, and the king sends for the Count, but finds him dead, probably by the royal procurement. The Count's death, however, does not prevent the base monarch from determining to keep the castle, which was the stipulated price of his prisoner's release. He therefore directs the dead body to be brought, as if alive, on horseback, and, in company with Bernardo, who has no suspicion of the cruel mockery, goes out to meet it.

"And when they were all about to meet," the old chronicle goes on, "Bernardo began to shout aloud with great joy, and to say, 'Cometh indeed the Count Don Sandias de Saldaña!' And the king, Don Alfonso, said to him, 'Behold where he cometh! Go, therefore, and salute him whom you have sought so much to behold.' And Bernardo went towards him, and kissed his hand: but when he found it cold, and saw that all his color was black, he knew that he was dead; and with the grief he had from it he began to cry aloud, and to make great moan, saying, 'Alas! Count Sandias, in an evil hour was I born, for never was man so lost as I am now for you; for, since you are dead, and my castle is gone, I know no counsel by which I may do aught.' And some say in their ballads (*cantares de gesta*) that the king then

[n] Crónica Gen., ed. 1541, f. 237, a.

When I read such passages as those I have here cited, I am ready to say with Dozy (Recherches, etc., 1849, Tom. I. p. 384): *La Crónica* aurait droit à toute notre éstime même si elle n'avait qu'un seul mérite (qu'elle partage du reste avec le Code que composa Alfonse, les *Siete Partidas*) celui d'avoir créé la prose Castillane; — non pas cette pâle prose d'aujourd'hui, qui manque de caractère, d'individualité, qui trop souvent n'est que du Français traduit mot à mot, — mais la vraie prose Castillane, celle du bon vieux temps; cette prose qui exprime si fidèlement le caractère Espagnole; cette prose vigoureuse, large, riche, grave, noble, et naîve tout à la fois; — et cela dans un temps où les autres peuples de l'Europe, sans en excepter les Italiens, étaient bien loin encore d'avoir produit un ouvrage en prose qui se recommendât par le style.

said, 'Bernardo, now is not the time for much talking, and, therefore, I bid you go straightway forth from my land,'" etc.

This constitutes one of the most interesting parts of the old General Chronicle; but the whole is curious, and much of it is rich and picturesque. It is written with more freedom and less exactness of style than some of the other works of its royal author; and in the last division shows a want of finish, which in the first two parts is not perceptible, and in the third only slightly so. But everywhere it breathes the spirit of its age, and, when taken together, is not only the most interesting of the Spanish chronicles, but the most interesting of all that in any country mark the transition from its poetical and romantic traditions to the grave exactness of historical truth.

Crónica del Cid.

The next of the early Chronicles that claims our notice is the one called, with primitive simplicity, "The Chronicle of the Cid:" in some respects as important as the one we have just examined; in others, less so. The first thing that strikes us, when we open it, is, that, although it has much of the appearance and arrangement of a separate and independent work, it is substantially the same with the two hundred and eighty pages which constitute the first portion of the Fourth Book of the General Chronicle of Spain; so that one must certainly have been taken from the other, or both from some common source. The latter is, perhaps, the more obvious conclusion, and has sometimes been adopted;[22] but, on a careful examination, it will probably be found that the Chronicle of the Cid is rather taken from that of Alfonso the Wise than from any materials common to both and older than both. For, in the first place, each, in the same words, often claims to be a translation from the same authors; yet, as the language of both is frequently identical for pages together, this cannot be true, unless

[22] This is the opinion of Southey, in the Preface to his "Chronicle of the Cid," which, though one of the most amusing and instructive books, in relation to the manners and feelings of the Middle Ages, that is to be found in the English language, is not so wholly a translation from its three Spanish sources as it claims to be. The opinion of Huber on the same point is like that of Southey.

one copied from the other. And, secondly, the Chronicle of the Cid, in some instances, corrects the errors of the General Chronicle, and, in one instance at least, makes an addition to it of a date later than that of the General Chronicle itself.[23] But, passing over the details of this obscure but not unimportant point, it is sufficient for our present purpose to say that the Chronicle of the Cid is the same in substance with the history of the Cid in the General Chronicle, and was probably taken from it.

When it was arranged in its present form, or by whom this was done, we have no notice.[24] But it was found, as

[23] Both the chronicles cite for their authorities the Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo, and the Bishop Lucas of Tuy, in Galicia (Cid, Cap. 293; General, 1604, f. 313, b, and elsewhere), and represent them as dead. Now, the first died in 1247, and the last in 1250; and as the General Chronicle of Alfonso X. was *necessarily* written between 1252 and 1282, and *probably* written soon after 1252, it is not to be supposed, either that the Chronicle of the Cid, or any other chronicle in the *Spanish* language which the General Chronicle could use, was already compiled. But there are passages in the Chronicle of the Cid which prove it to be later than the General Chronicle. For instance, in Chapters 294, 295, and 296, of the Chronicle of the Cid, there is a correction of an error of two years in the General Chronicle's chronology. And again, in the General Chronicle (ed. 1604, f. 313. b), after relating the burial of the Cid, by the bishops, in a vault, and dressed in his clothes ("vestido con sus paños"), it adds, "And thus he was laid where he still lies" ("*E assi yaze ay do agora yaze*"); but in the Chronicle of the Cid, the words in Italics are stricken out, and we have instead, "And there he remained a long time, till King Alfonso came to reign" ("E hy estudo muy grand tiempo, fasta que vino el Rey Don Alfonso a reynar"); after which words we have an account of the translation of his body to another tomb, by Alfonso the Wise, the son of Ferdinand. But, besides that this is plainly an addition to the Chronicle of the Cid, made later than the account given in the General Chronicle, there is a little clumsiness about it that renders it quite curious; for, in speaking of St. Ferdinand with the usual formulary, as "he who conquered Andalusia, and the city of Jaen, and many other royal towns and castles," it adds, "As the history will relate to you *further on* ("Segun que adelante vos lo contará la historia"). Now, the history of the Cid has nothing to do with the history of St. Ferdinand, who lived a hundred years after him, and is never again mentioned in this Chronicle; and therefore the little passage containing the account of the translation of the body of the Cid, in the thirteenth century, to its next resting-place, was probably cut out from some other chronicle, which contained the history of St. Ferdinand, as well as that of the Cid. (Cap. 291.)

It is a curious fact, though not one of consequence to this inquiry, that the remains of the Cid, besides their removal by Alfonso the Wise, in 1272, were successively transferred to different places, in 1447, in 1541, again in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and again, by the bad taste of the French General Thibaut, in 1809 or 1810, until, at last, in 1824, they were restored to their original sanctuary in San Pedro de Cardenas. (Semanario Pintoresco, 1838, p. 648.)

[24] If it be asked what were the authorities on which the portion of the Crónica General relating to the Cid relies for its materials, I should answer: — 1. Those cited in the Prólogo to the whole work by Alfonso himself, some of which are again cited when speaking of the Cid. Among these, the most important is the Archbishop Rodrigo's "Historia Gothica." (See Nic. Ant., Bibl. Vet., Lib. VIII. c. 2, § 28.) 2. It is probable there were Arabic records of the Cid, as a life of him, or part of a life of him, by a nephew of Alfaxati or

we now read it, at Cardenas, in the very monastery where the Cid lies buried, and was seen there by the youthful Ferdinand, grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, who was afterwards Emperor of Germany, and who was induced to give the abbot an order to have it printed.[25] This was done accordingly in 1512, since which time there have been but two editions of it, those of 1552 and of 1593, until it was reprinted in 1844, at Marburg, in Germany, with an excellent critical preface in Spanish, by Huber.

As a part of the General Chronicle of Spain,[26] we must,

Alfaraxi, the converted Moor, is referred to in the Chronicle itself, Cap. 278, and in Crón. Gen., 1541, f. 359. b. But there is nothing in the Chronicle that sounds like Arabic, except the account of the siege of Valencia, or some parts of it, and especially the "Lament for the Fall of Valencia," beginning "Valencia, Valencia, vinieron sobre ti muchos quebrantos," which is on f. 329. a, and again, poorly amplified, on f. 329. b, but out of which has been made the fine ballad, "Apretada esta Valencia," which can be traced back to the ballad-book printed by Martin Nucio, at Antwerp, 1550, though, I believe, no further. If, therefore, there be anything in the Chronicle of the Cid taken from documents in the Arabic language, such documents were written by Christians, or a Christian character was impressed on the facts taken from them.* 3. It has been suggested by the Spanish translators of Bouterwek (p. 255) that the Chronicle of the Cid in Spanish is substantially taken from the "Historia Roderici Didaci," published by Risco, in "La Castilla y el mas Famoso Castellano" (1792, App., pp. xvi.–lx.). But the Latin, though curious and valuable, is a meagre compendium, in which I find nothing of the attractive stories and adventures of the Spanish, but occasionally something to contradict or discredit them. 4. The old "Poem of the Cid" was, no doubt, used, and used freely, by the chronicler, whoever he was, though he never alludes to it. This has been noticed by Sanchez (Tom. I. pp. 226–228), and must be noticed again, in note 28, where I shall give an extract from the Poem. I add here only that it is clearly the Poem that was used by the Chronicle, and not the Chronicle that was used by the Poem.

* Since writing this note, I learn that my friend Don Pascual de Gayangos possesses an Arabic chronicle that throws much light on this Spanish chronicle and on the life of the Cid.

[25] Prohemio. The good abbot considers the Chronicle to have been written in the lifetime of the Cid, that is, before A. D. 1100, and yet it refers to the Archbishop of Toledo and the Bishop of Tuy, who were of the thirteenth century. Moreover, he speaks of the intelligent interest the Prince Ferdinand took in it; but Oviedo, in his Dialogue on Cardinal Ximenes, says the young prince was only eight years and some months old when he gave the order. (Quinquagenas, MS.)

[26] Sometimes it is necessary earlier to allude to a portion of the Cid's history, and then it is added, "As we shall relate further on;" so that it is quite certain the Cid's history was originally regarded as a necessary portion of the General Chronicle. (Crónica General, ed. 1604, Tercera Parte, f. 92. b.) When, therefore, we come to the Fourth Part, where it really belongs, we have, first, a chapter on the accession of Ferdinand the Great, and then the history of the Cid connected with that of the reigns of Ferdinand, Sancho II., and Alfonso VI.; but the whole is so truly an integral part of the General Chronicle, and not a separate chronicle of the Cid, that, when it was taken out to serve as a separate chronicle, it was taken out as *the three reigns* of the three sovereigns above mentioned, beginning with one chapter that goes back ten years before the Cid was born, and ending with five chapters that run forward ten years after his death; while at the conclusion of the whole is a sort of colophon, apologizing (Crónica del Cid, Burgos, 1593, fol., f. 277) for the fact that it is so much a chronicle of these three kings, rather than a mere chronicle of the Cid. This, with

with a little hesitation, pronounce the Chronicle of the Cid less interesting than several of the portions that immediately precede it. But still, it is the great national version of the achievements of the great national hero who freed the fourth part of his native land from the loathed intrusion of the Moors, and who stands to this day connected with the proudest recollections of Spanish glory. It begins with the Cid's first victories under Ferdinand the Great, and therefore only alludes to his early youth, and to the extraordinary circumstances on which Corneille, following the old Spanish play and ballads, has founded his tragedy; but it gives afterwards, with great minuteness, nearly every one of the adventures that in the older traditions are ascribed to him, down to his death, which happened in 1099, and goes on afterwards down to the death of Alfonso the Sixth, ten years later.

Much of it is as fabulous[27] as the accounts of Bernardo del Carpio and the Infantes de Lara, though perhaps not more so than might be expected in a work of such a period and such pretensions. Its style, too, is suited to its romantic character, and is more diffuse and grave than that of the best narrative portions of the General Chronicle. But then, on the other hand, it is overflowing with the very spirit of the times when it was written, and offers us so true a picture of their generous virtues, as well as their stern violence, that it may well be regarded as one of the best books in the world, if not the very best, for studying the real character and manners of the ages of chivalry. Occasionally there are passages in it like the following description of the Cid's feelings and conduct, when he left his good castle of Bivar, unjustly and cruelly exiled by the king, which, whether invented

Its character.

the peculiar character of the differences between the two that have been already noticed, has satisfied me that the Chronicle of the Cid was taken from the General Chronicle.

Dozy (whose learned Recherches sur l'Espagne, etc., 1849, I had not seen when this last opinion was first published) comes, I am pleased to observe, to the same conclusion. Tom. I. p. 406, and elsewhere.

[27] Masdeu (Historia Crítica de España, Madrid, 1783–1805, 4to, Tom. XX.) would have us believe that the whole is a fable; but this demands too much credulity. The question is discussed with acuteness and learning in "Jos. Aschbach de Cidi Historiæ Fontibus Dissertatio" (Bonnæ, 4to, 1843, pp. 5, etc.), but little can be settled about individual facts. See also *ante*, Chap. II. Note 4.

or not, are as true to the spirit of the period they represent as if the minutest of their details were ascertained facts.

"And when he saw his courts deserted and without people, and the perches without falcons, and the gateway without its judgment-seats, he turned himself toward the East, and knelt down and said, 'Saint Mary, Mother, and all other Saints, graciously beseech God that he would grant me might to overcome all these pagans, and that I may gain from them wherewith to do good to my friends, and to all those that may follow and help me.' And then he went on and asked for Alvar Fañez, and said to him, 'Cousin, what fault have the poor in the wrong that the king has done us? Warn all my people, then, that they harm none, wheresoever we may go.' And he called for his horse to mount. Then spake up an old woman standing at her door and said, 'Go on with good luck, for you shall make spoil of whatsoever you may find or desire.' And the Cid, when he heard that saying, rode on, for he would tarry no longer; and as he went out of Bivar, he said, 'Now do I desire you should know, my friends, that it is the will of God that we should return to Castile with great honor and great gain.'"[28]

Some of the touches of manners in this little passage, such as the allusion to the judgment-seats at his gate, where the Cid, in patriarchal simplicity, had administered justice to his vassals, and the hint of the poor augury gathered from the old woman's wish, which seems to be of more power with him than the prayer he had just uttered, or the bold hopes that were driving him to the Moorish frontiers, — such touches give life and truth to

[28] The portion of the Chronicle of the Cid from which I have taken the extract is among the portions which least resemble the corresponding parts of the General Chronicle. It is in Chap. 91; and from Chap. 88 to Chap. 93 there is a good deal not found in the parallel passages in the General Chronicle (1604, f. 224, etc.), though, where they do resemble each other, the phraseology is still frequently identical. The particular passage I have selected was, I think, suggested by the first lines that remain to us of the "Poema del Cid;" and perhaps, if we had the preceding lines of that poem, we should be able to account for yet more of the additions to the Chronicle in this passage. The lines I refer to are as follows:

De los sos oios tan fuertes mientre lorando
Tornaba la cabeza, e estabalos catando.
Vio puertas abiertas e uzos sin cañados,
Alcándaras vacias, sin pielles e sin mantos,
E sin falcones e sin adtores mudados.
Sospiró mio Cid, ca mucho avie grandes cuidados.

Other passages are quite as obviously taken from the poem.

this old chronicle, and bring its times and feelings, as it were, sensibly before us. Adding its peculiar treasures to those contained in the rest of the General Chronicle, we shall find, in the whole, nearly all the romantic and poetical fables and adventures that belong to the earliest portions of Spanish history. At the same time we shall obtain a living picture of the state of manners in that dark period, when the elements of modern society were just beginning to be separated from the chaos in which they had long struggled, and out of which, by the action of successive ages, they have been gradually wrought into those forms of policy which now give stability to governments, and peace to the intercourse of men.

CHAPTER IX.

EFFECTS OF THE EXAMPLE OF ALFONSO THE TENTH. — CHRONICLES OF HIS OWN REIGN, AND OF THE REIGNS OF SANCHO THE BRAVE AND FERDINAND THE FOURTH. — CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO THE ELEVENTH, BY VILLAIZAN. — CHRONICLES OF PETER THE CRUEL, HENRY THE SECOND, JOHN THE FIRST, AND HENRY THE THIRD, BY AYALA. — CHRONICLE OF JOHN THE SECOND. — TWO CHRONICLES OF HENRY THE FOURTH, AND TWO OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

THE idea of Alfonso the Wise, simply and nobly expressed in the opening of his Chronicle, that he was desirous to leave for posterity a record of what Spain had been and had done in all past time,[1] was not without influence upon the nation, even in the state in which it then was, and in which, for above a century afterwards, it continued. But, as in the case of that great king's project for a uniform administration of justice by a settled code, his example was too much in advance of his age to be immediately followed; though, as in that memorable case, when it was once adopted, its fruits became abundant. The two next kings, Sancho the Brave and Ferdinand the Fourth, took no measures, so far as we know, to keep up and publish the history of their reigns. But Alfonso the Eleventh, the same monarch, it should be remembered, under whom the "Partidas" became the efficient law of the land, recurred to the example of his wise ancestor, and ordered the annals of the kingdom to be continued, from the time when those of the General Chronicle ceased down to his own; embracing, of course, the reigns of Alfonso the Wise, San-

Alfonso the Eleventh.

[1] It sounds much like the "Partidas," beginning "Los sabios antiguos que fueron en los tiempos primeros, y fallaron los saberes y las otras cosas, tovieron que menguarien en sus fechos y en su lealtad, si tambien no lo quisiessen para los otros que avien de venir, como para si mesmos o por los otros que eran en su tiempo," etc. But such introductions are common in other early chronicles, and in other old Spanish books.

cho the Brave, and Ferdinand the Fourth, or the period from 1252 to 1312.[2] This is the first instance of the appointment of a royal chronicler, and may, therefore, be accounted as the creation of an office of consequence in all that regards the history of the country, and which, however much it may have been neglected in later times, furnished important documents down to the reign of Charles the Fifth, and was continued in form, at least, till the establishment of the Academy of History in the beginning of the eighteenth century.[3]

Royal chroniclers.

By whom this office was first filled does not appear; but the Chronicle itself seems to have been prepared about the year 1320. Formerly it was attributed to Fernan Sanchez de Tovar; but Fernan Sanchez was a personage of great consideration and power in the state, practised in public affairs, and familiar with their history, so that we can hardly attribute to him the mistakes with which this Chronicle abounds, especially in the part relating to Alfonso the Wise.[4] But, whoever may have been its author, the Chronicle, which, it may be noticed, is so distinctly divided into the three reigns that it is rather three chronicles than one, has little value as a composition. Its narrative is given with a rude and dry formality, and whatever interest it awakens depends, not upon its style and manner, but upon the character of the events recorded, which sometimes have an air of adventure about them belonging to the elder times, and, like them, are full of life and movement.

The example of regular chronicling, having now been fairly set at the court of Castile, was followed by Henry the Second, who commanded his Chancellor and Chief-Jus-

[2] "Chrónica del muy Esclarecido Príncipe y Rey D. Alfonso, el que fue par de Emperador, y hizo el Libro de las Siete Partidas, y ansimismo al fin deste Libro va encorporada la Crónica del Rey D. Sancho el Bravo," etc., Valladolid, 1554, folio; to which should be added "Crónica del muy Valeroso Rey D. Fernando, Visnieto del Santo Rey D. Fernando," etc., Valladolid, 1554, folio.

[3] Forner, Obras, ed. Villanueva, Madrid, 1843, 8vo, Tom. I. pp. 29, 30, 120.

[4] All this may be found abundantly discussed in the "Memorias de Alfonso el Sabio," by the Marques de Mondejar, pp. 569–635. Clemencin, however, still attributes the Chronicle to Fernan Sanchez de Tovar. Mem. de la Acad. de Historia, Tom VI. p. 451.

ticiary, Juan Nuñez de Villaizan, to prepare, as we are told in the Preface, in imitation of the ancients, an account of his father's reign. In this way, the series goes on unbroken, and now gives us the "Chronicle of Alfonso the Eleventh,"[5] beginning with his birth and education, of which the notices are slight, but relating amply the events from the time he came to the throne, in 1312, till his death, in 1350. How much of it was actually written by the chancellor of the kingdom cannot be ascertained.[6] From different passages, it seems that an older chronicle was used freely in its composition;[7] and the whole should, therefore, probably be regarded as a compilation made under the responsibility of the highest personages of the realm. Its opening will show at once the grave and measured tone it takes, and the accuracy it claims for its dates and statements.

Alfonso the Eleventh.

"God is the beginning and the means and the end of all things; and without him they cannot subsist. For by his power they are made, and by his wisdom ordered, and by his goodness maintained. And he is the Lord; and, in all things, almighty, and conqueror in all battles. Wherefore, whosoever would begin any good work should first name the name of God, and place him before all things, asking and beseeching of his mercy to give him knowledge and will and power, whereby he may bring it to a good end. Therefore will this pious chronicle henceforward relate whatsoever happened to the noble King, Don Alfonso, of Castile and Leon, and the battles and conquests and victories that he had and did in his life against Moors and against Christians. And it will begin in the fifteenth year of the reign of the most noble King, Don Fernando, his father."[8]

The reign of the father, however, occupies only three short chapters; after which, the rest of the Chronicle,

[5] There is an edition of this Chronicle (Valladolid, 1551, folio) better than the old editions of such Spanish books commonly are; but the best is that of Madrid, 1787, 4to, edited by Cerdá y Rico, and published under the auspices of the Spanish Academy of History.

[6] The phrase is, "Mandó á Juan Nuñez de Villaizan, Alguacil de la su Casa, que la ficiese trasladar en Pergaminos, e fizola trasladar, et escribióla Ruy Martinez de Medina de Rioseco," etc. See Preface.

[7] In Cap. 340 and elsewhere.

[8] Ed. 1787, p. 3.

containing in all three hundred and forty-two chapters, comes down to the death of Alfonso, who perished of the plague before Gibraltar, and then it abruptly closes. Its general tone is grave and decisive, like that of a person speaking with authority upon matters of importance, and it is rare that we find in it a sketch of manners like the following account of the young king at the age of fourteen or fifteen.

"And as long as he remained in the city of Valladolid, there were with him knights and esquires, and his tutor, Martin Fernandez de Toledo, that brought him up, and that had been with him a long time, even before the queen died, and other men, who had long been used to palaces, and to the courts of kings; and all these gave him an ensample of good manners. And, moreover, he had been brought up with the children of men of note, and with noble knights. But the king, of his own condition, was well-mannered in eating, and drank little, and was clad as became his estate; and in all other his customs he was well-conditioned, for his speech was true Castilian, and he hesitated not in what he had to say. And so long as he was in Valladolid, he sat three days in the week to hear the complaints and suits that came before him; and he was shrewd in understanding the facts thereof, and he was faithful in secret matters, and loved them that served him, each after his place, and trusted truly and entirely those whom he ought to trust. And he began to be much given to horsemanship, and pleased himself with arms, and loved to have in his household strong men, that were bold and of good conditions. And he loved much all his own people, and was sore grieved at the great mischief and great harm there were in the land through failure of justice, and he had indignation against evil-doers." [9]

But though there are few sketches in the Chronicle of Alfonso the Eleventh like the preceding, we find in general a well-ordered account of the affairs of that monarch's long and active reign, given with a simplicity and appar-

[9] Ed. 1787, p. 80.

ent sincerity which, in spite of the formal plainness of its style, make it almost always interesting, and sometimes amusing.

The next considerable attempt approaches somewhat nearer to proper history. It is the series of chronicles relating to the troublesome reigns of Peter the Cruel and Henry the Second, to the hardly less unsettled times of John the First, and to the more quiet and prosperous reign of Henry the Third. They were written by Pedro Lopez de Ayala, in some respects the first Spaniard of his age; distinguished, as we have seen, among the poets of the latter part of the fourteenth century, and now to be noticed as the best prose-writer of the same period. He was born in 1332,[10] and, though only eighteen years old when Peter ascended the throne, was soon observed and employed by that acute monarch. But when troubles arose in the kingdom, Ayala left his tyrannical master, who had already shown himself capable of almost any degree of guilt, and joined his fortunes to those of Henry of Trastamara, the king's illegitimate brother, who had, of course, no claim to the throne but such as was laid in the crimes of its possessor, and the good-will of the suffering nobles and people.

Pedro Lopez de Ayala.

At first, the cause of Henry was successful. But Peter addressed himself for help to Edward the Black Prince, then in his duchy of Aquitaine, who, as Froissart relates, thinking it would be a great prejudice against the estate royal[11] to have a usurper succeed, entered Spain, and, with a strong hand, replaced the fallen monarch on his throne. At the decisive battle of Naxera, by which this was achieved, in 1367, Ayala, who bore his prince's standard, was taken prisoner[12] and carried to England, where he wrote a part at least of his poems on a courtly life. Somewhat later, Peter, no longer supported by the Black Prince, was dethroned; and Ayala, who was then released

[10] For the Life of Ayala, see Nic. Antonio, Bib. Vet., Lib. X. c. 1.

[11] The whole account in Froissart is worth reading, especially in Lord Berners' translation (London, 1812, 4to, Vol. I. c. 231, etc.), as an illustration of Ayala.

[12] See the passage in which Mariana gives an account of the battle. (Historia, Lib. XVII. c. 10.)

from his tedious imprisonment, returned home, and afterwards became Grand-Chancellor to Henry the Second, in whose service he gained so much consideration and influence, that he seems to have descended as a sort of traditionary minister of state through the reign of John the First, and far into that of Henry the Third. Sometimes, indeed, like other grave personages, ecclesiastical as well as civil, he appeared as a military leader, and once again, in the disastrous battle of Aljubarotta, in 1385, he was taken prisoner. But his Portuguese captivity does not seem to have been so long or so cruel as his English one; and, at any rate, the last years of his life were passed quietly in Spain. He died at Calahorra in 1407, seventy-five years old.

"He was," says his nephew, the noble Fernan Perez de Guzman, in the striking gallery of portraits he has left us,[13] "He was a man of very gentle qualities and of good conversation; had a great conscience, and feared God much. He loved knowledge, also, and gave himself much to reading books and histories; and though he was as goodly a knight as any, and of great discretion in the practices of the world, yet he was by nature bent on learning, and spent a great part of his time in reading and studying, not books of law, but of philosophy and history. Through his means some books are now known in Castile that were not known aforetime; such as Titus Livius, who is the most notable of the Roman historians; the 'Fall of Princes;' the 'Ethics' of Saint Gregory; Isidorus 'De Summo Bono;' Boethius; and the 'History of Troy.' He prepared the History of Castile from the King Don Pedro to the King Don Henry; and made a good book on Hunting, which he greatly affected, and another called 'Rimado de Palacio.'"

We should not, perhaps, at the present day, claim so much reputation as his kinsman does for the Chancellor Ayala, in consequence of the interest he took in books of such doubtful value as Guido de Colonna's "Trojan War," and Boccaccio "De Casibus Principum;" but, in

[13] Generaciones y Semblanzas, Cap. 7, Madrid, 1775, 4to, p. 222.

translating Livy,[14] he unquestionably rendered his country an important service. He rendered, too, a no less important service to himself; since a familiarity with Livy tended to fit him for the task of preparing the Chronicle, which now constitutes his chief distinction and merit.[15] It begins in 1350, where that of Alfonso the Eleventh ends, and comes down to the sixth year of Henry the Third, or to 1396, embracing that portion of the author's own life which was between his eighteenth year and his sixty-fourth, and constituting the first safe materials for the history of his native country.

For such an undertaking Ayala was singularly well fitted. Spanish prose was already well advanced in his time; for Don John Manuel, the last of the elder school of good writers, did not die till Ayala was fifteen years old. He was, moreover, as we have seen, a scholar, and, for the age in which he lived, a remarkable one; and, what is of more importance than either of these circumstances, he was personally familiar with the course of public affairs during the forty-six years embraced by his Chronicle. Of all this traces are to be found in his work. His style is not, like that of the oldest chroniclers, full of a rich vivacity and freedom; but, without being over-carefully elaborated, it is simple and business-like; while, to give a more earnest air, if not an air of more truth, to the whole, he has, in imitation of Livy, introduced into the course of his narrative set speeches and epistles intended to express the feelings and opinions of his principal actors more distinctly than they could be expressed by the mere facts and current of the story.

Ayala's style.

14 It is probable Ayala translated, or caused to be translated, all these books. At least, such has been the impression; and the mention of Isidore of Seville among the authors "made known" seems to justify it, for, as a Spaniard of great fame, St. Isidore must always have been *known* in Spain in every other way, except by a translation into Spanish. See, also, the Preface to the edition of Boccaccio, Caida de Principes, 1495, in Fr. Mendez, Typografia Española, Madrid, 1796, 4to, p. 202.

15 The first edition of Ayala's Chronicles is of Seville, 1495, folio, but it seems to have been printed from a MS. that did not contain the entire series. The best edition is that published under the auspices of the Academy of History, by D. Eugenio de Llaguno Amirola, its secretary (Madrid, 1779, 2 tom. 4to). That Ayala was the authorised chronicler of Castile is apparent from the whole tone of his work, and is directly asserted in an old MS. of a part of it, cited by Bayer in his notes to N. Antonio, Bib. Vet., Lib. X. cap. 1, num. 10, n. 1.

The last of the royal chronicles that it is necessary to notice with much particularity is that of John the Second, which begins with the death of Henry the Third, and comes down to the death of John himself, in 1454.[19] It was the work of several hands, and contains internal evidence of having been written at different periods. Alvar Garcia de Santa María, no doubt, prepared the account of the first fourteen years, or to 1420, constituting about one third of the whole work;[20] after which, in consequence perhaps of his attachment to the Infante Ferdinand, who was regent during the minority of the king, and subsequently much disliked by him, his labors ceased.[21] Who wrote the next portion is not known;[22] but, from about 1429 to 1445, John de Mena, the poet, has been claimed to be the royal annalist, and,

John the Second.

time, a change took place. Philip II. gave Pedro the title of *Justiciero*, or "the severely just" (Cabrera de Historia, 1611, f. 59). A little later, Salazar de Mendoza, who wrote about 1601, entered into a regular defence of him in his Monarquia de España (Lib. II. Capp. 19, 20), and at last Vera y Figueroa, a diplomatist of very doubtful reputation for truth, wrote a book in form entitled El Rey Don Pedro defendido (Madrid, 1648, 4to). The Theatre, from the age of Philip III., took this favorable view of Pedro's character, as we shall see in Lope's "Rey Don Pedro en Madrid," Calderon's "Medico de su Houra," Moreto's "Valiente Justiciero," and so on, from time to time, down to "El Zapatero y el Rey" of Zorrilla. The ballads, too, sometimes represent him in the same light, — particularly the brilliant one beginning "A los pies de Don Enrique," which can be traced back to 1594, — but more generally they follow the representations of Ayala.

In 1777, however, a Valencian lawyer, Doctor D. Josef Berni y Catalá, printed a dissertation of a few pages in defence of Don Pedro, which, May 26, 1778, was published in the "Gaceta de Madrid." This brought up the subject of the character of that monarch afresh. A letter by the learned Don T. A. Sanchez, under the pseudonym of Pedro Fernandez, entitled "Carta familiar" (18mo, Madrid, pp. 101), followed, June 21, of the same year, demolishing the absurd statements and arguments of Berní. But they were partly renewed by Fray Francisco de los Arcos, a capuchin, in his "Conversaciones instructivas," to which, with agreeable and pungent satire, Yriarte, the fabulist, replied in a tract entitled "Carta escrita por Don Juan Vicente al R. Padre F. de Arcos" (1786, 18mo, pp. 28), which he afterwards published in the sixth volume of his collected works. Since that time the question has been occasionally agitated, but is, I think, finally settled against Don Pedro in the "Examen historico-critico del Reynado de Don Pedro de Castilla, su autor Don Antonio Ferrer del Rio" (Madrid, 1851, 8vo), which had already gained, by a unanimous vote, 2 March, 1850, the prize offered by the Royal Academy of History.

[19] The first edition of the "Crónica del Señor Rey D. Juan, segundo de este Nombre," was printed at Logroño (1517, fol.), and is the most correct of the old editions that I have used. The best of all, however, is the beautiful one printed at Valencia, by Monfort, in 1779, folio, to which may be added an Appendix by P. Fr. Liciniano Saez, Madrid, 1786, folio.

[20] See his Prólogo, in the edition of 1779, p. xix., and Galindez de Carvajal, Prefacion, p. 19.

[21] He lived as late as 1444; for he is mentioned more than once in that year in the Chronicle. (See Ann. 1444, Capp. 14, 15.)

[22] Prefacion de Carvajal.

if we are to trust the letters of one of his friends, seems to have been diligent in collecting materials for his task, if not earnest in all its duties.[23] Other parts have been attributed to Juan Rodriguez del Padron, a poet, and Diego de Valera,[24] a knight and gentleman often mentioned in the Chronicle itself, and afterwards himself employed as a chronicler by Queen Isabella.

But, whoever may have been at first concerned in it, the whole work was ultimately committed to Fernan Perez de Guzman, a scholar, a courtier, and an acute as well as a witty observer of manners, who survived John the Second, and probably arranged and completed the Chronicle of his master's reign, as it was published by order of the Emperor Charles the Fifth;[25] some passages

[23] Fernan Gomez de Cibdareal, physician to John II., Centon Epistolario, Madrid, 1775, 4to, Epist. 23 and 74; a work, however, whose genuineness I shall be obliged to question hereafter.

[24] Prefacion de Carvajal. Poetry of Rodriguez del Padron is found in the Cancioneros Generales; and of Diego de Valera there is "La Crónica de España abreviada por mandado de la muy poderosa Señora Doña Isabel, Reyna de Castilla," made in 1481, when its author was sixty-nine years old, and printed, 1482, 1493, 1495, etc., — a chronicle of considerable merit for its style, and of some value, notwithstanding it is a compendium, for the original materials it contains towards the end, such as two eloquent and bold letters by Valera himself to John II., on the troubles of the time, and an account of what he personally saw of the last days of the Great Constable (Parte IV. c. 125), — the last and the most important chapter in the book. (Mendez, p. 137. Capmany, Eloquencia Española, Madrid, 1786, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 180.) But the first three parts out of the four into which it is divided are mere fictions, — and often very absurd fictions, — beginning with an account of the terrestrial paradise, and coming down to the time of Pelayo. It should be added that the editor of the Chronicle of John II. (1779) thinks Valera was the person who finally arranged and settled that Chronicle; but the opinion of Carvajal seems the more probable. Certainly, I hope Valera had no hand in the praise bestowed on himself in the excellent story told of him in the Chronicle (Ann. 1437, Cap. 3), showing how, in presence of the King of Bohemia, at Prague, he defended the honor of his liege-lord, the King of Castile. A treatise of a few pages on Providence, by Diego de Valera, printed in the edition of the "Vision Deleytable," of 1489, and reprinted, almost entire, in the first volume of Capmany's "Eloquencia Española," is worth reading, as a specimen of the grave didactic prose of the fifteenth century. A Chronicle of Ferdinand and Isabella, by Valera, which may well have been the best and most important of his works, has never been printed. (Gerónimo Gudiel, Compendio de algunas Historias de España, Alcalá, 1577, fol., f. 101, b.) Perhaps, however, this is the Chronicle entitled "Memorial de diversas Hazañas," in two hundred and thirty-five chapters, which Gayangos (in his Spanish translation of this History, Tom. I. p. 517) regards as the best work of Valera, and desires to see printed. But, in that case, Gudiel is mistaken on one point, — a thing not very unlikely, — for the "Memorial" relates to the reign of Henry IV., 1154–1174, and not to that of Ferdinand and Isabella. See, also, an article on the life and works of Valera, by Gayangos, in the Revista Española de Ambos Mundos, Tom. III., 1855, p. 294–312. Valera was born at Cuenca, in 1412, and was alive as late as 1483.

[25] From the phraseology of Carvajal (p. 20), we may infer that Fernan Perez de Guzman is chiefly responsible for the style

having been added as late as the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, who are more than once alluded to in it as reigning sovereigns.[26] It is divided, like the Chronicle of Ayala, which may naturally have been its model, into the different years of the king's reign, each year being subdivided into chapters; and it contains a great number of important original letters, and other curious contemporary documents,[27] from which, as well as from the care used in its compilation, it has been considered more absolutely trustworthy than any Castilian chronicle that preceded it.[28]

In its general air there is a good deal to mark the manners of the age, such as accounts of the court ceremonies, festivals, and tournaments, that were so much loved by John; and its style, though, on the whole, unornamented and unpretending, is not wanting in variety, spirit, and solemnity. Once, on occasion of the fall and ignominious death of the Great Constable Alvaro de Luna,

Alvaro de Luna.

whose commanding spirit had, for many years, impressed itself on the affairs of the kingdom, the honest chrônicler, though little favorable to that haughty minister, seems unable to repress his feelings, and, recollecting the treatise on the "Fall of Princes," which Ayala had made known in Spain, breaks out, saying, "O John Boccaccio, if thou wert now alive, thy pen surely would not fail to record the fall of this strenuous and bold gentleman among those of the mighty princes whose fate thou hast set forth. For what greater example could there be to every estate? what greater warning? what greater teaching to show the revolutions and movements of deceitful and changing fortune? O, blindness of the whole race of man! O, unexpected fall in the affairs of this our world!" And so on through a

and general character of the Chronicle. "Cogió de cada uno lo que le pareció mas probable, y abrevió algunas cosas, tomando la sustancia dellas; porque asi creyó que convenia." He adds that this Chronicle was much valued by Isabella, who was the daughter of John II.

[26] Anno 1451, Cap. 2, and Anno 1453, Cap. 2. See, also, some remarks on the author of this Chronicle by the editor of the "Crónica de Alvaro de Luna" (Madrid, 1784, 4to), Prólogo, p. xxv.-xxviii.

[27] For example, 1406, Cap. 6, etc.; 1430, Cap. 2; 1441, Cap. 30; 1453, Cap. 3.

[28] "Es sin duda la mas puntual i la mas segura de quantas se conservan antiguas." Mondejar, Noticia y Juicio de los mas Principales Historiadores de España, Madrid, 1746, fol., p. 112.

chapter of some length.[29] But this is the only instance of such an outbreak in the Chronicle. On the contrary, its general tone shows that historical composition in Spain was about to undergo a permanent change; for, at its very outset, we have regular speeches attributed to the principal personages it records,[30] such as had been introduced by Ayala; and through the whole, a well-ordered and documentary record of affairs, tinged, no doubt, with some of the prejudices and passions of the troublesome times to which it relates, but still claiming to have the exactness of regular annals, and striving to reach the grave and dignified style suited to the higher purposes of history.[31]

Of the disturbed and corrupt reign of Henry the Fourth, who, at one period, was nearly driven from his throne by his younger brother, Alfonso, we have two chronicles: the first by Diego Enriquez de Castillo, who was attached, both as chaplain and historiographer, to the person of the legitimate sovereign; and the other by Alonso de Palencia, chronicler to the unfortunate pretender, whose claims were sustained only three years, though the

Henry the Fourth.

29 Anno 1453, Cap. 4.

30 Anno 1406, Capp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 15; Anno 1407, Capp. 6, 7, 8, etc.

31 This Chronicle affords us, in one place that I have noticed,—probably not the only one,—a curious instance of the way in which the whole class of Spanish chronicles to which it belongs were sometimes used in the poetry of the old ballads we so much admire. The instance to which I refer is to be found in the account of the leading event of the time, the violent death of the Great Constable Alvaro de Luna, which the fine ballad, beginning "Un Miercoles de mañana," takes plainly from this Chronicle of John II. The two are worth comparing throughout, and their coincidences can be properly felt only when this is done; but a little specimen may serve to show how curious is the whole.

The Chronicle (Anno 1453, Cap. 2) has it as follows: "E vidó a Barrasa, Caballerizo del Principe, e llamóle é dixóle: 'Ven acá, Barrasa, tu estas aqui mirando la muerte que me dan. Yo te ruego, que digas al Principe mi Señor, que dé mejor gualardon a sus criados, quel Rey mi Señor mandó dar á mi.'"

The ballad, which is cited as anonymous by Duran, but is found in Sepulveda's Romances, etc., 1584 (f. 204), though not in the edition of 1551, gives the same striking circumstance, a little amplified, in these words:

> Y vido estar a Barrasa,
> Que al Principe le servia,
> De ser su cavallerizo,
> Y vino a ver aquel dia
> A executar la justicia,
> Que el maestre recebia:
> "Ven aca, hermano Barrasa,
> Di al Principe por tu vida,
> Que de mejor galardon
> A quien sirve a su señoria,
> Que no el, que el Rey mi Señor
> Me ha mandado dar este dia."

So near do the old Spanish chronicles often come to being poetry, and so near do the old Spanish ballads often come to being history. But the Chronicle of John II. is, I think, the last to which this remark can be applied. The old ballads give, however, much that is curious about Don Alvaro; especially a collection in four Parts, each Part filling four leaves, that was published 1628–1632, for popular use.

Chronicle of Palencia, like that of Castillo, extends over the whole period of the regular sovereign's reign, from 1454 to 1474. They are as unlike each other as the fates of the princes they record. The Chronicle of Castillo is written with great plainness of manner, and, except in a few moral reflections, chiefly at the beginning and the end, seems to aim at nothing but the simplest and even the dryest narrative;[32] while Palencia, who had been educated in Italy under the Greeks recently arrived there from the ruins of the Eastern Empire, writes in a false and cumbrous style; a single sentence of his Chronicle frequently stretching through a chapter, and the whole work showing that he had gained little but affectation and bad taste under the teachings of John Lascaris and George of Trebizond.[33] Both works, however, are too strictly annals to be read for anything but the facts they contain.[34]

[32] When the first edition of Castillo's Chronicle was published, I do not know. It is treated as if still only in manuscript by Mondejar in 1746 (Advertencias, p. 112); by Bayer, in his notes to Nic. Antonio (Bib. Vetus, Vol. II. p. 349), which, though written a little earlier, were published in 1788; and by Ochoa, in the notes to the inedited poems of the Marquis of Santillana (Paris, 1844, 8vo, p. 397), and in his "Manuscritos Españoles" (1844, p. 92, etc.). The very good edition, however, prepared by Josef Miguel de Flores, published in Madrid, by Sancha (1787, 4to), as a part of the Academy's collection, is announced, on its title-page, as the *second*. If these learned men have all been mistaken on such a point, it is very strange.

[33] For the use of a manuscript copy of Palencia's Chronicle I am indebted to my friend, W. H. Prescott, Esq., who notices it among the materials for his "Ferdinand and Isabella" (Vol. I. p. 186, Amer. ed.), with his accustomed acuteness. A full life of Palencia is to be found in Juan Pellicer, Bib. de Traductores (Madrid, 1778, 4to), Second Part, pp. 7-12. Dr. W. L. Holland, of Tübingen, printed in 1850 one hundred copies of a pamphlet containing proposals to publish Palencia's Chronicle, and added extracts giving accounts of the dethronement of Henry IV. in 1465, his death in 1474, etc., all done with great care. It may be hoped that this important work is not abandoned. A copy of Palencia's translation of Plutarch's Lives, remarkable for its old Castilian style, but adding a few lives not written by Plutarch, is to be found among the rarities of the Imperial Library at Vienna. It is in two vols.—the first without date, the second 1491.

[34] Connected with these royal chronicles of the fifteenth century, I ought to mention one on the history of Navarre—"Crónica de los Reyes de Navarra," by the Prince Don Carlos de Viana, interesting alike for his intellectual accomplishments and his cruel fate. (See his life in Quintana, Españoles celebres, Tom. I. 1807, 12mo.) He seems to have finished it in 1454, and died seven years afterwards, in 1461, when forty years old. His translation of Aristotle's Ethics was printed at Saragossa in 1509 (Mendez, Typographia, 1796, p. 193), but the Chronicle was published for the first time at Pamplona, in 1843, in 4to, by Don José Yanguas y Miranda. It was carefully prepared for publication from four manuscripts, and it embraces the history of Navarre from the earliest times to the accession of Charles III. in 1490, noticing, however, a few events in the beginning of the next century. Besides the life of the author, it makes two hundred pages, written in a modest, simple, somewhat dry style, which does not appear to much advantage by the side of some of the contemporary Castilian chronicles. A few of the old traditions

Similar remarks must be made about the chronicles of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, extending from 1474 to 1504–16. There are several of them, but only two need be noticed. One is by Andres Bernaldez, often called "El Cura de los Palacios," because he was a curate in the small town of that name, though the materials for his Chronicle were, no doubt, gathered chiefly in Seville, the neighboring splendid capital of Andalusia, to whose princely Archbishop he was chaplain. His Chronicle, written, it should seem, chiefly to please his own taste, extends from 1488 to 1513. It is honest and sincere, reflecting faithfully the physiognomy of his age, its credulity, its bigotry, and its love of show. It is, in truth, such an account of passing events as would be given by one who was rather curious about them than a part of them; but who, from accident, was familiar with whatever was going on among the leading spirits of his time and country.[35] No portion of it is more valuable and interesting than that which relates to Columbus, to whom he devotes thirteen chapters, and for whose history he must have had excellent materials, since not only was Deza, the Archbishop, to whose service he was attached, one of the friends and patrons of Columbus, but Columbus himself, in 1496, was a guest at the house of Bernaldez, and intrusted to him manuscripts which, he says,

Ferdinand and Isabella.

concerning the little mountain kingdom whose early annals it records are, however, well preserved — some of them being told as they are found in the General Chronicle of Spain, and some with additions and changes. The portions where I have observed most traces of connection between the two are in the Chronicle of the Prince of Viana, Book I. Chapters 9 to 14, as compared with the latter portion of the General Chronicle, Part III. Sometimes the Prince deviates from all received accounts, as when he calls Cava the *wife* of Count Julian, instead of his *daughter*; but, on the whole, his chronicle agrees with the common traditions and histories of the period to which it relates.

[35] I owe my knowledge of this manuscript also to my friend Mr. Prescott, whose copy I have used. It consists of one hundred and forty-four chapters; and the credulity and bigotry of its author, as well as his better qualities, may be seen in his accounts of the Sicilian Vespers (Cap. 193), of the Canary Islands (Cap. 64), of the earthquake of 1504 (Cap. 200), and of the election of Leo X. (Cap. 239). Of his prejudice and partiality, his version of the bold visit of the great Marquis of Cadiz to Isabella (Cap. 29), when compared with Mr. Prescott's notice of it (Part I. Chap. 6), will give an idea; and of his intolerance, the chapters (110–114) about the Jews afford proof even beyond what might be expected from his age. There is an imperfect article about Bernaldez in N. Antonio, Bib. Nov., but the best materials for his life are in the egotism of his own Chronicle.

Since the preceding note was published, an edition of the Chronicle of Bernaldez has appeared at Granada.

he has employed in this very account; thus placing his Chronicle among the documents important alike in the history of America and of Spain.[36]

The other chronicle of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella is that of Fernando del Pulgar, their Councillor of State, their Secretary, and their authorized Annalist. He was a person of much note in his time, but it is not known when he was born or when he died.[37] That he was a man of wit and letters, and an acute observer of life, we know from his notices of the Famous Men of Castile, from his Commentary on the Coplas of Mingo Revulgo, and from a few spirited and pleasant letters to his friends that have been spared to us. But as a chronicler his merit is inconsiderable.[38] The early part of his work is not trustworthy, and the latter part, beginning in 1482 and ending in 1490, is brief in its narrative, and tedious in the somewhat showy speeches with which it is burdened. The best of it is its style, which is often dignified; but it is the style of history, rather than that of a chronicle; and, indeed, the formal division of the work, according to its subjects, into three parts, as well as the philosophical reflections with which it is adorned, show that the ancients had been studied by its author, and that he was desirous to imitate them.[39] Why he did not continue his account beyond 1490, we cannot tell. It has been conjectured that he died

[36] The chapters about Columbus are 118–131. The account of Columbus' visit to him is in Cap. 131, and that of the manuscripts intrusted to him is in Cap. 123. He says, that, when Columbus came to court in 1496, he was dressed as a Franciscan monk, and wore the cord *por devocion*. He cites Sir John Mandeville's Travels, and seems to have read them (Cap. 123); a fact of some significance, when we bear in mind his connection with Columbus.

[37] A notice of him is prefixed to his "Claros Varones" (Madrid, 1775, 4to); but it is not much. We know from himself that he was an old man in 1490.

[38] The first edition of his Chronicle, published, by an accident, as if it were the work of the famous Antonio de Lebrija, appeared in 1565, at Valladolid. But the error was soon discovered, and in 1567 it was printed anew, at Saragossa, with its true author's name. The only other edition of it, and by far the best of the three, is the beautiful one, Valencia, 1780, folio. See the Prólogo to this edition for the mistake by which Pulgar's Chronicle was attributed to Lebrija.

[39] Read, for instance, the long speech of Gomez Manrique to the inhabitants of Toledo. (Parte II. c. 79.) It is one of the best, and has a good deal of merit as an oratorical composition, though its Roman tone is misplaced in such a chronicle. It is a mistake, however, in the publisher of the edition of 1780, to suppose that Pulgar first introduced these formal speeches into the Spanish. They occur, as has been already observed, in the Chronicles of Ayala, eighty or ninety years earlier.

then.[40] But this is a mistake, for we have a well-written and pains-taking report, made by him to the queen, on the whole Moorish history of Granada, including the capture of the city in 1492.[41]

The Chronicle of Ferdinand and Isabella by Pulgar is the last instance of the old style of chronicling that should now be noticed; for though, as we have already observed, it was long thought for the dignity of the monarchy that the stately form of authorized annals should be kept up, the free and original spirit that gave them life was no longer there. Chroniclers were appointed, like Fernan de Ocampo and Mexia; but the true chronicling style was gone by, not to return.

40 "Indicio harto probable de que falleció ántes de la toma de Granada," says Martinez de la Rosa, "Hernan Perez del Pulgar, el de las Hazañas." Madrid, 1834, 8vo, p. 229.

41 This important document, which does Pulgar some honor as a statesman, is to be found at length in the Seminario Erudito, Madrid, 1788, Tom. XII. pp. 57-144.

CHAPTER X.

CHRONICLES OF PARTICULAR EVENTS. — THE PASSO HONROSO. — THE SEGURO DE TORDESILLAS. — CHRONICLES OF PARTICULAR PERSONS. — PERO NIÑO. — ALVARO DE LUNA. — GONZALVO DE CÓRDOVA. — CHRONICLES OF TRAVELS. — CLAVIJO, COLUMBUS, BALBOA, AND OTHERS. — ROMANTIC CHRONICLES. — RODERIC AND THE DESTRUCTION OF SPAIN. — GENERAL REMARKS ON THE SPANISH CHRONICLES.

Chronicles of Particular Events. — It should be borne in mind that we have thus far traced only the succession of what may be called the general Spanish chronicles, which, prepared by royal hands or under royal authority, have set forth the history of the whole country, from its earliest beginnings and most fabulous traditions, down through its fierce wars and divisions, to the time when it had, by the final overthrow of the Moorish power, been settled into a quiet and compact monarchy. From their subject and character, they are, of course, the most important, and, generally, the most interesting, works of the class to which they belong. But, as might be expected from the influence they exercised and the popularity they enjoyed, they were often imitated. Many chronicles were written on a great variety of subjects, and many works in a chronicling style which yet never bore the name. Most of them are of no value. But to the few that, from their manner or style, deserve notice, we must now turn for a moment, beginning with those that refer to particular events.

Two of these special chronicles relate to occurrences in the reign of John the Second, and are not only curious in themselves and for their style, but valuable, as illustrating the manners of the time. The first, according to the date of its events, is the "Passo Honroso," or the Passage of Honor, and is a formal account

The Passo Honroso.

of a passage at arms which was held against all comers in 1434, at the bridge of Orbigo, near the city of Leon, during thirty days, at a moment when the road was thronged with knights passing for a solemn festival to the neighboring shrine of Santiago. The challenger was Suero de Quiñones, a gentleman of rank, who claimed to be thus emancipated from the service of wearing for a noble lady's sake a chain of iron around his neck every Thursday. The arrangements for this extraordinary tournament were all made under the king's authority. Nine champions, *mantenedores*, we are told, stood with Quiñones ; and at the end of the thirty days it was found that sixty-eight knights had adventured themselves against his claim, that six hundred and twenty-seven encounters had taken place, and that sixty-six lances had been broken ; — one knight, an Aragonese, having been killed, and many wounded, among whom were Quiñones and eight out of his nine fellow-champions.[1]

Strange as all this may sound, and seeming to carry us back to the fabulous days when the knights of romance

"Jousted in Aspramont or Montalban,"

and Rodamont maintained the bridge of Montpellier, for the sake of the lady of his love, it is yet all plain matter of fact, spread out in becoming style, by an eye-witness, with a full account of the ceremonies, both of chivalry and of religion, that accompanied it. The theory of the whole is, that Quiñones, in acknowledgment of being prisoner to a noble lady, had, for some time, weekly worn her chains ; and that he was now to ransom himself from

1 Some account of the Passo Honroso is to be found among the Memorabilia of the time in the "Crónica de Juan el II°" (ad Ann. 1433, Cap. 5), and in Zurita, "Anales de Aragon" (Lib. XIV. c. 22). The book itself, "El Passo Honroso," was prepared on the spot, at Orbigo, by Delena, one of the authorized scribes of John II. ; and was abridged by Fr. Juan de Pineda, and published at Salamanca, in 1588, and again at Madrid, under the auspices of the Academy of History, in 1783 (4to). Large portions of the original are preserved in it verbatim, as in sections 1, 4, 7, 14, 74, 75, etc. In other parts, it seems to have been disfigured by Pineda. (Pellicer, note to Don Quixote, Parte I. c. 49.) The poem of "Esvero y Almedora," in twelve cantos, by D. Juan Maria Maury (Paris, 1840, 12mo), is founded on the adventures recorded in this Chronicle, and so is the "Passo Honroso," by Don Ángel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, in four cantos, in the second volume of his Works (Madrid, 1820–21, 2 tom. 12mo.).

this *fanciful* imprisonment by the payment of a certain number of *real* spears broken by him and his friends in fair fight. All this, to be sure, is fantastic enough. But the ideas of love, honor, and religion, displayed in the proceedings of the champions,[2] who hear mass devoutly every day, and yet cannot obtain Christian burial for the Aragonese knight who is killed, and in the conduct of Quiñones himself, who fasts each Thursday, partly, it should seem, in honor of the Madonna, and partly in honor of his lady, — these and other whimsical incongruities are still more fantastic. They seem, indeed, as we read their record, to be quite worthy of the admiration expressed for them by Don Quixote in his argument with the wise canon,[3] but hardly worthy of any other; so that we are surprised, at first, when we find them carefully recorded in the contemporary Chronicle of King John, and filling, long afterwards, a separate chapter in the graver Annals of Zurita. And yet such a grand tournament was an important event in the age when it happened, and is highly illustrative of the contemporary manners.[4] History and chronicle, therefore, alike did well to give it a place; and, indeed, down to the present time, the curious and elaborate record of the details and ceremonies of the. Passo Honroso is of no little value as one of the best exhibitions that remain to us of the genius of chivalry, and as quite the best exhibition of what has been considered the most characteristic of all the knightly institutions.

The other work of the same period to which we have referred gives us, also, a striking view of the spirit of the times; one less picturesque, indeed, but not less instructive. It is called "El Seguro de Tordesillas," the

[2] See Sections 23 and 64; and for a strange vow made by one of the wounded knights, that he would never again make love to nuns as he had done, see Sect. 25.

[3] Don Quixote makes precisely such a use of the Passo Honroso as might be expected from the perverse acuteness so often shown by madmen, — one of the many instances in which we see Cervantes' nice observation of the workings of human nature. (Parte I. c. 49.)

[4] Take the years immediately about 1434, in which the Passo Honroso occurred, and we find four or five instances. (Crónica de Juan el II°, 1433, Cap. 2; 1434, Cap. 4; 1435, Cap. 3 and 8; 1436, Cap. 4.) Indeed, the Chronicle is full of them, and in several the Great Constable Alvaro de Luna figures.

Pledge or the Truce of Tordesillas, and relates to a series of conferences held in 1439, between John the Second and a body of his nobles, headed by his own son, who, in a seditious and violent manner, interfered in the affairs of the kingdom, in order to break down the influence of the Constable de Luna.[5] It receives its peculiar name from the revolting circumstance that, even in the days of the Passo Honroso, and with some of the knights who figured in that gorgeous show for the parties, true honor was yet sunk so low in Spain, that none could be found on either side of this great quarrel — not even the King or the Prince — whose word would be taken as a pledge for the mere personal safety of those who should be engaged in the discussions at Tordesillas. It was necessary, therefore, to find some one not strictly belonging to either party, who, invested with higher powers, and even with supreme military control, should become the depositary of the general faith, and, exercising an authority limited only by his own sense of justice, be obeyed alike by the exasperated sovereign and his rebellious subjects.[6]

The Seguro de Tordesillas.

This proud distinction was given to Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, commonly called the Good or Faithful Count Haro; and the "Seguro de Tordesillas," prepared by him some time afterwards, shows how honorably he executed the extraordinary trust. Few historical works can challenge such absolute authenticity. The documents of the case, constituting the chief part of it, are spread out before the reader; and what does not rest on their foundation rests on that word of the Good Count to which the lives of whatever was most distinguished in the kingdom had just been fearlessly trusted. As might be expected, its characteristics are simplicity and plainness, not elegance or eloquence. It is, in fact, a collection of documents, but it is an interesting and a

Pedro Fernandez de Velasco.

[5] The "Seguro de Tordesillas" was first printed at Milan, 1611; but the only other edition, that of Madrid, 1784 (4to), is much better.

[6] "Nos desnaturamos," "We falsify our natures," is the striking old Castilian phrase used by the principal personages on this occasion, and, among the rest, by the Constable Alvaro de Luna, to signify that they are not, for the time being, bound to obey even the king. (Seguro, Cap. 3.)

melancholy record. The compact that was made led to no permanent good. The Count soon withdrew, ill at ease, to his own estates; and in less than two years his unhappy and weak master was assailed anew, and besieged in Medina del Campo, by his rebellious family and their adherents.[7] After this, we hear little of Count Haro, except that he continued to assist the king from time to time in his increasing troubles, until, worn out with fatigue of body and mind, he retired from the world, and passed the last ten years of his life in a monastery, which he had himself founded, and where he died at the age of threescore and ten.[8]

Chronicles of Particular Persons. — But while remarkable *events*, like the Passage of Arms at Orbigo and the Pledge of Tordesillas, were thus appropriately recorded, the remarkable *men* of the time could hardly fail occasionally to find fit chroniclers.

Pero Niño.

Pero Niño, Count de Buelna, who flourished between 1379 and 1453, is the first of them. He was a distinguished naval and military commander in the reigns of Henry the Third and John the Second; and his Chronicle is the work of Gutierre Diez de Gamez, who was attached to his person from the time Pero Niño was twenty-three years old, and boasted the distinction of being his standard-bearer in many a rash and bloody fight. A more faithful chronicler, or one more imbued with knightly qualities, can hardly be found. He may be well compared to the "Loyal Serviteur," the biographer of the Chevalier Bayard; and, like him, not only enjoyed the confidence of his master, but shared his spirit.[9] His accounts of the education of Pero Niño,

Gutierre Diez de Gamez.

[7] See Crónica de Juan el II°, 1440-41 and 1444, Cap. 3. Well might Manrique, in his beautiful Coplas on the instability of fortune, break forth, —

> Que se hizo el Rey Don Juan?
> Los Infantes de Aragon,
> Que se hizieron?
> Que fue de tanto galan,
> Que fue de tanta invencion,
> Como truxeron?

Luis de Aranda's commentary on this passage is good, and well illustrates the old Chronicle; — a rare circumstance in such commentaries on Spanish poetry.

[8] Pulgar (Claros Varones de Castilla, Madrid, 1775, 4to, Titulo 3) gives a beautiful character of him.

[9] The "Crónica de Don Pero Niño" was cited early and often, as containing important materials for the history of the reign of Henry III., but was not printed until it was edited by Don Eugenio de Llaguno Amirola (Madrid, 1782, 4to); who, however, has omitted a good deal of what he

and of the counsels given him by his tutor;[10] of Pero's marriage to his first wife, the lady Constance de Guebara;[11] of his cruises against the corsairs and Bey of Tunis;[12] of the part he took in the war against England, after the death of Richard the Second, when he commanded an expedition that made a descent on Cornwall, and, according to his chronicler, burnt the town of Poole, and took Jersey and Guernsey;[13] and, finally, of his share in the common war against Granada, which happened in the latter part of his life, and under the leading of the Constable Alvaro de Luna,[14] are all interesting and curious, and told with simplicity and spirit. But the most characteristic and amusing passages of the Chronicle are, perhaps, those that relate, one to Pero Niño's gallant visit at Girfontaine, near Rouen, the residence of the old Admiral of France and his gay young wife,[15] and another to the course of his true love for Beatrice, daughter of the Infante Don John, the lady who, after much opposition, and many romantic dangers, became his second wife.[16] Unfortunately, we know nothing about the author of all this entertaining history, except what he modestly tells us in the work itself; but we cannot doubt that he was as loyal in his life as he claims to be in his true-hearted account of his master's adventures and achievements.

Next after Pero Niño's Chronicle comes that of the Constable Don Alvaro de Luna, the leading spirit of the reign of John the Second, almost from the moment when, yet a child, he appeared as a page at court in 1408, down to 1453, when he perished on the scaffold, a victim to his own haughty ambition, to the jealousy of the nobles nearest the throne, and to the

Alvaro de Luna.

calls "fabulas caballarescas." Instances of such omissions occur in Parte I. c. 15, Parte II. c. 18, 40, etc., and I cannot but think Don Eugenio would have done better to print the whole; especially the whole of what he says he found in the part which he calls "La Crónica de los Reyes de Inglaterra."

10 See Parte I. c. 4.

11 Parte I. c. 14, 15.

12 Parte II. c. 1–14.

13 Parte II. c. 16–40.

14 Parte III. c. 11, etc.

15 Parte II. c. 31, 36.

16 Parte III. c. 3–5. The love of Pero Niño for the lady Beatrice comes, also, into the poetry of the time; for he employed Villasandino, a poet of the age of Henry II. and III., and John II., to write verses for him, addressed to her. (See Castro, Bibl. Esp., Tom. I. pp. 271 and 274.)

guilty weakness of the king. Who was the author of the Chronicle is unknown.[17] But, from internal evidence, he was probably an ecclesiastic of some learning, and certainly a retainer of the Constable, much about his person, and sincerely attached to him. It reminds us, at once, of the fine old Life of Wolsey by his Gentleman Usher, Cavendish; for both works were written after the fall of the great men whose lives they record, by persons who had served and loved them in their prosperity, and who now vindicated their memories with a grateful and trusting affection, which often renders even their style of writing beautiful by its earnestness, and sometimes eloquent. The Chronicle of the Constable is, of course, the oldest. It was composed between 1453 and 1460, or about a century before Cavendish's Wolsey. It is grave and stately, sometimes too stately; but there is a great air of reality about it. The account of the siege of Palenzuela,[18] the striking description of the Constable's person and bearing,[19] the scene of the royal visit to the favorite in his castle at Escalona, with the festivities that followed,[20] and, above all, the minute and painful details of the Constable's fall from power, his arrest, and death,[21] show the freedom and spirit of an eye-witness, or, at least, of a person entirely familiar with the whole matter about which he writes. It is, therefore, among the rich-

[17] The "Crónica de Don Alvaro de Luna" was first printed at Milan, 1546 (folio), by one of the Constable's descendants, but, notwithstanding its value and interest, only one edition has been published since,— that by Flores, the diligent Secretary of the Academy of History (Madrid, 1784, 4to). Wolf, in the notes to the German translation of this History (Band I. p. 684–5) suggests, on the authority of the Boletin Bibliografico of Madrid, 1849, that Antonio Castellanos was its author. He was not aware, I suppose, that this suggestion had been disposed of by Flores in his Preface, pp. vii. sqq. "Privado del Rey" was the common style of Alvaro de Luna;—"Tan privado," as Manrique calls him;—a word which almost became English, for Lord Bacon, in his twenty-seventh Essay, says, "The modern languages give unto such persons the names of *favorites* or *privadoes*." Mariana, who never disguises the faults or crimes of the Great Constable, still counts him among those "eversos invidiâ populari." (De Rege, 1599, p. 383.)

[18] Tit. 91–95, with the flattering piece of poetry by the court poet, Juan de Mena, on the wound of the Constable during the siege.

[19] Tit. 68.

[20] Tit. 74, etc.

[21] Tit. 127, 128. Some of the details — the Constable's composed countenance and manner, as he rode on his mule to the place of death, and the awful silence of the multitude that preceded his execution, with the universal sob that followed it — are admirably set forth, and show, I think, that the author witnessed what he so well describes.

est and most interesting of the old Spanish chronicles, and quite indispensable to one who would comprehend the troubled spirit of the period to which it relates; the period known as that of the *bandos*, or armed feuds, when the whole country was broken into parties, each in warlike array, fighting for its own head, but none fully submitting to the royal authority.

The last of the chronicles of individuals written in the spirit of the elder times that it is necessary to notice is that of Gonzalvo de Córdova, "the Great Captain," who flourished from the period immediately preceding the war of Granada to that which begins the reign of Charles the Fifth; and who produced an impression on the Spanish nation hardly equalled since the earlier days of that great Moorish contest, the cyclus of whose heroes Gonzalvo seems appropriately to close up. It was about 1526 that the Emperor Charles the Fifth desired one of the favorite followers of Gonzalvo, Hernan Perez del Pulgar, to prepare an account of his great leader's life. A better person could not easily have been selected. For he is not, as was long supposed, Fernando del Pulgar, the wit and courtier of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.[22] Nor is the work he produced the poor and dull chronicle of the life of Gonzalvo, first printed in 1559, and often attributed to him.[23] But he is that bold knight who, with a few followers, penetrated to the very centre of Granada, then all in arms, and, affixing an Ave Maria, with the sign of the cross, to the doors of the principal mosque, consecrated its massive pile to the ser-

Gonzalvo de Córdova.

Hernan Perez del Pulgar.

[22] The mistake between the two Pulgars — one called Hernan Perez del Pulgar, and the other Fernando del Pulgar — seems to have been made while they were both alive. At least, I so infer from the following good-humored passage in a letter from the latter to his correspondent, Pedro de Toledo: "E pues quereis saber como me aveis de llamar, sabed, Señor, que me llaman Fernando, e me llamaban e llamaran Fernando, e si me dan el Maestrazgo de Santiago, tambien Fernando," etc. (Letra XII., Madrid, 1775, 4to, p. 153.) For the mistakes made concerning them in more modern times, see Nic. Antonio (Bib. Nova, Tom. I. p. 387), who seems to be sadly confused about the whole matter.

[23] This dull old anonymous chronicle is the "Chronica llamada de las dos Conquistas de Napoles," etc., the first edition of which is a folio in black letter, printed at Zaragoza in 1559, and reprinted at Seville in 1580 and 1582, and at Alcalá in 1584. In the first edition, to which my copy belongs, it is dedicated to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and is attributed, — falsely, of course, — in the Introduction, to Hernando Perez del Pulgar, Señor del Salar.

vice of Christianity, while Ferdinand and Isabella were still beleaguering the city without; an heroic adventure, with which his country rang from side to side at the time, and which has not since been forgotten, either in its ballads or in its popular drama.[24]

As might be expected from the character of its author, — who, to distinguish him from the courtly and peaceful Pulgar, was well called "He of the Achievements," *El de las Hazañas,* — the book he offered to his monarch is not a regular life of Gonzalvo, but rather a rude and vigorous sketch of him, entitled "A Small Part of the Achievements of that Excellent Person called the Great Captain," or, as is elsewhere yet more characteristically said, "of the achievements and solemn virtues of the Great Captain, both in peace and war."[25] The modesty of the author is as remarkable as his adventurous spirit. He is hardly seen at all in his narrative, while his love and devotion to his great leader give a fervor to his style, which, notwithstanding a frequent display of very unprofitable learning, renders his work both original and striking, and brings out his hero in the sort of bold relief in which he appeared to the admiration of his contemporaries. Some parts of it, notwithstanding its brevity, are remarkable even for the details they afford; and some of the speeches,

[24] Pulgar was permitted by his admiring sovereigns to have his burial-place where he knelt when he affixed the Ave Maria to the door of the mosque, and his descendants still preserve his tomb there with becoming reverence, and still occupy the most distinguished place in the choir of the cathedral, which was originally granted to him and to his heirs male in right line. (Alcántara, Historia de Granada, Granada, 1846, 8vo, Tom. IV., p. 102; and the curious documents collected by Martinez de la Rosa in his "Hernan Perez del Pulgar," pp. 279–283, for which see next note.) The oldest play known to me on the subject of Hernan Perez del Pulgar's achievement is "El Cerco de Santa Fe," in the first volume of Lope de Vega's "Comedias" (Valladolid, 1604, 4to). But the one commonly represented is by an unknown author, and founded on Lope's. It is called "El Triunfo del Ave Maria," and is said to be "de un Ingenio de esta Corte," dating probably from the reign of Philip IV. My copy of it is printed in 1793. Martinez de la Rosa speaks of seeing it acted, and of the strong impression it produced on his youthful imagination.

[25] The Life of the Great Captain, by Pulgar, was printed at Seville, by Cromberger, in 1527; but only one copy of this edition — the one in the possession of the Royal Spanish Academy — could be found by Martinez de la Rosa. From this he caused a reprint to be made at Madrid in 1834, entitled "Hernan Perez del Pulgar, Bosquejo Historico," adding to it a pleasant Life of Pulgar and valuable notes; so that we now have this very curious little book in an agreeable form for reading, — thanks to the zeal and literary curiosity of the distinguished Spanish statesman who discovered it. The original work, however, is not quite as rare as he supposed. I have a copy of it in black letter folio, 1527, ff. 24, remarkably well preserved.

like that of the Alfaquí to the distracted parties in Granada,[26] and that of Gonzalvo to the population of the Albaycin,[27] savor of eloquence as well as wisdom. Regarded as the outline of a great man's character, few sketches have more an air of truth; though, perhaps, considering the adventurous and warlike lives both of the author and his subject, nothing in the book is more remarkable than the spirit of humanity that pervades it.[28]

Chronicles of Travels. — In the same style with the histories of their kings and great men, a few works should be noticed in the nature of travels, or histories of travellers, though not always bearing the name of Chronicles.

The oldest of them, which has any value, is an account of a Spanish embassy to Tamerlane, the great Tartar potentate and conqueror. Its origin is singular. Henry the Third of Castile, whose affairs, partly in consequence of his marriage with Catherine, daughter of Shakspeare's "time-honored Lancaster," were in a more fortunate and quiet condition than those of his immediate predecessors, seems to have been smitten in his prosperity with a desire to extend his fame to the remotest countries of the earth; and for this purpose, we are told, sought to establish friendly relations with the Greek Emperor at Constantinople, with the Sultan of Babylon, with Tamerlane or Timour Bec the Tartar, and even with the fabulous Prester John of that shadowy India which was then the subject of so much speculation.

Embassy to Tamerlane.

What was the result of all this widely spread diplomacy, so extraordinary at the end of the fourteenth century, we do not know, except that the first ambassadors sent to Tamerlane and Bajazet chanced actually to be present at the great and decisive battle between those two preponderating powers of the East, and that Tamerlane sent a

[26] Ed. Martinez de la Rosa, pp. 155, 156.

[27] Ibid., pp. 159–162.

[28] Hernan Perez del Pulgar, el de las Hazañas, was born in 1451, and died in 1531.

It may be worth while to add here, in connection with the Great Captain, that a translation of Petrarca's Dialogues, "De Remediis utriusque Fortunæ," was made, at his especial request, into fine old Castilian, by Francisco de Madrid. (N. Ant. Bib. Nov. Tom. I. p. 442.) I have a copy of it — a most becoming black letter folio — printed at Çaragoça, 1523.

splendid embassy in return, with some of the spoils of his victory, among which were two fair captives who figure in the Spanish poetry of the time.[29] King Henry was not ungrateful for such a tribute of respect, and, to acknowledge it, despatched to Tamerlane three persons of his court, one of whom, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, has left us a minute account of the whole embassy, its adventures and its results. This account was first published by Argote de Molina, the careful antiquary of the time of Philip the Second,[30] and was then called, probably in order to give it a more winning title, "The Life of the Great Tamerlane,"—*Vida del Gran Tamurlan,*—though it is, in fact, a diary of the voyagings and residences of the ambassadors of Henry the Third, beginning in May, 1403, when they embarked at Puerto Santa María, near Cadiz, and ending in March, 1406, when they landed there on their return.

Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo.

In the course of it, we have a description of Constantinople, which is the more curious because it is given at the moment when it tottered to its fall;[31] of Trebizond, with its Greek churches and clergy;[32] of Teheran, now the capital of Persia;[33] and of Samarcand, where they found the great Conqueror himself, and were entertained by him with a series of magnificent festivals continuing almost to the moment of his death,[34] which happened while they were at his court, and was followed by troubles embarrassing to their homeward journey.[35] The honest Clavijo seems to have been well pleased to lay down his commission at the feet of his sovereign, whom he found at Alcalá; and though he lingered about the court for a year, and was one of the witnesses of the king's will at Christmas, yet on the death

[29] Discurso hecho por Argote de Molina, sobre el Itinerario de Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, Madrid, 1782, 4to, p. 3.

[30] The edition of Argote de Molina was published in 1582; and there is only one other, the very good one printed at Madrid, 1782, 4to.

[31] They were much struck with the works in mosaic in Constantinople, and mention them repeatedly, pp. 51, 59, and elsewhere. The reason why they did not, on the first day, see all the relics they wished to see in the church of San Juan de la Piedra, is very quaint, and shows great simplicity of manners at the imperial court: "The Emperor went to hunt, and left the keys with the Empress his wife, and when she gave them she forgot to give those where the said relics were," etc., p. 52.

[32] Page 84, etc.

[33] Page 118, etc.

[34] Pages 149–198.

[35] Page 207, etc.

of Henry he retired to Madrid, his native place, where he spent the last four or five years of his life, and where, in 1412, he was buried in the convent of Saint Francis, with his fathers, whose chapel he had piously rebuilt.[36]

His travels will not, on the whole, suffer by a comparison with those of Marco Polo or Sir John Mandeville; for, though his discoveries are much less in extent than those of the Venetian merchant, they are, perhaps, as remarkable as those of the English adventurer, while the manner in which he has presented them is superior to that of either. His Spanish loyalty and his Catholic faith are everywhere apparent. He plainly believes that his modest embassy is making an impression of his king's power and importance, on the countless and careless multitudes of Asia, which will not be effaced; while in the luxurious capital of the Greek empire he seems to look for little but the apocryphal relics of saints and apostles which then burdened the shrines of its churches. With all this, however, we may be content, because it is national; but when we find him filling the island of Ponza with buildings erected by Virgil,[37] and afterwards, as he passes Amalfi, taking note of it only because it contained the head of Saint Andrew,[38] we are obliged to recall his frankness, his zeal, and all his other good qualities, before we can be quite reconciled to his ignorance. Mariana, indeed, intimates that, after all, his stories are not to be wholly believed. But, as in the case of other early travellers, whose accounts were often discredited merely because they were so strange, more recent and careful inquiries have confirmed Clavijo's narrative; and we may now trust to his faithfulness as much as to the vigilant and penetrating spirit he shows constantly, except when his religious

[36] Hijos de Madrid, Ilustres en Santidad, Dignidades, Armas, Ciencias, y Artes, Diccionario Histórico, su Autor D. Joseph Ant. Alvarez y Baena, Natural de la misma Villa; Madrid, 1789–91, 4 tom. 4to; — a book whose materials, somewhat crudely put together, are abundant and important, especially in what relates to the literary history of the Spanish capital. A Life of Clavijo is to be found in it, Tom. IV. p. 302.

[37] "Hay en ella grandes edificios de muy grande obra, que fizo Virgilio," p. 30.

[38] All he says of Amalfi is, "Y en esta ciudad de Malfa dicen que está la cabeza de Sant Andres." p. 33.

faith, or his hardly less religious loyalty, interferes with its exercise.[39]

Spanish voyagings.

But the great voyagings of the Spaniards were not destined to be in the East. The Portuguese, led on originally by Prince Henry, one of the most extraordinary men of his age, had, as it were, already appropriated to themselves that quarter of the world, by discovering the easy route of the Cape of Good Hope; and, both by the right of discovery and by the provisions of the well-known Papal bull and the equally well-known treaty of 1479, had cautiously cut off their great rivals, the Spaniards, from all adventure in that direction; leaving open to them only the wearisome waters that were stretched out unmeasured towards the West. Happily, however, there was one man to whose courage even the terrors of this unknown and dreaded ocean were but spurs and incentives, and whose gifted vision, though sometimes dazzled from the height to which he rose, could yet see, beyond the waste of waves, that broad continent which his fervent imagination deemed needful to balance the world. It is true, Columbus was not born a Spaniard. But his spirit was eminently Spanish. His loyalty, his religious faith and enthusiasm, his love of great and extraordinary adventure, were all Spanish rather than Italian, and were all in harmony with the Spanish national character, when he became a part of its glory. His own eyes, he tells us, had watched the silver cross, as it slowly rose, for the first time, above the towers of the Alhambra, announcing to the world the final and absolute overthrow of the infidel power in Spain;[40] and from

Columbus.

[39] Mariana says that the Itinerary contains "muchas otras cosas asaz maravillosas, si verdaderas." (Hist., Lib. XIX. c. 11.) But Blanco White, in his "Variedades" (Tom. I. pp. 316–318), shows, from an examination of Clavijo's Itinerary, by Major Rennell, and from other sources, that its general fidelity may be depended upon.

[40] In the account of his first voyage, rendered to his sovereigns, he says he was in 1492 at Granada, "adonde, este presente año, á dos dias del mes de Enero, por fuerza de armas, *vide* poner las banderas reales de Vuestras Altezas en las torres de Alfambra," etc. Navarrete, Coleccion de los Viajes y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV., Madrid, 1825, 4to. Tom. I. p. 1; — a work admirably edited, and of great value, as containing the authentic materials for the history of the discovery of America. Old Bernaldez, the friend of Columbus, describes more exactly what Columbus saw: "E mostraron en la mas alta torre primeramente el estandarte de Jesu Cristo, que fue la Santa Cruz de plata, que el rey traia

that period, — or one even earlier, when some poor monks from Jerusalem had been at the camp of the two sovereigns before Granada, praying for help and protection against the unbelievers in Palestine, — he had conceived the grand project of consecrating the untold wealth he trusted to find in his westward discoveries, by devoting it to the rescue of the Holy City, and of the sepulchre of Christ; thus achieving, by his single power and resources, what all Christendom and its ages of crusades had failed to accomplish.[41]

Gradually these and other kindred ideas took firm possession of his mind, and are found occasionally in his later journals, letters, and speculations, giving to his otherwise quiet and dignified style a tone elevated and impassioned like that of prophecy. It is true that his adventurous spirit, when the mighty mission of his life was upon him, rose above all this, and, with a purged vision and through a clearer atmosphere, saw, from the outset, what he at last so gloriously accomplished; but still, as he presses onward, there not unfrequently break from him words which leave no doubt that, in his secret heart, the foundations of his great hopes and purposes were laid in some of the most magnificent illusions that are ever permitted to fill the human mind. He believed himself to be, in some degree at least, inspired; and to be chosen of Heaven to fulfil certain of the solemn and grand prophecies of the Old Testament.[42] He wrote to

siempre en la santa conquista consigo." Hist. de los Reyes Católicos, Cap. 102, MS. The same striking account of the first symbol of conquest that was raised to mark the fall of Granada — the *cruz de plata* — is to be found in Marmol's Rebelion de los Moriscos (1600, f. 25. a.), where we are told that it was raised at the orders of Ferdinand and Isabella, by the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo.

41 This appears from his letter to the Pope, February, 1502, in which he says, he had counted upon furnishing, in twelve years, 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot soldiers for the conquest of the Holy City, and that his undertaking to discover new countries was with the view of spending the means he might there acquire in this sacred service. (Navarrete, Coleccion, Tom. II. p. 282.)

42 Navarrete, Coleccion, Tom. I. pp. xlviii.–xlix. But Navarrete is wrong in referring to the *Eighteenth* Psalm, as he does. It is the *Nineteenth*, as is exactly stated in the Giustiniani Polyglott Psalter, Genoa, 1516, Fol., where the *fourth* verse is referred to — "Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world;" adding, as a commentary to it, a notice of Columbus, his life and his discoveries, in which the editor and commentator may sometimes have been inexact, as Ferdinand Columbus, in his life of his father (cap. 2), complains that he was; but in which, as a contemporary of

his sovereigns, in 1501, that he had been induced to undertake his voyages to the Indies, not by virtue of human knowledge, but by a Divine impulse, and by the force of Scriptural prediction.[43] He declared that the world could not continue to exist more than a hundred and fifty-five years longer, and that, many a year before that period, he counted the recovery of the Holy City to be sure.[44] He expressed his belief that the terrestrial paradise, about which he cites the fanciful speculations of Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustin, would be found in the southern regions of those newly discovered lands, which he describes with so charming an amenity, and that the Orinoco was one of the mystical rivers issuing from it; intimating, at the same time, that, perchance, he alone of mortal men would, by the Divine will, be enabled to reach and enjoy it.[45] In a remarkable letter of sixteen pages, addressed to his sovereigns from Jamaica in 1503,

Scriptural predictions.

Columbus, and publishing his work in the city of which he declares the great admiral — who had then been dead only ten years — to have been a native, his account is very important. On this particular verse of the 19th Psalm, he says: "Columbus *frequenter* prædicabat se a Deo electum ut per ipsum adimpletur hæc prophetia." In Navarrete (Tom. II. pp. 262–273) there is other curious matter to the same effect, from the hand of Columbus himself. I owe the correction of Navarrete's error to my friend, George Livermore, Esq., of Cambridge, who has in his precious library a copy of the Giustiniani Polyglott, which, when he pointed out the mistake to me, I did not own.

[43] "Ya dije que para la esecucion de la impresa de las Indias no me aprovechó razon ni matematica ni mapamundos; — llenamente se cumplió lo que dijo Isaias, y esto es lo que deseo de escrebir aqui por le reducir á V. A. á memoria, y porque se alegren del otro que yo le dije de Jerusalen por las mesmas autoridades, de la qual impresa, si fe hay, tengo por muy cierto la vitoria." Letter of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella (Navarrete, Col., Tom. II. p. 265). And elsewhere in the same letter he says: "Yo dije que diria la razon que tengo de la restitucion de la Casa Santa á la Santa Iglesia; digo que yo dejo todo mi navegar desde edad nueva y las pláticas que yo haya tenido con tanta gente en tantas tierras y de tantas setas, y dejo las tantas artes y escrituras de que yo dije arriba; solamente me tengo á la Santa y Sacra Escritura y á algunas autoridades proféticas de algunas personas santas, que por revelacion divina han dicho algo desto." (Ibid., p. 263.)

[44] "Segund esta cuenta, no falta, salvo ciento e cincuenta y cinco años, para complimiento de siete mil, en los quales digo arriba por las autoridades dichas que habrá de fenecer el mundo." (Ibid, p. 264.)

[45] See the very beautiful passage about the Orinoco River, mixed with prophetical interpretations, in his account of his third voyage, to the King and Queen (Navarrete, Col., Tom. I. pp. 256, etc.), a singular mixture of practical judgment and wild, dreamy speculation. "I believe," he says, "that *there* is the terrestrial paradise, at which no man can arrive except by the Divine will," — "Creo, que allá es el Paraiso terrenal, adonde no puede llegar nadie, salvo por voluntad divina." The honest Clavijo thought he had found another river of Paradise on just the opposite side of the earth, as he journeyed to Samarcand, nearly a century before. (Vida del Gran Tamorlan, p. 137.)

and written with a force of style hardly to be found in anything similar at the same period, he gives a moving account of a miraculous vision, which he believed had been vouchsafed to him for his consolation, when at Veragua, a few months before, a body of his men, sent to obtain salt and water, had been cut off by the natives, thus leaving him outside the mouth of the river in great peril.

"My brother and the rest of the people," he says, "were in a vessel that remained within, and I was left solitary on a coast so dangerous, with a strong fever and grievously worn down. Hope of escape was dead within me. I climbed aloft with difficulty, calling anxiously and not without many tears for help upon your Majesties' captains from all the four winds of heaven. But none made me answer. Wearied and still moaning, I fell asleep, and heard a pitiful voice which said: 'O fool, and slow to trust and serve thy God, the God of all! What did He more for Moses, or for David His servant? Ever since thou wast born, thou hast been His especial charge. When He saw thee at the age wherewith He was content, He made thy name to sound marvellously on the earth. The Indies, which are a part of the world, and so rich, He gave them to thee for thine own, and thou hast divided them unto others as seemed good to thyself, for He granted thee power to do so. Of the barriers of the great ocean, which were bound up with such mighty chains, He hath given unto thee the keys. Thou hast been obeyed in many lands, and thou hast gained an honored name among Christian men. What did He more for the people of Israel when He led them forth from Egypt? or for David, whom from a shepherd He made king in Judea? Turn thou, then, again unto Him, and confess thy sin. His mercy is infinite. Thine old age shall not hinder thee of any great thing. Many inheritances hath He, and very great. Abraham was above a hundred years old when he begat Isaac; and Sarah, was she young? Thou callest for uncertain help; answer, Who hath afflicted thee so much and so often? God or the world? The privileges and promises that God giveth, He breaketh not, nor, after He hath received service, doth

Vision of Columbus.

He say that thus was not His mind, and that His meaning was other. Neither punisheth He, in order to hide a refusal of justice. What He promiseth, that He fulfilleth, and yet more. And doth the world thus? I have told thee what thy Maker hath done for thee, and what He doth for all. Even now He in part showeth thee the reward of the sorrows and dangers thou hast gone through in serving others.' All this heard I, as one half dead; but answer had I none to words so true, save tears for my sins. And whosoever it might be that thus spake, he ended, saying, 'Fear not; be of good cheer; all these thy griefs are written in marble, and not without cause.' And I arose as soon as I might, and at the end of nine days the weather became calm."[46]

Three years afterwards, in 1506, Columbus died at Valladolid, a disappointed, broken-hearted old man; little comprehending what he had done for mankind, and still less the glory and homage that through all future generations awaited his name.[47]

But the mantle of his devout and heroic spirit fell on none of his successors. The discoveries of the new con-

[46] See the letter to Ferdinand and Isabella concerning his fourth and last voyage, dated Jamaica, 7 July, 1503, in which this extraordinary passage occurs. (Navarrete, Col., Tom. I. p. 303.)

[47] To those who wish to know more of Columbus as a writer than can be properly sought in a classical life of him, like that of Irving, I commend as precious: 1. The account of his first voyage, addressed to his sovereigns, with the letter to Rafael Sanchez on the same subject (Navarrete, Col., Tom. I. pp. 1–197); the first document being extant only in an abstract, which contains, however, large extracts from the original made by Las Casas, and of which a very good translation appeared at Boston, 1827 (8vo). Nothing is more remarkable in the tone of these narratives than the devout spirit that constantly breaks forth. 2. The account, by Columbus himself, of his third voyage, in a letter to his sovereigns, and in a letter to the nurse of Prince John; the first containing several interesting passages, showing that he had a love for the beautiful in nature. (Navarrete, Col., Tom. I. pp. 242–276.) 3. The letter to the sovereigns about his fourth and last voyage, which contains the account of his vision at Veragua. (Navarrete, Col., Tom. I. pp. 296–312.) 4. Fifteen miscellaneous letters. (Ibid., Tom. I. pp. 330–352.) 5. His speculations about the prophecies (Tom. II. pp. 260–273), and his letter to the Pope (Tom. II. pp. 280–282). But, whoever would speak worthily of Columbus, or know what was most noble and elevated in his character, will be guilty of an unhappy neglect if he fail to read the discussions about him by Alexander von Humboldt; especially those in the "Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent" (Paris, 1836–38, 8vo, Vol. II. pp. 350, etc., Vol. III. pp. 227–262), — a book no less remarkable for the vastness of its views than for the minute accuracy of its learning on some of the most obscure subjects of historical inquiry. Nobody has comprehended the character of Columbus as Humboldt has, — its generosity, its enthusiasm, its far-reaching visions, which seemed watching beforehand for the great scientific discoveries of the sixteenth century.

tinent, which was soon ascertained to be no part of Asia, were indeed prosecuted with spirit and success by Balboa, by Vespucci, by Hojeda, by Pedrárias Dávila, by the Portuguese Magellanes, by Loaisa, by Saavedra, and by many more; so that in twenty-seven years the general outline and form of the New World were, through their reports, fairly presented to the Old. But, though some of these early adventurers, like Hojeda, were men apparently of honest principles, who suffered much, and died in poverty and sorrow, yet none had the lofty spirit of the original discoverer, and none spoke or wrote with the tone of dignity and authority that came naturally from a man whose character was so elevated, and whose convictions and purposes were founded in some of the deepest and most mysterious feelings of our religious nature.[48] Balboa, Vespucci, Hojeda, and others.

Romantic Chronicles. — It only remains now to speak of one other class of the old chronicles; a class hardly represented in this period by more than a single specimen, but that a very curious one, and one which, by its date and character, brings us to the end of our present inquiries, and marks the transition to those that are to follow. The Chronicle referred to is that called "The Chronicle of Don Roderic, with the Destruction of Spain," and is an account, chiefly fabulous, of the reign of King Roderic, the conquest of the country by the Moors, and the first attempts to recover it in the beginning of the eighth century. An edition is cited as early as 1511, and six in all may be enumerated, including the last, which is of 1587; thus showing a good degree of popularity, if we consider the number of readers in Spain in the sixteenth century.[49] Its author is quite unknown. Chronicle of Don Roderic.

[48] All relating to these adventures and voyages worth looking at, on the score of language or style, is to be found in Vols. III., IV., V., of Navarrete, Coleccion, etc., published by the government, Madrid, 1829–37, but unhappily not continued since, so as to contain the accounts of the discovery and conquest of Mexico, Peru, etc.

[49] My copy is of the edition of Alcalá de Henares, 1587, and has the characteristic title, "Crónica del Rey Don Rodrigo, con la Destruycion de España, y como los Moros la ganaron. Nuevamente corregida. Contiene, demas de la Historia, muchas vivas Razones y Avisos muy provechosos." It is in folio, in double columns, closely printed, and fills two hundred and twenty-five leaves, or four hundred and fifty pages. Gayangos, in the Spanish translation of this History, Tom. I. p. 519, suggests that Pedro del Corral may be the author of this chronicling Romance, and refers for his

According to the fashion of the times, it professes to have been written by Eliastras, one of the personages who figures in it; but he is killed in battle just before we reach the end of the book; and the remainder, which looks as if it might really be an addition by another hand, is in the same way ascribed to Carestes, a knight of Alfonso the Catholic.[50]

Most of the names throughout the work are as imaginary as those of its pretended authors; and the circumstances related are, generally, as much invented as the dialogue between its personages, which is given with a heavy minuteness of detail, alike uninteresting in itself, and false to the times it represents. In truth, it is hardly more than a romance of chivalry, founded on the materials for the history of Roderic and Pelayo, as they still exist in the "General Chronicle of Spain," and in the old ballads; so that, though we often meet what is familiar to us about Count Julian, La Cava, and Orpas, the false Archbishop of Seville, we find ourselves still oftener in the midst of impossible tournaments[51] and incredible adventures of chivalry.[52] Kings travel about like knights-errant,[53] and ladies in distress wander from country to country,[54] as they do in "Palmerin of England," while, on

authority to Fernan Perez de Guzman's Preface to his Claros Varnes, — intending, no doubt, the Preface to his Generaciones y Semblanzas, where mention of Corral may be found (Ed. 1775, p. 197). But the work referred to by Fernan Perez is called "Crónica Sarracina," and it is not likely that the "Crónica del Rey Don Rodrigo" was written in 1450, which is the date of the Generaciones. Gayangos adds that "the author of the Chronicle, whoever he may be, took much from the Moor Razis (Ar-Razi), and especially what relates to the capture of Cordova."

[50] From Parte II. c. 237 to the end, containing the account of the fabulous and loathsome penance of Don Roderic, with his death. Nearly the whole of it is translated as a note to the twenty-fifth canto of Southey's "Roderic, the Last of the Goths."

[51] See the grand *Torneo* when Roderic is crowned, Parte I. c. 27; the tournament of twenty thousand knights in Cap. 40; that in Cap. 49, etc.; — all just as such things are given in the books of chivalry, and eminently absurd here, because the events of the Chronicle are laid in the beginning of the eighth century, and tournaments were unknown till above two centuries later. (A. P. Budik, Ursprung, Ausbildung, Abnahme, und Verfall des Turniers, Wien, 1837, 8vo.) He places the first tournament in 936. Clemencin thinks they were not known in Spain till after 1131. (Note to Don Quixote, Tom. IV. p. 315.)

[52] See the duels described, Parte II. c. 80, etc., 84, etc., 93.

[53] The King of Poland is one of the kings that comes to the court of Roderic "like a wandering knight so fair" (Parte I. c. 39). One might be curious to know who was King of Poland about A. D. 700.

[54] Thus, the Duchess of Loraine comes to Roderic (Parte I. c. 37) with much the same sort of a case that the Princess Micomicona brings to Don Quixote.

all sides, we encounter fantastic personages, who were never heard of anywhere but in this apocryphal Chronicle.[55]

The principle of such a work is, of course, nearly the same with that of the modern historical romance. What, at the time it was written, was deemed history, was taken as its basis from the old chronicles, and mingled with what was then the most advanced form of romantic fiction, just as it has been since in the series of works of genius beginning with Defoe's "Memoirs of a Cavalier." The difference is in the general representation of manners, and in the execution, both of which are now immeasurably advanced. Indeed, though Southey has founded much of his beautiful poem of "Roderic, the Last of the Goths," on this old Chronicle, it is, after all, hardly a book that can be read. It is written in a heavy, verbose style, and has a suspiciously monkish prologue and conclusion, which look as if the whole were originally intended to encourage the Romish doctrine of penance, or, at least, were finally arranged to subserve that devout purpose.[56]

Historical romance.

55 Parte I. c. 234, 235, etc.

56 To learn through what curious transformations the same ideas can be made to pass, it may be worth while to compare, in the "Crónica General," 1604 (Parte III. f. 6), the original account of the famous battle of Covadonga, where the Archbishop Orpas is represented picturesquely coming upon his mule to the cave in which Pelayo and his people lay, with the tame and elaborate account evidently taken from it in this Chronicle of Roderic (Parte II. c. 196); then with the account in Mariana (Historia, Lib. VII. c. 2), where it is polished down into a sort of dramatized history; and, finally, with Southey's "Roderic, the Last of the Goths" (Canto XXIII.), where it is again wrought up to poetry and romance. It is an admirable scene both for chronicling narrative and for poetical fiction to deal with; but Alfonso the Wise and Southey have much the best of it, while a comparison of the four will at once give the poor "Chronicle of Roderic or the Destruction of Spain" its true place.

Another work, something like this Chronicle, but still more worthless, was published, in two parts, in 1592–1600, and seven or eight times afterwards; thus giving proof that it long enjoyed a degree of favor to which it was little entitled. It was written by Miguel de Luna, in 1589, as appears by a note to the first part, and is called "Verdadera Historia del Rey Rodrigo, con la Perdida de España, y Vida del Rey Jacob Almanzor, traduzida de Lengua Arábiga," etc., my copy being printed at Valencia, 1606, 4to. Southey, in his notes to his "Roderic" (Canto IV.), is disposed to regard this work as an authentic history of the invasion and conquest of Spain, coming down to the year of Christ 761, and written in the original Arabic only two years later. But this is a mistake. It is a bold and scandalous forgery, with even less merit in its style than the elder Chronicle on the same subject, and without any of the really romantic adventures that sometimes give an interest to that singular work, half monkish, half chivalrous. How Miguel de Luna, who, though a Christian, was of an old Moorish family in Granada, and an interpreter of Philip II., should have shown a great ignorance of the Arabic

This is the last, and, in many respects, the worst, of the chronicles of the fifteenth century, and marks but an ungraceful transition to the romantic fictions of chivalry that were already beginning to inundate Spain. But, as we close it up, we should not forget that the whole series, extending over full two hundred and fifty years, from the time of Alfonso the Wise to the accession of Charles the Fifth, and covering the New World as well as the Old, is unrivalled in richness, in variety, and in picturesque and poetical elements. In truth, the chronicles of no other nation can, on these particular points, be compared to them; not even the Portuguese, which approach the nearest in original and early materials; nor the French, which, in Joinville and Froissart, make still higher claims in another direction. For these old Spanish chronicles, whether they have their foundations in truth or in fable, always strike further down than those of any other nation into the deep soil of the popular feeling and character. The old Spanish loyalty, the old Spanish religious faith, as both were formed and nourished in the long periods of national trial and suffering, are constantly coming out; hardly less in Columbus and his followers, or even amidst the atrocities of the conquests in the New World, than in the half-miraculous accounts of the battles of Hazinas and Tolosa, or in the grand and glorious drama of the fall of Granada. Indeed, where ever we go under their leading, whether to the court of Tamerlane, or to that of Saint Ferdinand, we find the heroic elements of the national genius gathered around us; and thus, in this vast, rich mass of chronicles, containing such a body of antiquities, traditions, and fables, as has been offered to no other people; we are constantly discovering, not only the materials from which were drawn a multitude of the old Spanish ballads, plays,

Character of the old Spanish chronicles.

language and history of Spain, or, showing it, should yet have succeeded in passing off his miserable stories as authentic, is certainly a singular circumstance. That such, however, is the fact, Conde, in his "Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes" (Preface, p. x.), and Gayangos, in his "Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain" (Vol. I. p. viii.), leave no doubt, — the latter citing it as a proof of the utter contempt and neglect into which the study of Arabic literature had fallen in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

and romances, but a mine which has been unceasingly wrought by the rest of Europe for similar purposes, and still remains unexhausted.[57]

[57] Two Spanish translations of chronicles should be here remembered: one for its style and author, and the other for its subject.

The first is the "Universal Chronicle" of Felipe Foresto, a modest monk of Bergamo, who refused the higher honors of his Church, in order to be able to devote his life to letters, and who died in 1520, at the age of eighty-six. He published, in 1486, his large Latin Chronicle, entitled "Supplementum Chronicarum;"—meaning rather a chronicle intended to supply all needful historical knowledge, than one that should be regarded as a supplement to other similar works. It was so much esteemed at the time, that its author saw it pass through ten editions; and it is said to be still of some value for facts stated no where so well as on his personal authority. At the request of Luis Carroz and Pedro Boyl, it was translated into Spanish by Narcis Viñoles, the Valencian poet, known in the old Cancioneros for his compositions both in his native dialect and in Castilian. An earlier version of it into Italian, published in 1491, may also have been the work of Viñoles, since he intimates that he had made one; but his Castilian version was printed at Valencia, in 1510, with a license from Ferdinand the Catholic, acting for his daughter Joan. It is a large book, of nearly nine hundred pages, in folio, entitled, "Suma de todas las Crónicas del Mundo;" and though Viñoles hints it was a rash thing in him to write in Castilian, his style is good, and sometimes gives an interest to his otherwise dry annals. Ximeno, Bib. Val., Tom. I. p. 61. Fuster, Tom. I. p. 54. Diana Enam. de Polo, ed. 1802, p. 304. Biographie Universelle, art. *Foresto.*

The other Chronicle referred to is that of St. Louis, by his faithful follower Joinville; the most striking of the monuments for the French language and literature of the thirteenth century. It was translated into Spanish by Jacques Ledel, one of the suite of the French Princess Isabel de Bourbon, when she went to Spain to become the wife of Philip II. Regarded as the work of a foreigner, the version is respectable; and though it was not printed till 1567, yet its whole tone prevents it from finding an appropriate place anywhere except in the period of the old Castilian chronicles. Crónica de San Luis, etc., traducida por Jacques Ledel, Madrid, 1794, folio.

It may be well to add here that abridgments of the old Spanish chronicles have been printed for popular use from a very early period, down to the present times and in all forms. I have seen many such;—ex. gr., the Chronicle of the Cid, in a small thin quarto, with rude wood cuts, 1498; the chronicle of Fernan Gonzalez, a 12mo of about 40 pages, 1589; and so on down to a *broadside* of Bernardo del Carpio's adventures, 1849. But I think the abridgments have rarely any literary value.

CHAPTER XI.

THIRD CLASS. — ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY. — ARTHUR. — CHARLEMAGNE. — AMADIS DE GAULA. — ITS DATE, AUTHOR, TRANSLATION INTO CASTILIAN, SUCCESS, AND CHARACTER. — ESPLANDIAN. — FLORISANDO. — LISUARTE DE GRECIA. — AMADIS DE GRECIA. — FLORISEL DE NIQUEA. — ANAXARTES. — SILVES DE LA SELVA. — FRENCH CONTINUATION. — INFLUENCE OF THE FICTION. — PALMERIN DE OLIVA. — PRIMALEON. — PLATIR — PALMERIN DE INGLATERRA.

ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY. — The ballads of Spain belonged originally to the whole nation, but especially to its less cultivated portions. The chronicles, on the contrary, belonged to the proud and knightly classes, who sought in such picturesque records, not only the glorious history of their forefathers, but an appropriate stimulus to their own virtues and those of their children. As, however, security was gradually extended through the land, and the tendency to refinement grew stronger, other wants began to be felt. Books were demanded that would furnish amusement less popular than that afforded by the ballads, and excitement less grave than that of the chronicles. What was asked for was obtained, and probably without difficulty; for the spirit of poetical invention, which had been already thoroughly awakened in the country, needed only to be turned to the old traditions and fables of the early national chronicles, in order to produce fictions allied to both of them, yet more attractive than either. There is, in fact, as we can easily see, but a single step between large portions of several of the old chronicles, especially that of Don Roderic, and proper romances of chivalry.[1]

Romances of chivalry.

[1] An edition of the "Chronicle of Don Roderic" is cited as early as 1511; none of "Amadis de Gaula" earlier than 1510, and this one uncertain. But "Tirant lo Blanch" was printed in 1490, in the Valencian dialect, and the Amadis appeared

Such fictions, under ruder or more settled forms, had already existed in Normandy, and perhaps in the centre of France, above two centuries before they were known in the Spanish peninsula. The story of Arthur and the Knights of his Round Table had come thither from Brittany through Geoffrey of Monmouth, as early as the beginning of the twelfth century.[2] The story of Charlemagne and his Peers, as it is found in the Chronicle of the fabulous Turpin, had followed from the South of France soon afterwards.[3] Both were, at first, in Latin, but both were almost immediately transferred to the French, then spoken at the courts of Normandy and England, and at once gained a wide popularity. Robert Wace, born in the island of Jersey, gave in 1158 a metrical history founded on the work of Geoffrey, which, besides the story of Arthur, contains a series of traditions concerning the Breton kings, tracing them up to a fabulous Brutus, the grandson of Æneas.[4] A century later, or about 1270–1280, after less successful attempts by others, the same service was rendered to the story of Charlemagne by Adenez in his metrical romance of "Ogier le Danois," the chief scenes of which are laid either in Spain or in Fairy Land.[5] These, and similar poetical inventions, constructed out of them by the Trouveurs of the North, became, in the next age, materials for the famous romances of chivalry in prose, which, during three centuries, constituted no mean part of the vernacular literature of France, and, down to our own times, have been the great mine of wild fables for Ariosto, Spenser, Wieland, and the other poets of chivalry, whose fictions are connected either with the stories of

Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Turpin.

Old French romances.

perhaps soon afterwards, in the Castilian; so that it is not improbable the "Chronicle of Don Roderic" may mark, by the time of its appearance, as well as by its contents and spirit, the change, of which it is certainly a very obvious monument.

[2] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, first Dissertation, with the notes of Price, London, 1824, 4 vols. 8vo. Ellis' Specimens of Early English Metrical Romance, London, 1811, 8vo, Vol. I. Turner's Vindication of Ancient British Poems, London, 1803, 8vo.

[3] Turpin, J., De Vitâ Caroli Magni et Rolandi, ed. S. Ciampi, Florentiæ, 1822, 8vo.

[4] Preface to the "Roman de Rou," by Robert Wace, ed. F. Pluquet, Paris, 1827, 8vo, Vol. I.

[5] Letter to M. de Monmerqué, by Paulin Paris, prefixed to "Li Romans de Berte aux Grans Piés," Paris, 1836, 8vo.

Arthur and his Round Table, or with those of Charlemagne and his Peers.[6]

At the period, however, to which we have alluded, and which ends about the middle of the fourteenth century, there is no reasonable pretence that any such form of fiction existed in Spain. There, the national heroes continued to fill the imaginations of men, and satisfy their patriotism. Arthur was not heard of at all, and Charlemagne, when he appears in the old Spanish chronicles and ballads, comes only as that imaginary invader of Spain who sustained an inglorious defeat in the gorges of the Pyrenees. But in the next century things are entirely changed. The romances of France, it is plain, have penetrated into the Peninsula, and their effects are visible. They were not, indeed, at first, translated or versified; but they were imitated, and a new series of fictions was invented, which was soon spread through the world, and became more famous than either of its predecessors.

Oldest Spanish romances.

This extraordinary family of romances, whose descendants, as Cervantes says, were innumerable,[7] is the family of which Amadis de Gaula is the poetical head and type. Our first notice of this remarkable book in Spain is from the latter part of the fourteenth century, by several poets in the Cancionero of Baena, but especially by Pedro Ferrùs, who wrote a poem — perhaps contemporary with the event — on the death of Henry II. in 1379, and from the Rimado de Palacio of the Chancellor Ayala, parts of which, as we have seen, were written in 1398 and 1404.[8] But the Amadis is not to be accounted a Spanish romance originally, although its great reputation is due to Spain. Gomez Eannes de Zurara, Keeper of the Archives

Amadis de Gaula.

[6] See, on the whole subject, the Essays of F. W. Valentine Schmidt; Jahrbücher der Literatur, Vienna, 1824–26, Bände XXVI. p. 20, XXIX. p. 71, XXXI. p. 99, and XXXIII. p. 16. I shall have occasion to use the last of these discussions, when speaking of the Spanish romances belonging to the family of Amadis.

[7] Don Quixote, in his conversation with the curate (Parte II. c. 1), says, that, to defeat any army of two hundred thousand men, it would only be necessary to have living "alguno de los del inumerable linage de Amadis de Gaula," — "any one of the numberless descendants of Amadis de Gaul."

[8] Ayala, in his "Rimado de Palacio," already cited (*ante*, Chap V.), says:

Plegomi otrosi oir muchas vegadas
Libros de devaneos e mentiras probadas,
Amadis e Lanzarote, e burlas a sacadas,
En que perdi mi tiempo á mui malas jornadas.

of Portugal in 1454, who wrote three striking chronicles relating to the affairs of his own country, leaves no substantial doubt that the author of the Amadis of Gaul was Vasco de Lobeira, a Portuguese gentleman who was attached to the court of John the First of Portugal, was armed as a knight by that monarch just before the battle of Aljubarotta, in 1385, and died in 1403.[9] The words of the honest and careful annalist are quite distinct on this point. He says he is unwilling to have his true and faithful book, the "Chronicle of Count Pedro de Meneses," confounded with such stories as "the book of Amadis, which was made entirely at the pleasure of one man, called Vasco de Lobeira, in the time of the King Don Ferdinand; all the things in the said book being invented by its author."[10]

Vasco de Lobeira.

Whether Lobeira had any older popular tradition or fancies about Amadis, or any other written version of the story, to quicken his imagination and marshal him the way he should go, we cannot now tell. He certainly had a knowledge of some of the old French romances, such as that of the Saint Graal, or Holy Cup, — the crowning fiction of the Knights of the Round Table,[11] — and distinctly

[9] Barbosa, Bib. Lusitana, Lisboa, 1752, fol., Tom. III. p. 775, and the many authorities there cited, none of which, perhaps, is of much consequence, except that of João de Barros, who, being a careful historian, born in 1496, and citing an older author than himself, adds something to the testimony in favor of Lobeira.

[10] Gomez de Zurara, in the outset of his "Chronicle of the Conde Don Pedro de Meneses," says that he wishes to write an account only of "the things that happened in his own times, or of those which happened so near to his own times that he could have true knowledge of them." This strengthens what he says concerning Lobeira, in the passage cited in the text from the opening of Chap. 63 of the Chronicle. The Ferdinand to whom Zurara there refers was the half-brother of John I., and died in 1383. The Chronicle of Zurara is published by the Academy of Lisbon, in their "Colecção de Libros Ineditos de Historia Portuguesa," Lisboa, 1792, fol., Tom. II. I have a curious manuscript "Dissertation on the Authorship of the Amadis de Gaula," by Father Sarmiento, who wrote the valuable fragment of a History of Spanish Poetry to which I have often referred. This learned Galician is much confused and vexed by the question; — first denying that there is any authority at all for saying Lobeira wrote the Amadis; then asserting that, *if* Lobeira wrote it, he was a Galician; then successively suggesting that it may have been written by Vasco Perez de Camões, by the Chancellor Ayala, by Montalvo, or by the Bishop of Cartagena; — all absurd conjectures, much connected with his prevailing passion to refer the origin of all Spanish poetry to Galicia. He does not seem to have been aware of the passage in Gomez de Zurara.

[11] The Saint Graal, or the Holy Cup which the Saviour used for the wine of the Last Supper, and which, in the story of Arthur, is supposed to have been brought to England by Joseph of Arimathea, is alluded to in Amadis de Gaula (Lib. IV. c. 48). Arthur himself — "El muy virtuoso

acknowledges himself to have been indebted to the Infante Alfonso, who was born in 1370, for an alteration made in the character of Amadis.[12] But that he was aided, as has been suggested, in any considerable degree, by fictions said to have been in Picardy in the sixteenth century, and claimed, without proof, to have been there in the twelfth, is an assumption made on too slight grounds to be seriously considered.[13] We must therefore conclude, from the few, but plain, facts known in the case, that the Amadis was originally a Portuguese fiction, produced about 1390, or a little earlier, and that Vasco de Lobeira was its author.

But the Portuguese original can no longer be found. At the end of the sixteenth century, we are assured, it was extant in manuscript in the archives of the Dukes of Aveiro, at Lisbon; and the same assertion is renewed, on good authority, about the year 1750. From this time, however, we lose all trace of it; and the most careful inquiries render it probable that this curious manuscript, about which there has been so much discussion, perished in the terrible earthquake and conflagration of 1755, when the palace occupied by the ducal family of Aveiro was destroyed, with all its precious contents.[14]

rey Artur" — is spoken of in Lib. I. c. 1, and in Lib. IV. c. 49, where "the Book of Don Tristan and Launcelot" is also mentioned. Other passages might be cited, but there can be no doubt the author of Amadis knew some of the French fictions. Nor can there be any doubt that the most famous of the fictions of chivalry were known in Spain at the same period, or a little later. The Cancionero of Baena is full of references to them.

[12] See the end of Chap. 40, Book I., in which he says, "The Infante Don Alfonso of Portugal, having pity on the fair damsel [the Lady Briolania], ordered it to be otherwise set down, and in this was done what was his good pleasure." El Señor Infante Don Alfonso de Portugal aviendo piedad desta fermosa donzella de otra guisa lo mandasse poner. En esto hizo loque su merced fue.

[13] Ginguené, Hist. Litt. d'Italie, Paris, 1812, 8vo, Tom. V. p. 62, note (4), answering the Preface of the Comte de Tressan to his too free abridgment of the Amadis de Gaule (Œuvres, Paris, 1787, 8vo, Tom. I. p. xxii.); and the dedication by Nicolas de Herberay of his fine old French translation, first printed in 1540, but of which my copy is 1548.

[14] The fact that it was in the Aveiro collection is stated in Ferreira, "Poemas Lusitanos," where is the sonnet, No. 33, by Ferreira in honor of Vasco de Lobeira, which Southey, in his Preface to his "Amadis of Gaul" (London, 1803, 12mo, Vol. I. p. vii.), erroneously attributes to the Infante Antonio of Portugal, and thus would make it of consequence in the present discussion. Nic. Antonio, who leaves no doubt as to the authorship of the sonnet in question, refers to the same note in Ferreira to prove the deposit of the manuscript of the Amadis; so that the two constitute only *one* authority, and not *two* authorities, as Southey supposes. (Bib. Vetus, Lib. VIII. cap. vii. sect. 291.) Barbosa is more distinct. (Bib. Lusitana, Tom. III. p. 775.) He says, "O original se conservava em casa dos Excellentissimos Duques de Aveiro."

The Spanish version, therefore, stands for us in place of the Portuguese original. It was made between 1492 and 1504, by Garcia Ordoñez de Montalvo, governor of the city of Medina del Campo, and it is possible that it was printed for the first time during the same interval.[15] But no copy of such an edition is known to exist, nor any one of an edition sometimes cited as having been printed at Salamanca in 1510;[16] the earliest now accessible to us dating from 1519. Twelve more followed in the course of half a century, so that the Amadis succeeded, at once, in placing the fortunes of its family on the sure foundations of popular favor in Spain. It was translated into Italian in 1546, and was again successful; six editions of it appearing in that language in less than thirty years.[17] In France, beginning with the first attempt in 1540, it became such a favorite, that its reputation there has not yet wholly faded away;[18] while, elsewhere in Europe, a multitude of translations and imitations have followed, that seem to stretch out the line of the family, as Don Quixote declares, from the age immediately after the introduction of Christianity down almost to that in which he himself lived.[19]

Garcia Ordoñez de Montalvo.

But there is a careful summing up of the matter in Clemencin's notes to Don Quixote (Tom. I. pp. 105, 106), beyond which it is not likely we shall advance in our knowledge concerning the fate of the Portuguese original.

[15] In his Prólogo, Montalvo alludes to the conquest of Granada in 1492, and to *both* the Catholic sovereigns as still alive, one of whom, Isabella, died in 1504.

[16] I doubt whether the *Salamanca* edition of 1510, mentioned by Barbosa (article *Vasco de Lobeira*), is not, after all, the edition of 1519 mentioned in Brunet as printed by *Antonio de Salamanca*. The error in printing, or copying, would be small, and nobody but Barbosa seems to have heard of the one he notices. When the first edition appeared is quite uncertain.

[17] Ferrario, Storia ed. Analisi degli antichi Romanzi di Cavalleria (Milano, 1829, 8vo, Tom. IV. p. 242), and Brunet's Manuel; to all which should be added the "Amadigi" of Bernardo Tasso, 1560, constructed almost entirely from the Spanish romance; a poem which, though no longer popular, had much reputation in its time, and is much praised by Ginguené.

[18] For the old French version, see Brunet's "Manuel du Libraire;" but Count Tressan's *rifacimento*, first printed in 1779, has kept it familiar to French readers down to our own times. In German it was known from 1583, and in English from 1619; but the abridgment of it by Southey (London, 1803, 4 vols. 12mo) is the only form of it in English that can now be read. It was also translated into Dutch; and Castro, somewhere in his "Biblioteca," speaks of a Hebrew translation of it.

[19] "Casi que *en nuestros dias* vimos y comunicamos y oimos al invencible y valeroso caballero D. Belianis de Grecia," says the mad knight, when he gets to be maddest, and follows out the consequence of making Amadis live above two hundred years, and have descendants innumerable. (Parte I. c. 13.)

The translation of Montalvo does not seem to have been very literal. It was, as he intimates, much better than the Portuguese in its style and phraseology; and the last part especially appears to have been more altered than either of the others.[20] But the structure and tone of the whole fiction are original, and much more free than those of the French romances that had preceded it. The story of Arthur and the Holy Cup is essentially religious; the story of Charlemagne is essentially military; and both are involved in a series of adventures previously ascribed to their respective heroes by chronicles and traditions, which, whether true or false, were so far recognized as to prescribe limits to the invention of all who subsequently adopted them. But the Amadis is of imagination all compact. No period of time is assigned to its events, except that they begin to occur soon after the very commencement of the Christian era; and its geography is generally as unsettled and uncertain as the age when its hero lived. It has no purpose, indeed, but to set forth the character of a perfect knight, and to

Originality of the Amadis.

[20] Don Quixote, ed. Clemencin, Tom. I. p. 107, note. There is a difficulty about the original composition and construction of the Amadis, of which I was not aware when the first edition of this History was published (1849), and which I will now (1858) explain as well as I can, chiefly from the notes of Gayangos to his Translation (Tom. I. pp. 520–522), and from his "Discurso Preliminar" to the fortieth volume of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, which contains the Amadis and Esplandian.

The difficulty in question arises, I think, in a great degree from the circumstance that the Preface of Montalvo is given differently in the different early editions of the Amadis, and would lead to different inferences. In the one by Cromberger, 1520, which I have never seen, but which is cited by Gayangos, we are told of Montalvo, "que en su tiempo solo se conocian *tres* libros del Amadis, y que el añadió, trasladó, y enmendó el quarto." The same fact of its being originally known in *three* books is set forth in some of the poems in Baena's Cancionero, published 1851 (see notes pp. 648 and 677), and especially in a poem by Pedro Ferrus, who, perhaps, wrote as early as 1379, but lived a good deal later. From these and other circumstances of less consequence, Gayangos infers that there was current in Spain an Amadis in *three* books before Lobeira prepared his version of the story, which can, he thinks, hardly have been much before 1390, as the Infante Alfonso, who induced him to modify the story of Briolania, was not born till 1370. (See *ante*, note 12.) But who can have written these three books, if they existed so early, or in what language they were written, is not even to be conjectured. Lobeira may have been their author as early as 1350 or 1360, and have altered the story of Briolania afterwards as late as 1390, to please the prince, as he says he did, and so the distinct and clear averment of Eannes de Zurara stand untouched. At any rate, I do not see how we can get behind his testimony that Lobeira was the author, or behind Montalvo's testimony that the Amadis we now possess was a translation made by him, with alterations and improvements.

illustrate the virtues of courage and chastity as the only proper foundations of such a character.

Amadis, in fulfilment of this idea, is the son of a merely imaginary king of the imaginary kingdom of Gaula, which is intended not for Gaul, but Wales. His birth is illegitimate, and his mother, Elisena, a British princess, ashamed of her child, exposes him on the sea, where he is found by a Scottish knight, and carried, first to England, and afterwards to Scotland. In Scotland he falls in love with Oriana, the true and peerless lady, daughter of an imaginary Lisuarte, King of England. Meantime, Perion, King of Gaula, — another personage entirely unknown to history, — has married the mother of Amadis, who has by him a second son, named Galaor. The adventures of these two knights, partly in England, France, Germany, and Turkey, and partly in unknown regions and amidst enchantments, — sometimes under the favor of their ladies, and sometimes, as in the hermitage of the Firm Island, under their frowns, — fill up the book, which, after the strange journeyings of the principal knights, and an incredible number of combats between them and other knights, magicians, and giants, ends, at last, in the marriage of Amadis and Oriana, and the overthrow of all the enchantments that had so long opposed their love.

Story of the Amadis.

The Amadis is admitted, by general consent, to be the best of all the old romances of chivalry. One reason of this is, that it is more true to the manners and spirit of the age of knighthood; but the principal reason is, no doubt, that it is written with a more free invention, and takes a greater variety in its tones than is found in other similar works. It even contains, sometimes, — what we should hardly expect in this class of wild fictions, — passages of natural tenderness and beauty, such as the following description of the young loves of Amadis and Oriana.

Its character.

"Now, Lisuarte brought with him to Scotland Brisena, his wife, and a daughter that he had by her when he dwelt in Denmark, named Oriana, about ten years old, and the fairest creature that ever was seen; so fair, that she was called 'Without Peer,' since in her time there

was none equal to her. And because she suffered much from the sea, he consented to leave her there, asking the King, Languines, and his Queen, that they would have care of her. And they were made very glad therewith, and the Queen said, 'Trust me that I will have such a care of her as her mother would.' And Lisuarte, entering into his ships, made haste back into Great Britain, and found there some who had made disturbances, such as are wont to be in such cases. And for this cause, he remembered him not of his daughter, for some space of time. But at last, with much toil that he took, he obtained his kingdom, and he was the best king that ever was before his time, nor did any afterwards better maintain knighthood in its rights, till King Arthur reigned, who surpassed all the kings before him in goodness, though the number that reigned between these two was great.

"And now the author leaves Lisuarte reigning in peace and quietness in Great Britain, and turns to the Child of the Sea [Amadis], who was twelve years old, but in size and limbs seemed to be fifteen. He served before the Queen, and was much loved of her, as he was of all ladies and damsels. But as soon as Oriana, the daughter of King Lisuarte, came there, she gave to her the Child of the Sea, that he should serve her, saying, 'This is a child who shall serve you.' And she answered that it pleased her. And the child kept this word in his heart, in such wise that it never afterwards left it; and, as this history truly says, he was never, in all the days of his life, wearied with serving her. And this their love lasted as long as they lasted; but the Child of the Sea, who knew not at all how she loved him, held himself to be very bold, in that he had placed his thoughts on her, considering both her greatness and her beauty, and never so much as dared to speak any word to her concerning it. And she, though she loved him in her heart, took heed that she should not speak with him more than with another; but her eyes took great solace in showing to her heart what thing in the world she most loved.

"Thus lived they silently together, neither saying aught to the other of their estate. Then came, at last,

the time when the Child of the Sea, as I now tell you, understood within himself that he might take arms, if any there were that would make him a knight. And this he desired because he considered that he should thus become such a man, and should do such things as that either he should perish in them, or, if he lived, then his lady should deal gently with him. And with this desire he went to the King, who was in his garden, and, kneeling before him, said, 'Sire, if it please you, it is now time that I should be made a knight.' And the king said, 'How, Child of the Sea, do you already adventure to maintain knighthood? Know that it is a light matter to come by it, but a weighty thing to maintain it. And whoso seeks to get this name of knighthood, and maintain it in its honor, he hath to do so many and such grievous things, that often his heart is wearied out; and if he should be such a knight, that, from faint-heartedness or cowardice, he should fail to do what is beseeming, then it would be better for him to die than to live in his shame. Therefore I hold it good that you wait yet a little.' But the Child of the Sea said to him, 'Neither for all this will I fail to be a knight; for, if I had not already thought to fulfil this that you have said, my heart would not so have striven to be a knight.' "[21]

Other passages of quite a different character are no less striking, as, for instance, that in which the fairy Urganda comes in her fire-galleys,[22] and that in which the venerable Nasciano visits Oriana;[23] but the most characteristic are those that illustrate the spirit of chivalry, and inculcate the duties of princes and knights. In these portions of the work there is sometimes a lofty tone that rises to eloquence,[24] and sometimes a sad one, full of earnestness and truth.[25] The general story, too, is more simple and effective than the stories of the old

[21] Amadis de Gaula, Lib. I. c. 4.

[22] Lib. II. c. 17.

[23] Lib. IV. c. 32.

[24] See Lib. II. c. 13, Lib. IV. c. 14, and in many other places, exhortations to knightly and princely virtues.

[25] See the mourning about his own time, as a period of great suffering (Lib. IV. c. 53). This could not have been a just description of any part of the reign of the Catholic kings in Spain; and must, therefore, I suppose, have been in the original work of Lobeira, and have referred to troubles in Portugal.

French romances of chivalry. Instead of distracting our attention by the adventures of a great number of knights, whose claims are nearly equal, it is kept fastened on two, whose characters are well preserved; — Amadis, the model of all chivalrous virtues, and his brother, Don Galaor, hardly less perfect as a knight in the field, but by no means so faithful in his loves; — and, in this way, it has a more epic proportion in its several parts, and keeps up our interest to the end more successfully than any of its followers or rivals.

Objections to the Amadis.

The great objection to the Amadis is one that must be made to all of its class. We are wearied by its length, and by the constant recurrence of similar adventures and dangers, in which, as we foresee, the hero is certain to come off victorious. But this length and these repetitions seemed no fault when it first appeared, or for a long time afterwards. For romantic fiction, the only form of elegant literature which modern times have added to the marvellous inventions of Greek genius, was then recent and fresh; and the few who read for amusement rejoiced even in the least graceful of its creations, as vastly nearer to the hearts and thoughts of men educated in the institutions of knighthood than any glimpses they had thus far caught of the severe glories of antiquity. The Amadis, therefore, — as we may easily learn by the notices of it from the time when the great Chancellor of Castile mourned that he had wasted his leisure over its idle fancies, down to the time when the whole sect disappeared before the avenging satire of Cervantes, — was a work of extraordinary popularity in Spain; and one which, during the two centuries of its greatest favor, was more read than any other book in the language.

Opinion of Cervantes.

Nor should it be forgotten that Cervantes himself was not insensible to its merits. The first book that, as he tells us, was taken from the shelves of Don Quixote, when the curate, the barber, and the housekeeper, began the expurgation of his library, was the Amadis de Gaula. "'There is something mysterious about this matter,' said the curate; 'for, as I have heard,

this was the first book of knight-errantry that was printed in Spain, and all the others have had their origin and source here; so that, as the arch-heretic of so mischievous a sect, I think he should, without a hearing, be condemned to the fire.' 'No, Sir,' said the barber, 'for I, too, have heard that it is the best of all the books of its kind that have been written, and, therefore, for its singularity, it ought to be forgiven.' 'That is the truth,' answered the curate, 'and so let us spare it for the present;'" — a decision which, on the whole, has been confirmed by posterity, and precisely for the reason Cervantes has assigned.[26]

But before Montalvo published his translation of the Amadis, and perhaps before he had made it, he had written a continuation, which he announced in the Preface to the Amadis as its fifth book. It is an original work, about one-third part as long as the Amadis, and contains the story of the son of that hero and Oriana, named Esplandian, whose birth and education had already been given in the account of his father's adventures, and constitute one of its pleasantest episodes. But, as the curate says, when he comes to this romance in Don Quixote's library, "the merits of the father must not be imputed to the son." The story of Esplandian has neither freshness, spirit, nor dignity, in it. It opens at the point

Esplandian.

[26] Don Quixote, Parte I. c. 5. Cervantes, however, is mistaken in his bibliography, when he says that the Amadis was the *first* book of chivalry printed in Spain. It has often been noted that this distinction belongs to "Tirant lo Blanch," 1490; though Southey (Omniana, London, 1812, 12mo, Tom. II. p. 219) thinks "there is a total want of the spirit of chivalry" in it; and it should further be noted now, as curious facts, that "Tirant lo Blanch," though it appeared in Valencian in 1490, in Castilian in 1511, and in Italian in 1538, was yet, like the Amadis, originally written in Portuguese, to please a Portuguese prince, and that this Portuguese original is now lost; — all remarkable coincidences. (See note on Chap. XVII. of this Period.) On the point of the general merits of the Amadis, two opinions are worth citing. The first, on its style, is by the severe anonymous author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas," temp. Charles V., who, after discussing the general character of the book, adds, "It should be read by those who wish to learn our language." (Mayans y Siscar, Origenes, Madrid, 1737, 12mo, Tom. II. p. 163.) The other, on its invention and story, is by Torquato Tasso, who says of the Amadis, "In the opinion of many, and particularly in my own opinion, it is the most beautiful, and perhaps the most profitable, story of its kind that can be read, because in its sentiment and tone it leaves all others behind it, and in the variety of its incidents yields to none written before or since." (Apologia della Gerusalemme, Opere, Pisa, 1824, 8vo. Tom. X. p. 7.)

where he is left in the original fiction, just armed as a knight, and is filled with his adventures as he wanders about the world, and with the supernumerary achievements of his father Amadis, who survives to the end of the whole, and sees his son made Emperor of Constantinople; he himself having long before become King of Great Britain by the death of Lisuarte.[27]

But, from the beginning, we find two mistakes committed, which run through the whole work. Amadis, represented as still alive, fills a large part of the canvas; while, at the same time, Esplandian is made to perform achievements intended to be more brilliant than his father's, but which, in fact, are only more extravagant. From this sort of emulation, the work becomes a succession of absurd and frigid impossibilities. Many of the characters of the Amadis are preserved in it, like Lisuarte, who is rescued out of a mysterious imprisonment by Esplandian, as his first adventure; Urganda, who, from a graceful fairy, becomes a savage enchantress; and "the great master Elisabad," a man of learning and a priest, whom we first knew as the leech of Amadis, and who is now the pretended biographer of his son, writing, as he says, in Greek. But none of them, and none of the characters invented for the occasion, are managed with skill.

The scene of the whole work is laid chiefly in the East, amidst battles with Turks and Mohammedans; thus showing to what quarter the minds of men were turned when it was written, and what were the dangers apprehended to the peace of Europe, even in its westernmost borders, during the century after the fall of Constantinople. But

[27] I possess of "Esplandian" the very rare edition printed at Burgos, in folio, double columns, 1587, by Simon de Aguaya. It fills 136 leaves, and is divided into 184 chapters. As in the other editions I have seen mentioned, or have noticed in public libraries, it is called "*Las Sergas* del muy Esforçado Cavallero Esplandian," in order to give it the learned appearance of having really been translated, as it pretends to be, from the Greek of Master Elisabad; — "Sergas" being evidently an awkward corruption of the Greek Ἔργα, *works* or *achievements*. Allusions are made to it, as to a continuation, in the Amadis, Lib. IV.; besides which, in Lib. III. cap. 4, we have the birth and baptism of Esplandian; in Lib. III. c. 8, his marvellous growth and progress; and so on, till, in the last chapter of the romance, he is armed as a knight. So that the Esplandian is, in the strictest manner, a continuation of the Amadis. Southey (Omniana, Vol. I. p. 145) thinks there is some error about the authorship of the Esplandian. If there is, I think it is merely typographical.

all reference to real history or real geography was apparently thought inappropriate, as may be inferred from the circumstances, that a certain Calafria, queen of the island of California, is made a formidable enemy of Christendom through a large part of the story, and that Constantinople is said at one time to have been besieged by three millions of heathen. Nor is the style better than the story. The eloquence which is found in many passages of the Amadis is not found at all in Esplandian. On the contrary, large portions of it are written in a low and meagre style, and the rhymed arguments prefixed to many of the chapters are anything but poetry, and quite inferior to the few passages of verse scattered through the Amadis.[28]

The oldest edition of the Esplandian now known to exist was printed in 1521, and five others appeared before the end of the century; so that it seems to have enjoyed its full share of popular favor. At any rate, the example it set was quickly followed. Its principal personages were made to figure again in a series of connected romances, each having a hero descended from Amadis, who passes through adventures more incredible than any of his predecessors, and then gives place, we know not why, to a son still more extravagant, and, if the phrase may be used, still more impossible, than his father. Thus, under the date of 1526, we have the sixth book of Amadis de Gaula, called "The History of Florisando," his nephew, which is followed by the still more wonderful "Lisuarte of Greece, Son of Esplandian," and the most wonderful "Amadis of Greece," making respectively the seventh and eighth books. To these succeeded "Don Florisel de Niquea," and "Anaxartes," his brother, whose history, with that of the children of the last, fills three books; and finally we have the twelfth book, or "The Great Deeds in Arms of that Bold Knight, Don Silves de la Selva," which was printed in 1549; thus

Other romances of the Amadis family.

[28] There are two *Canciones* in Amadis (Lib. II. c. 8 and c. 11), which, notwithstanding something of the conceits of their time, in the Provençal manner, are quite charming, and ought to be placed among the similar *Canciones* in the "Floresta" of Bohl de Faber. The last begins, —

Leonoreta, fin roseta,
Blanca sobre toda flor;
Fin roseta, no me meta
En tal cuyta vuestro amor.

giving proof how extraordinary was the success of the whole series, since its date allows hardly half a century for the production in Spanish of all these vast romances, most of which, during the same period, appeared in several, and some of them in many editions.

Nor did the effects of the passion thus awakened stop here. Other romances appeared, nearly akin to the same family, such as "Lepolemo, Knight of the Cross," in 1543, and its continuation, "Leandro the Fair," in 1563, both by Pedro de Luxan, and the last sometimes called the thirteenth book of the Amadis. Many more, as we shall presently see, followed in rapid succession. In France, where they were all translated successively, as they appeared in Spain, and became instantly famous, the proper series of the Amadis romances was stretched out into twenty-four books; after all which, a certain Sieur Duverdier, grieved that many of them came to no regular catastrophe, collected the scattered and broken threads of their multitudinous stories, and brought them all to an orderly sequence of conclusions, in seven large volumes, under the comprehensive and appropriate name of the "Roman des Romans." And so ends the history of the Portuguese type of Amadis of Gaul, as it was originally presented to the world in the Spanish romances of chivalry; a fiction which, considering the passionate admiration it so long excited, and the influence it has, with little merit of its own, exercised on the poetry and romance of modern Europe ever since, is a phenomenon that has no parallel in literary history.[29]

[29] The whole subject of these twelve books of Amadis in Spanish and the twenty-four in French belongs rather to bibliography than to literary history, and is among the most obscure points in both. The twelve Spanish books are said by Brunet never to have been all seen by any one bibliographer. I have seen, I believe, seven or eight of them, and own the only two for which any real value has ever been claimed, — the Amadis de Gaula, in the rare and well-printed edition of Venice, 1533, folio, and the Esplandian, in the more rare, but very coarse, edition already referred to. When the earliest edition of either of them, or of most of the others, was printed, cannot, I presume, be determined. One of Esplandian, of 1510, is mentioned by N. Antonio, but by nobody else in the century and a half that have since elapsed; and he is so inaccurate in such matters, that his authority is not sufficient. In the same way, he is the only authority for an edition in 1525 of the seventh book, — "Lisuarte of Greece." But, as the twelfth book was certainly printed in 1549, the only fact of much importance is settled; namely that the whole twelve were published in Spain in the course of about half a century. For all the curious learning on the subject,

The state of manners and opinion in Spain, however, which produced this extraordinary series of romances, could hardly fail to be fertile in other fictitious heroes, less brilliant, perhaps, in their fame than was Amadis, but with the same general qualities and attributes. And such, indeed, was the case. Many romances of chivalry appeared in Spain soon after the success of this their great leader; and others followed a little later. The first of all of them in consequence, if not in date, is "Palmerin de Oliva;" a personage the more important, because he had a train of descendants that place him, beyond all doubt, next in dignity to Amadis.

Palmerin de Oliva.

The Palmerin has generally been regarded as Portuguese in its origin; but this is not true. It was the work — strange to say — of a carpenter's daughter in Burgos, and was first printed at Salamanca, in 1511. It was successful at once. Several editions were printed, and translations followed in Italian and French. A continuation, too, by the same fair author, appeared, called, in form, "The Second Book of Palmerin," which treats of the achievements of his sons, Primaleon and Polendos, and of which we have an edition dated in 1516. The external appearances of the Palmerin, therefore, announce at once an imitation of the Amadis. The internal are no less decisive. Its hero, we are told, was grandson to a Greek emperor in Constantinople, but, being illegitimate, was exposed by his mother, immediately after his birth, on a mountain, where he was found in an osier cradle among olive and palm trees, by a rich cultivator of bees, who carried him home and named him Palmerin de Oliva, or Olivia, from the place where he was discovered. He soon gives token of his high birth; and, making himself famous by numberless exploits, in Ger-

Other romances of the Palmerin family.

however, see an article by Salvá, in the Repertório Americano, Lóndres, Agosto de 1827, pp. 29–39; F. A. Ebert, Lexicon, Leipzig, 1821, 4to, Nos. 479–489; Brunet, article *Amadis*; and especially the remarkable discussion, already referred to, by F. W. V. Schmidt, in the Wiener Jahrbücher, Band XXXIII. 1826.

Since I expressed the doubt in the text whether "Leandro el Bel" were to be deemed the thirteenth book of the Amadis, Gayangos, in his translation of this History, has shown (Tom. I. Madrid, 1851, pp. 522, 523) that it is *not* a continuation of that famous romance at all, but of the Lepolemo mentioned, *post*, Chapter XII. It was printed at Toledo in 1563.

many, England, and the East, against heathen and enchanters, he at last reaches Constantinople, where he is recognized by his mother, marries the daughter of the Emperor of Germany, who is the heroine of the story, and inherits the crown of Byzantium. The adventures of Primaleon and Polendos are in the same vein, and were succeeded by those of Platir, grandson of Palmerin, which were printed as early as 1533. All, taken together, therefore, leave no doubt that the Amadis was their model, however much they may have fallen short of its merits.[30]

Palmerin of England.

The next in the series, "Palmerin of England," son of Don Duarde, or Edward, King of England, and Flerida, a daughter of Palmerin de Oliva, is a more formidable rival to the Amadis than either of its predecessors. For a long time it was supposed to have been first written in Portuguese, and was generally attributed to Francisco Moraes, who certainly published it in that language at Evora, in 1567, and whose allegation that he had translated it from the French, though now known to be true, was supposed to be only a modest concealment of his own merits. But a copy of the Spanish original, printed at Toledo, in two parts, in 1547 and 1548, has been discovered, and at the end of its dedication are a few verses addressed by the author to the reader, announcing it, in an acrostic, to be the work of Luis Hurtado, known to have been, at that time, a poet in Toledo.[31]

[30] Like whatever relates to the series of the Amadis, the account of the Palmerins is very obscure. Materials for it are to be found in N. Antonio, Bibliotheca Nova, Tom. II. p. 398; in Salvá, Repertorio Americano, Tom. IV. pp. 39, etc.; Brunet, article *Palmerin*; Ferrario, Romanzi di Cavalleria, Tom. IV. pp. 256, etc.; and Clemencin, notes to Don Quixote, Tom. I. pp. 124, 125. Wolf, however, in the Wiener Jahrbücher (1832, Vol. LIX. pp. 48–50), gives an exact account of the first romance, and of its author and its continuation.

[31] The fate of Palmerin of England has been a very strange one. Until a few years since, the only question was, whether it were originally French or Portuguese; for the oldest forms in which it was then known to exist were: 1, The French by Jacques Vicent, 1553, and the Italian by Mambrino Roseo, 1555, both of which claimed to be translations from the Spanish; and 2, the Portuguese by Moraes, 1567, which claimed to be translated from the French. In general, it was supposed to be the work of Moraes, who, having long lived in France, was thought to have furnished his manuscript to the French translator (Barbosa, Bib. Lus., Tom. II. p. 209), and, under this persuasion, it was published as his, in Portuguese, at Lisbon, in three handsome volumes, small 4to, 1786, and in English by Southey, London, 1807, 4 vols. 12mo. Even Clemencin (ed. Don Quixote, Tom. I.

Regarded as a work of art, Palmerin of England is second only to the Amadis of Gaul, among the romances of chivalry. Like that great prototype of the whole class, it has among its actors two brothers, — Palmerin, the faithful knight, and Florian, the free gallant, — and, like that, it has its great magician, Deliante, and its perilous isle, where occur not a few of the most agreeable adventures of its heroes. In some respects it may be favorably distinguished from its model. There is more sensibility to the beauties of natural scenery in it, and often an easier dialogue, with quite as good a drawing of individual characters. But it has greater faults; for its movement is less natural and spirited, and it is crowded with an unreasonable number of knights, and an interminable series of duels, battles, and exploits, all of which claim to be founded on authentic English chronicles, and to be true history, thus affording new proof of the connection between the old chronicles and the oldest romances. Cervantes admired it excessively. "Let this Palm of England," says his curate, "be cared for and preserved, as a thing singular in its kind, and let a casket be made for it, like that which Alexander found among the spoils of Darius, and destined to keep in it the works of the poet Homer;" praise, no doubt, much stronger than can now seem reasonable, but marking, at least, the sort of estimation in which the romance itself must have been generally held, when the Don Quixote appeared.

Opinion of Cervantes.

But the family of Palmerin had no further success in Spain. A third and fourth part, indeed, containing "The Adventures of Duardos the Second," appeared in Portuguese, written by Diogo Fernandez, in 1587; and a fifth and sixth are said to have been written by Alvares de

pp. 125–126), if he did not think it to be the work of Moraes, had no doubt that it was originally Portuguese. At last, however, Salvá found a copy of the lost Spanish original, which settles the question, and places the date of the work in 1547–48, Toledo, 2 Tom. folio. (Repertorio Americano, Tom. IV. pp. 42–46. Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. II. p. 44.) A work partly like the Danza General (see *ante*, Chapter V.), which was begun by Michael de Carvajal, and finished by Luis Hurtado, was printed in 1557, with the title of "Cortes del Casto Amor y de la Muerte." Hurtado, also, translated the Metamorphoses of Ovid. See the Spanish translation of this History (Tom. II. pp. 527–536), where he is noticed as a writer of rude dramas about 1552.

Oriente, a contemporary poet of no mean reputation. But the last two do not seem to have been printed, and none of them were much known beyond the limits of their native country.[32] The Palmerins, therefore, notwithstanding the merits of one of them, failed to obtain a fame or a succession that could enter into competition with those of Amadis and his descendants.

[32] Barbosa, Bib. Lusit., Tom. I. p. 652, Tom. II. p. 17.

The "Bibliotheca Hispana" has already been referred to more than once in this chapter, and must so often be relied on as an authority hereafter, that some notice of its claims should be given before we proceed further. Its author, Nicolas Antonio, was born at Seville, in 1617. He was educated, first by the care of Francisco Jimenez, a blind teacher of singular merit, attached to the College of St. Thomas in that city; and afterwards at Salamanca, where he devoted himself with success to the study of history and canon law. When he had completed an honorable career at the University, he returned home, and lived chiefly in the Convent of the Benedictines, where he had been bred, and where an abundant and curious library furnished him with means for study, which he used with eagerness and assiduity.

He was not, however, in haste to be known. He published nothing till 1659, when, at the age of forty-two, he printed a Latin treatise on the Punishment of Exile, a work of merit; and, the same year, was appointed to the honorable and important post of General Agent of Philip IV. at Rome. But from this time to the end of his life he was in the public service, and filled places of no little responsibility. In Rome he lived twenty years, collecting about him a library said to have been second in importance only to that of the Vatican, and devoting all his leisure to the studies he loved. At the end of that period, he returned to Madrid, and continued there in honorable employments till his death, which occurred in 1684. He left behind him several works in manuscript, of which his "Censura de Historias Fabulosas" — an examination and exposure of several forged chronicles which had appeared in the preceding century — was first published by Mayans y Siscar, and must be noticed hereafter.

But his great labor — the labor of his life and of his fondest preference — was his literary history of his own country. He began it in his youth, while he was still living with the Benedictines, — an order in the Romish Church honorably distinguished by its zeal in the history of letters, — and he continued it, employing on his task all the resources which his own large library and the libraries of the capitals of Spain and of the Christian world could furnish him, down to the moment of his death. He divided it into two parts. The first, beginning with the age of Augustus, and coming down to the year 1500, was found, after his death, digested into the form of a regular history; but, as his pecuniary means during his lifetime had been entirely devoted to the purchase of books, it was published by his friend, Cardinal Aguirre, at Rome, in 1696. The second part, which had been already printed there in 1672, is thrown into the form of a dictionary, whose separate articles are arranged, like those in most other Spanish works of the same sort, under the baptismal names of their subjects, — an honor shown to the saints, which renders the use of such dictionaries somewhat inconvenient, even when, as in the case of Antonio's, full indexes are added, which facilitate a reference to the respective articles by the more common arrangement, according to the surnames.

Of both parts an excellent edition was published, by order of Charles III., in the original Latin, at Madrid, in 1787 and 1788, in four volumes, folio, commonly known as the "Bibliotheca Vetus et Nova" of Nicolas Antonio; the first being enriched with notes by Perez Bayer, a learned Valencian, long the head of the Royal Library at Madrid; and the last receiving additions from Antonio's own manuscripts that bring down his notices of Spanish writers to the time of his death, in 1684. In the earlier portion, embracing the names of about thirteen hundred authors, little remains to be desired, so far as the Roman or the ecclesi-

astical literary history of Spain is concerned; but for the Arabic we must go to Casiri and Gayangos, and for the Jewish to Castro and Amador de los Rios; while, for the proper Spanish literature that existed before the reign of Charles V., manuscripts discovered since the careful labors of Bayer furnish important additions. In the latter portion, which contains notices of nearly eight thousand writers of the best period of Spanish literature, we have — notwithstanding the occasional inaccuracies and oversights inevitable in a work so vast and so various — a monument of industry, fairness, and fidelity, for which those who most use it will always be most grateful. The two, taken together, constitute their author, beyond all reasonable question, the father and founder of the literary history of his country.

See the lives of Antonio prefixed by Mayans to the "Historias Fabulosas" (Valencia, 1742, fol.), and by Bayer to the "Bibliotheca Vetus," in 1787; also L'Espagne littéraire [by Nicolas Bricaire], 1774, Tom. IV. p. 27.

CHAPTER XII.

OTHER ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY. — LEPOLEMO. — TRANSLATIONS FROM THE FRENCH. — RELIGIOUS ROMANCES. — CAVALLERÍA CELESTIAL.— PERIOD DURING WHICH ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY PREVAILED. — THEIR NUMBER. — THEIR FOUNDATION IN THE STATE OF SOCIETY — THE PASSION FOR THEM. — THEIR FATE.

ALTHOUGH the Palmerins failed as rivals of the great family of Amadis, they were not without their influence and consideration. Like the other works of their class, and more than most of them, they helped to increase the passion for fictions of chivalry in general, which, overbearing every other in the Peninsula, was now busily at work producing romances, both original and translated, that astonish us alike by their number, their length, and their absurdities. Of those originally Spanish, it would not be difficult, after setting aside the two series belonging to the families of Amadis and Palmerin, to collect the titles of above fifty, all produced in the course of the sixteenth century. Some of them are still more or less familiar to us, by their names at least, such as "Belianis of Greece" and "Olivante de Laura," which are found in Don Quixote's library, and "Felixmarte of Hircania," which was once, we are told, the summer reading of Dr. Johnson.[1] But, in general, like "The Renowned Knight Cifar" and "The Valorous Don Florando of England," their very titles sound strangely to

Miscellaneous romances.

[1] Bishop Percy says that Dr. Johnson read "Felixmarte of Hircania" quite through, when at his parsonage-house, one summer. It may be doubted whether the book has been read through since by any Englishman. (Boswell's Life, ed. Croker, London, 1831, 8vo, Vol. I. p. 24.) Of the "Belianis de Grecia" I have a copy in folio, printed at Burgos in 1587; but I have never been able to do for it what Dr. Johnson did for "Felixmarte de Hircania." It has, however, evidently not wanted readers, for, though it bears no mark of rough treatment, it is almost completely used up. Its author was Jeronimo Fernandez, and the book is one of the most extravagant and absurd of its class, as well as one of the rarest.

our ears, and excite no interest when we hear them repeated. Most of them, it may be added, — perhaps all, — deserve the oblivion into which they have fallen; though some have merits which, in the days of their popularity, placed them near the best of those already noticed.

Among the latter is "The Invincible Knight Lepolemo, called the Knight of the Cross and Son of the Emperor of Germany," a romance which was published as early as 1543, and, besides drawing a continuation after it, was reprinted thrice in the course of the century, and translated into French and Italian.[2] It is a striking book among those of its class, not only from the variety of fortunes through which the hero passes, but, in some degree, from its general tone and purpose. In his infancy Lepolemo is stolen from the shelter of the throne to which he is heir, and completely lost for a long period. During this time he lives among the heathen; at first in slavery, and afterwards as an honorable knight-adventurer at the court of the Soldan. By his courage and merit he rises to great distinction, and, while on a journey through France, is recognized by his own family, who happen to be there. Of course he is restored, amidst a general jubilee, to his imperial estate.

Romance of Lepolemo.

In all this, and especially in the wearisome series of its knightly adventures, the Lepolemo has a sufficient resemblance to the other romances of chivalry. But in two points it differs from them. In the first place, it pretends to be translated by Pedro de Luxan, its real author, from the Arabic of a wise magician attached to the person of the Sultan; and yet it represents its hero throughout as a most Christian knight, and his father and mother, the Emperor and Empress, as giving the force of their example to encourage pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre; making the whole story subserve the projects of the Church, in the same way, if not to the same degree, that Turpin's

[2] Ebert cites the first edition known as of 1525; Bowle, in the list of his authorities, gives one of 1534; Clemencin says there is one of 1543 in the Royal Library at Madrid; and Pellicer used one of 1562. Which of these I have I do not know, as the colophon is gone, and there is no date on the title-page; but its type and paper seem to indicate an edition from Antwerp, while all the preceding were printed in Spain.

Chronicle had done. And in the next place, it attracts our attention, from time to time, by a picturesque air and touches of the national manners, as, for instance, in the love passages between the Knight of the Cross and the Infanta of France, in one of which he talks to her at her grated balcony in the night, as if he were a cavalier of one of Calderon's comedies.[3] Except in these points, however, the Lepolemo is much like its predecessors and followers, and quite as tedious.

Spain, however, not only gave romances of chivalry to the rest of Europe in large numbers, but received also from abroad in some good proportion to what she gave. From the first, the early French fictions were known in Spain, as we have seen by the allusions to them in the "Amadis de Gaula;" a circumstance that may have been owing either to the old connection with France through the Burgundian family, a branch of which filled the throne of Portugal, or to some strange accident, like the one that carried "Palmerin de Inglaterra" to Portugal from France rather than from Spain, its native country. At any rate, somewhat later, when the passion for such fictions was more developed, the French stories were translated or imitated in Spanish, and became a part, and a favored part, of the literature of the country. "The Romance of Merlin" was printed very early, — as early as 1498, — and "The Romance of Tristan de Leonnais," and that of the Holy Cup, "La Demanda del Sancto Grial," followed it as a sort of natural sequence.[4]

Romances translated from the French.

The rival story of Charlemagne, however, — perhaps from the greatness of his name, — seems to have been, at last, more successful. It is a translation directly from the French, and therefore gives none of those accounts of his defeat at Roncesvalles by Bernardo del Carpio, which, in the old Spanish chronicles and ballads, so gratified the

[3] See Parte I. c. 112, 144.

[4] "Merlin," 1498, "Artus," 1499, "Tristan," 1501, "Sancto Grial," 1555, and "Segunda Tabla Redonda," 1567, would seem to be the series of them given by the bibliographers. But the last cannot, perhaps, now be found, though mentioned by Quadrio, who, in his fourth volume, has a good deal of curious matter on these old romances generally. I do not think it needful to notice others, such as "Pierres y Magalona," 1519, "Tallante de Ricamonte," and the "Conde Tomillas," — the last referred to in Don Quixote, but otherwise unknown.

national vanity; and contains only the accustomed stories of Oliver and Fierabras the Giant; of Orlando and the False Ganelon; relying, of course, on the fabulous Chronicle of Turpin as its chief authority. But, such as it was, it found great favor at the time it appeared; and such, in fact, as Nicolas de Piamonte gave it to the world, in 1528, under the title of "The History of the Emperor Charlemagne," it has been constantly reprinted down to our own times, and has done more than any other tale of chivalry to keep alive in Spain a taste for such reading.[5] During a considerable period, however, a few other romances shared its popularity. "Reynaldos de Montalban," for instance, always a favorite hero in Spain, was one of them;[6] and a little later we find another, the story of "Cleomadez," an invention of a French queen in the thirteenth century, which first gave to Froissart the love for adventure that made him a chronicler.[7]

Romances connected with the story of Charlemagne.

In most of the imitations and translations just noticed, the influence of the Church is more visible than it is in the class of the original Spanish romances. This is the case, from its very subject, with the story of the Saint Graal, and with that of Charlemagne, which, so far as it is taken from the pretended Archbishop Turpin's Chronicle, goes mainly to encourage founding religious houses and making pious pilgrimages. But the Church was not satis fied with this indirect and accidental influence. Romantic fiction, though overlooked in its earliest beginnings, or perhaps even punished by ecclesiastical authority in the

5 Discussions on the origin of these stories may be found in the Preface to the excellent edition of Einhard or Eginhard by Ideler (Hamburg, 1839, 8vo, Band I. pp. 40–46). The very name *Roncesvalles* does not seem to have occurred out of Spain till much later. (Ibid., p. 169.) There is an edition of the "Carlo Magno" printed at Madrid, in 1806, 12mo, evidently for popular use. It contains the same Prologo that Gayangos gives from the edition of 1570, and which, no doubt, comes down from the earliest edition of all. It is, I think, still reprinted, as the work itself is.

6 There are several editions of the First Part of it mentioned in Clemencin's notes to Don Quixote (Parte I. c. 6); besides which, it had succession, in Parts II. and III., be fore 1558.

7 The "Cleomadez," one of the most popular stories in Europe for three centuries, was composed by Adenez, at the dictation of Marie, queen of Philip III. of France, who married her in 1272. (Fauchet, Recueil, Paris, 1581, folio, Liv. II. c. 116.) Froissart gives a simple account of his read ing and admiring it in his youth. (Poésies, Paris, 1829, 8vo, pp. 206, etc.)

person of the Greek Bishop to whom we owe the first proper romance,[8] was now become important, and might be made directly useful. Religious romances, therefore, were written. In general, they were cast into the form of allegories, like "The Celestial Chivalry," "The Christian Chivalry," "The Knight of the Bright Star," and "The Christian History and Warfare of the Stranger Knight, the Conqueror of Heaven;" — all printed after the middle of the sixteenth century, and during the period when the passion for romances of chivalry was at its height.[9]

Religious romances of chivalry.

One of the oldest of them is probably the most curious and remarkable of the whole number. It is appropriately called "The Celestial Chivalry," and was written by Hierónimo de San Pedro, at Valencia, and printed in 1554, in two thin folio volumes.[10] In his Preface, the author declares it to be his object to drive out of the world the profane books of chivalry; the mischief of which

The Caballeria Celestial.

[8] The "Ethiopica," or the "Loves of Theagenes and Chariclea," written in Greek by Heliodorus, who lived in the time of the Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius. It was well known in Spain at the period now spoken of, for, though it was not printed in the original before 1534, a Spanish translation of it appeared as early as 1554, anonymously, and another, by Ferdinand de Mena, in 1587, which was republished at least twice in the course of thirty years. (Nic. Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. I. p. 380, and Conde's Catalogue, London, 1824, 8vo, Nos. 263, 264.) It has been said that the Bishop preferred to give up his rank and place rather than consent to have this romance, the work of his youth, burned by public authority. Erotici Græci, ed. Mitscherlich, Biponti, 1792, 8vo, Tom. II. p. viii.

[9] The "Caballeria Christiana" was printed in 1570, the "Caballero de la Clara Estrella" in 1580, and the "Caballero Peregrino" in 1601. Besides these, "Roberto el Diablo" — a story which was famous throughout Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and has been revived in our own times — was known in Spain from 1530, and perhaps earlier. (Nic. Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. II. p. 251.) In France, it was printed in 1496 (Ebert, No. 19175), and in England by Wynkyn de Worde. See Thoms, Romances, London, 1828, 12mo, Vol. I. p. v.

[10] Who this Hierónimo de San Pedro was is a curious question. The Privilegio declares he was a Valencian, alive in 1554; and in the Bibliothecas of Ximeno and Fuster, under the year 1560, we have Gerónimo Sempere given as the name of the well-known author of the "Carolea," a long poem printed in that year. But to him is not there attributed the "Caballeria Celestial;" nor does any other Hierónimo de San Pedro occur in these collections of lives, or in Nicolas Antonio, or elsewhere that I have noted. They are, nevertheless, I think, one and the same person, the name of the poet being sometimes written Sentpere, Senct Pere, etc. The first Part, or the "Pié de la Rosa fragante," was also published at Antwerp in 1554, by Martin Nucio. In the Preface, the author intimates that he had some difficulty in writing the Castilian, because it was not his native language. This and other circumstances leave little doubt that the "Carolea" and the "Caballeria Celestial" were written by one and the same person. Gayangos notes a Jheronim Sentpere, a merchant of Valencia, who presided at a poetical festival there in 1533.

he illustrates by a reference to Dante's account of Francesca da Rimini. In pursuance of this purpose, the First Part is entitled "The Root of the Fragrant Rose;" which, instead of chapters, is divided into "Wonders," *Maravillas*, and contains an allegorical version of the most striking stories in the Old Testament, down to the time of the good King Hezekiah, told as the adventures of a succession of knights-errant. The Second Part is divided, according to a similar conceit, into "The Leaves of the Rose;" and, beginning where the preceding one ends, comes down, with the same kind of knightly adventures, to the Saviour's death and ascension. The Third, which is promised under the name of "The Flower of the Rose," never appeared, nor is it now easy to understand where consistent materials could have been found for its composition; the Bible having been nearly exhausted in the two former parts. But we have enough without it.

Its most remarkable allegory, from the nature of its subject, relates to the Saviour, and fills seventy-four out of the one hundred and one "Leaves," or chapters, that constitute the Second Part. Christ is represented in it as the Knight of the Lion; his twelve Apostles, as the twelve Knights of his Round Table; John the Baptist, as the Knight of the Desert; and Lucifer, as the Knight of the Serpent; — the main history being a warfare between the Knight of the Lion and the Knight of the Serpent. It begins at the manger of Bethlehem, and ends on Mount Calvary, involving in its progress almost every detail of the Gospel history, and often using the very words of Scripture. Everything, however, is forced into the forms of a strange and revolting allegory. Thus, for the temptation, the Saviour wears the shield of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and rides on the steed of Penitence, given to him by Adam. He then takes leave of his mother, the daughter of the Celestial Emperor, like a youthful knight going out to his first passage at arms, and proceeds to the waste and desert country, where he is sure to find adventures. On his approach, the Knight of the Desert prepares himself to do battle; but, perceiving who it is, humbles himself before his coming prince and master. The baptism

of course follows; that is, the Knight of the Lion is received into the order of the Knighthood of Baptism, in the presence of an old man, who turns out to be the Anagogic Master, or the Interpreter of all Mysteries, and two women, one young and the other old. All three of them enter directly into a spirited discussion concerning the nature of the rite they have just witnessed. The old man speaks at large, and explains it as a heavenly allegory. The old woman, who proves to be Sinagoga, or the representation of Judaism, prefers the ancient ordinance provided by Abraham, and authorized, as she says, by "that celebrated Doctor, Moses," rather than this new rite of baptism. The younger woman replies, and defends the new institution. She is the Church Militant; and, the Knight of the Desert, deciding the point in her favor, Sinagoga goes off full of anger, ending thus the first part of the action.

The great Anagogic Master, according to an understanding previously had with the Church Militant, now follows the Knight of the Lion to the desert, and there explains to him the true mystery and efficacy of Christian baptism. After this preparation, the Knight enters on his first adventure and battle with the Knight of the Serpent, which in all its details is represented as a duel, — one of the parties coming into the lists accompanied by Abel, Moses, and David, and the other by Cain, Goliath, and Haman. Each of the speeches recorded in the Evangelists is here made an arrow-shot or a sword-thrust; the scene on the pinnacle of the temple, and the promises made there, are brought in as far as their incongruous nature will permit; and then the whole of this part of the long romance is abruptly ended by the precipitate and disgraceful flight of the Knight of the Serpent.

This scene of the temptation, strange as it now seems to us, is, nevertheless, not an unfavorable specimen of the entire fiction. The allegory is almost everywhere quite as awkward and unmanageable as it is here, and often leads to equally painful and disgusting absurdities. On the other hand, we have occasionally proofs of an imagination that is not ungraceful; just as the formal and extravagant style

in which it is written now and then gives token that its author was not insensible to the resources of a language he, in general, so much abuses.[11]

There is, no doubt, a wide space between such a fiction as this of the Celestial Chivalry and the comparatively simple and direct story of the Amadis de Gaula; and when we recollect that only half a century elapsed between the dates of these romances in Spain,[12] we shall be struck with the fact that this space was very quickly passed over, and that all the varieties of the romances of chivalry are crowded into a comparatively short period of time. But we must not forget that the success of these fictions, thus suddenly obtained, is spread afterwards over a much longer period. The earliest of them were familiarly known in Spain during the fifteenth century, the sixteenth is thronged with them, and, far into the seventeenth, they were still much read; so that their influence over the Spanish character extends through quite two hundred years. Their number, too, during the latter part of the time when they prevailed, was large. It exceeded seventy, nearly all of them in folio; each often in more than one volume, and still oftener repeated in successive editions; — circumstances which, at a period when books were comparatively rare and not frequently reprinted, show that their popularity must have been widely spread, as well as long continued.[13]

Sudden success of the romances of chivalry.

This might, perhaps, have been, in some degree, expected in a country where the institutions and feelings of chivalry had struck such firm root as they had in Spain. For Spain, when the romances of chivalry first appeared,

[11] It is prohibited in the Index Expurgatorius, Madrid, 1667, folio, p. 863. Other religious fictions of the same sort followed — such as the Caballeria Christiana, 1570, the Caballero de la Clara Estrella, etc.

[12] I take, as in fairness I ought, the date of the appearance of Montalvo's Spanish version as the period of the first success of the Amadis in Spain, and not the date of the Portuguese original; the difference being about a century.

[13] There is an important discussion on the books of chivalry, by Don Pascual de Gayangos, in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tom. XL. 1851, Discurso preliminar, with an ample bibliographical catalogue of the Libros de Caballerias, pp. LXIII.-LXXXVII. Both are full of information and instruction.

had long been peculiarly the land of knighthood. The Moorish wars, which had made every gentleman a soldier, necessarily tended to this result; and so did the free spirit of the communities, led on, as they were, during the next period, by barons, who long continued almost as independent in their castles as the king was on his throne. Such a state of things, in fact, is to be recognized as far back as the thirteenth century, when the Partidas, by the most minute and painstaking legislation, provided for a condition of society not easily to be distinguished from that set forth in the Amadis or the Palmerin.[14] The poem and history of the Cid bear witness yet earlier, indirectly indeed, but very strongly, to a similar state of the country; and so do many of the old ballads and other records of the national feelings and traditions that had come from the fourteenth century.

State of society that gave birth to the romances of chivalry.

But in the fifteenth the chronicles are full of it, and exhibit it in forms the most grave and imposing. Dangerous tournaments, in some of which the chief men of the time, and even the kings themselves, took part, occur constantly, and are recorded among the important events of the age.[15] At the passage of arms near Orbigo, in the reign of John the Second, eighty knights, as we have seen, were found ready to risk their lives for as fantastic a fiction of gallantry as is recorded in any of the romances of chivalry; a folly, of which this was by no means the only instance.[16] Nor did they confine their extravagances to their own country. In the same reign, two Spanish knights went as far as Burgundy, professedly in

[14] See the very curious laws that constitute the twenty-first Title of the second of the Partidas, containing the most minute regulations; such as how a knight should be washed and dressed, etc.

[15] I should think there are accounts of twenty or thirty such tournaments in the Chronicle of John II. There are many, also, in that of Alvaro de Luna; and so there are in all the contemporary histories of Spain during the fifteenth century. In the year 1428, alone, four are recorded; two of which involved loss of life, and all of which were held under the royal auspices.

[16] See the account of the Passo Honroso already given, to which add the accounts in the Chronicle of John II. of one which was attempted in Valladolid, by Rui Diaz de Mendoza, on occasion of the marriage of Prince Henry, in 1440, but which was stopped by the royal order, in consequence of the serious nature of its results. (Chrónica de Juan el II°., Ann. 1440, c. 16.)

search of adventures, which they strangely mingled with a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; seeming to regard both as religious exercises.[17] And as late as the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, Fernando del Pulgar, their wise secretary, gives us the names of several distinguished noblemen personally known to himself, who had gone into foreign countries, "in order," as he says, "to try the fortune of arms with any cavalier that might be pleased to adventure it with them, and so gain honor for themselves, and the fame of valiant and bold knights for the gentlemen of Castile."[18]

A state of society like this was the natural result of the extraordinary development which the institutions of chivalry had then received in Spain. Some of it was suited to the age, and salutary; the rest was knight-errantry, and knight-errantry in its wildest extravagance. When, however, the imaginations of men were so excited as to tolerate and maintain, in their daily life, such manners and institutions as these, they would not fail to enjoy the boldest and most free representations of a corresponding state of society in works of romantic fiction. But they went further. Extravagant and even impossible as are many of the adventures recorded in the books of chivalry, they still seemed so little to exceed the absurdities frequently witnessed or told of known and living men, that many persons took the romances themselves to be true histories, and believed them. Thus, Mexia, the trustworthy historiographer of Charles the Fifth, says, in 1545, when speaking of "the Amadises, Lisuartes, and Clarions," that "their authors do waste their time and weary their faculties in writing such books, which are read by all, and believed by many. For," he goes on, "there be men who think all these things really happened, just as they read or hear them, though the greater part of the things themselves are sinful, profane, and unbe-

Knight-errantry.

Romances of chivalry believed to be true histories.

[17] Ibid., Ann. 1435, c. 3.

[18] Claros Varones de Castilla, Titulo XVII. He boasts, at the same time, that more Spanish knights went abroad to seek adventures than there were foreign knights who came to Castile and Leon; a fact pertinent to this point.

coming."[19] And Castillo, another chronicler, tells us gravely, in 1587, that Philip the Second, when he married Mary of England, only thirty-three years earlier, promised that if King Arthur should return to claim the throne, he would peaceably yield to that prince all his rights; thus implying, at least in Castillo himself, and probably in many of his readers, a full faith in the stories of Arthur and his Round Table.[20]

Such credulity, it is true, now seems impossible, even if we suppose it was confined to a moderate number of intelligent persons; and hardly less so when, as in the admirable sketch of an easy faith in the stories of chivalry by the innkeeper and Maritornes in Don Quixote, we are shown that it extended to the mass of the people.[21]

Cause of this credulity.

But before we refuse our assent to the statements of such faithful chroniclers as Mexia, on the ground that what they relate is impossible, we should recollect that, in the age when they lived, men were in the habit of believing and asserting, every day, things no less incredible than those recited in the old romances. The Spanish Church then countenanced a trust in miracles, as of constant recurrence, which required of those who believed them more credulity than the fictions of chivalry; and yet how few were found wanting in faith! And how few doubted the tales that had come down to them of the impossible achievements of their fathers during the seven centuries of their warfare against the Moors, or the glorious traditions of all sorts, that still constitute the charm of their brave old chronicles, though we now see, at a glance, that many of them are as fabulous as anything told of Palmerin or Launcelot!

Passion for romances of chivalry.

But, whatever we may think of this belief in the romances of chivalry, there is no question that in Spain, during the sixteenth century, there prevailed a passion for them such as was never known elsewhere. The proof of it comes to us from all sides. The poetry of the country is full of it, from the romantic ballads that still live in the memory of the peo-

[19] Historia Imperial, Anvers, 1561, folio, ff. 123, 124. The first edition was of 1545.

[20] Pellicer, note to Don Quixote, Parte I. c. 13.

[21] Parte I. c. 32.

ple, up to the old plays that have ceased to be acted, and the old epics that have ceased to be read. The national manners and the national dress, more peculiar and picturesque than in other countries, long bore its sure impress. The old laws, too, speak no less plainly. Indeed, the passion for such fictions was so strong, and seemed so dangerous, that, in 1553, they were prohibited from being printed, sold, or read, in the American colonies; and, in 1555, the Cortes earnestly asked that the same prohibition might be extended to Spain itself, and that all the extant copies of romances of chivalry might be publicly burned.[22] And, finally, half a century later, the happiest work of the greatest genius Spain has produced bears witness on every page to the prevalence of an absolute fanaticism for books of chivalry, and becomes at once the seal of their vast popularity, and the monument of their fate.

[22] The abdication of the emperor happened the same year, and prevented this and other petitions of the Cortes from being acted upon. For the laws here referred to, and other proofs of the prevalence and influence of the romances of chivalry down to the time of the appearance of Don Quixote, see Clemencin's Preface to his edition of that work. But one of the proofs to which he refers is so much to my present purpose, that it is worth ampler consideration than he gives to it; — I mean the magnificent pageant offered to Charles V. by his sister, the Queen of Hungary, at Bins, in Flanders, in 1549. It is minutely described by Calvete de Estrella, in his "Viage del Principe Don Felipe," ec., Anvers, folio, 1552, ff. 188–205, and was undoubtedly a most extraordinary and brilliant embodiment of the spirit of knight-errantry by the principal personages then at her court. The chief show occupied two days, and set forth an enchanted castle, in which fair dames and brave knights were imprisoned by a false magician, but from which they were freed by other and more fortunate knights; — Philip, afterwards Philip II., being their leader, and fighting out the adventure, as it should appear, not without danger to his sacred person. A suffering queen, a damsel in distress, a dwarf, enchantments, duels, tournaments, and encounters of all sorts, were not wanting, and were so managed as to make a sort of epic whole of the pageant, ending with the disappearance of the magic castle as its grand catastrophe. In short, it was a tale of chivalry acted out before the first potentate of Europe, for his amusement; and such a tale, too, that if Don Quixote had been there to witness the gorgeous exhibition, he would have held it — not without show of reason — to be a living justification of all his mad fancies about knight-errantry.

CHAPTER XIII.

FOURTH CLASS. — DRAMA. — EXTINCTION OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN THEATRES. — RELIGIOUS ORIGIN OF THE MODERN DRAMA. — EARLIEST NOTICE OF IT IN SPAIN. — HINTS OF IT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. — MARQUIS OF VILLENA. — CONSTABLE DE LUNA. — MINGO REVULGO. — RODRIGO COTA. — THE CELESTINA. — FIRST ACT. — THE REMAINDER. — ITS STORY. — CHARACTER, AND EFFECTS ON SPANISH LITERATURE.

THE DRAMA. — The ancient theatre of the Greeks and Romans was continued under some of its grosser and more popular forms at Constantinople, in Italy, and in many other parts of the falling and fallen empire, far into the Middle Ages. But, under whatever disguise it appeared, it was essentially heathenish; for, from first to last, it was mythological, both in tone and in substance.

The Church opposes the ancient drama.

As such, of course, it was rebuked and opposed by the Christian Church, which, favored by the confusion and ignorance of the times, succeeded in overthrowing it, though not without a long contest, and not until its degradation and impurity had rendered it worthy of its fate, and of the anathemas pronounced against it by Tertullian and Saint Augustin.[1]

A love for theatrical exhibitions, however, survived the extinction of these poor remains of the classical drama; and the priesthood, careful neither to make itself needlessly odious, nor to neglect any suitable method of increasing its own influence, seems early to have been willing to provide a substitute for the popular amusement it had destroyed. At any rate, a substitute soon appeared; and, coming as it did out of the ceremonies and commem-

[1] A Spanish Bishop of Barcelona, in the seventh century, was deposed for merely permitting plays with allusions to heathen mythology to be acted in his diocese. (Mariana, Hist., Lib. VI. c. 3.)

orations of the religion of the times, its appearance was natural and easy. The greater festivals of the Church had for centuries been celebrated with whatever of pomp the rude luxury of ages so troubled could afford, and they now everywhere, from London to Rome, added a dramatic element to their former attractions. Thus, the manger at Bethlehem, with the worship of the shepherds and Magi, was, at a very early period, solemnly exhibited every year by a visible show before the altars of the churches at Christmas, as were the tragical events of the last days of the Saviour's life during Lent, and at the approach of Easter.[2]

Religious dramas, or exhibitions.

Gross abuses, dishonoring alike the priesthood and religion, were, no doubt, afterwards mingled with these representations, both while they were given in dumb show, and when, by the addition of dialogue, they became what were called Mysteries; but, in many parts of Europe, the representations themselves, down to a comparatively late period, were found so well suited to the spirit of the times, that different Popes granted especial indulgences to the persons who frequented them, and they were in fact used openly and successfully, not only as means of amusement, but for the religious edification of an ignorant multitude. In England such shows prevailed for above four hundred years, — a longer period than can be assigned to the English national drama, as we now recognize it; while in Italy and other countries still under the influence of the See of Rome, they have, in some of their forms, been continued, for the edification and amusement of the populace, quite down to our own times.[3]

[2] The proofs of this are to be seen in the learned and well-considered "Origines du Théâtre moderne, par M. Édélstand du Méril" (Paris, 1849, 8vo). Mr. Wright, however, had already given evidence of the same thing, in his "Early Mysteries and other Latin poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries" (London, 1838, 8vo), relying in part on documents used subsequently by M. Du Méril.

[3] Onésime le Roy, Études sur les Mystères, Paris, 1837, 8vo, Chap. I. De la Rue, Essai sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs, etc., Caen, 1834, 8vo, Vol. I. p. 159. Spence's Anecdotes, ed. Singer, London, 1820, 8vo, p. 397. The exhibition still annually made, in the church of Ara Cœli, on the Capitol at Rome, of the manger and the scene of the Nativity, is, like many similar exhibitions elsewhere, of the same class. M. Du Méril, in his "Origines" (pp. 390–409), publishes a Pastoral on the birth of Christ, printed in 1805, which he says he had seen represented in his youth, and of which at least two other editions are extant. It is in various measures and

That all traces of the ancient Roman theatre, except the architectural remains which still bear witness to its splendor,[4] disappeared from Spain in consequence of the occupation of the country by the Arabs, whose national spirit rejected the drama altogether, cannot be reasonably doubted. But the time when the more modern representations were begun on religious subjects, and under ecclesiastical patronage, can no longer be determined. It must, however, have been very early; for, in the middle of the thirteenth century, such performances were not only known, but had been so long practised, that they had already taken various forms, and become disgraced by various abuses. This is apparent from the code of Alfonso the Tenth, which was prepared about 1260; and in which, after forbidding the clergy certain gross indulgences, the law goes on to say: "Neither ought they to be makers of buffoon plays,[5] that people may come to see them; and if other men make them, clergymen should not come to see them, for such men do many things low and unsuitable. Nor, moreover, should such things be done in the churches; but rather we say that they should be cast out in dishonor, without punishment to those engaged in them. For the church of God was made for prayer, and not for buffoonery; as our Lord Jesus Christ declared in the Gospel, that his house was called the House of Prayer, and ought not to be made a den of thieves. But exhibitions there be, that clergymen may make, such as that of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, which shows how the angel came to the shepherds and how he told them Jesus Christ was born, and, moreover, of his appearance when the Three Kings came to worship him, and of his resurrection, which shows how he was cru-

Earliest Spanish drama.

Clergy in dramas.

rhymed, and it needed above twenty performers besides the "Troupes de Bergers et Bergères;" — but it has no poetical value.

[4] Remains of Roman theatres are found at Seville (Triana), Tarragona, Murviedro (Saguntum), Merida, etc.

[5] *Juegos por Escarnio* is the phrase in the original. It is obscure; but I have followed the intimation of Martinez de la Rosa, who is a good authority, and who considers it to mean short satirical compositions, from which arose, perhaps, afterwards, *Entremeses* and *Saynetes*. (Isabel de Solis, Madrid, 1837, 12mo, Tom. I. p. 225, note 13.) *Escarnido*, in Don Quixote (Parte II. c. xxi.), is used in the sense of "trifled with." *Escarnio* and *escarnido* occur in the Poema de Alexandro (St. 1748, 1749), in the sense of "contemptuous treatment."

cified and rose the third day. Such things as these, which move men to do well, may the clergy make, as well as to the end that men may have in remembrance that such things did truly happen. But this must they do decently, and in devotion, and in the great cities where there is an archbishop or bishop, and under their authority, or that of others by them deputed, and not in villages, nor in small places, nor to gain money thereby."[6]

But though these earliest religious representations in Spain, whether pantomimic or in dialogue, were thus given, not only by churchmen, but by others, certainly before the middle of the thirteenth century, and probably much sooner, and though they were continued for several centuries afterwards, still no fragment of them and no distinct account of them now remain to us. Nor is anything properly dramatic found even amongst the secular poetry of Spain, till the latter part of the fifteenth century, though it may have existed somewhat earlier, as we may infer from a passage in the Marquis of Santillana's letter to the Constable of Portugal;[7] from the notice of a moral play by Don Enrique de Villena, now lost, which is said to have been represented in 1414, before Ferdinand of Aragon;[8] and from the hint left by the careful old chronicler of the Constable de Luna concerning the *Entremeses*[9] or Interludes, which were sometimes arranged

Early mysteries lost.

[6] Partida I. Tit. VI. Ley 34, ed. de la Academia.

[7] He says that his grandfather, Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, who lived in the time of Peter the Cruel, wrote scenic poems in the manner of Plautus and Terence, in couplets like *Serranas*. Sanchez, Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. p. lix.

[8] Velazquez, Origenes de la Poesia Castellana, Málaga, 1754, 4to, p. 95. I think it not unlikely that Zurita refers to this play of Villena, when he says (Anales, Libro XII., Año 1414) that at the coronation of Ferdinand there were "grandes juegos y *entremeses*." Otherwise we must suppose there were several different dramatic entertainments, which is possible, but not probable. But Wolf (Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung, 1848, No. 322) has made it doubtful whether this *entremes* was written by Villena, and how much there was dramatic in its character.

[9] "He had a great deal of inventive faculty, and was much given to making inventions and *entremeses* for festivals," etc. (Crónica del Condestable Don Alvaro de Luna, ed. Flores, Madrid, 1784, 4to, Titulo 68.) It is not to be supposed that these were like the gay farces that have since passed under the same name, but there can be little doubt that they were poetical and were exhibited. The Constable was executed in 1453. Earlier they were religious in their character; that is, religious exhibitions, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had *entremeses* in them, and indeed had them in the great days of the Spanish drama, as we shall see when we come to the days of Lope de Vega and Calderon.

by that proud favorite a little later in the same century. These indications, however, are very slight and uncertain.[10]

Mingo Revulgo.

A nearer approach to the spirit of the drama, and particularly to the form which the secular drama first took in Spain, is to be found in the poetical dialogue called "The Couplets of Mingo Revulgo;" a satire thrown into the shape of an eclogue, and given in the free and spirited language of the lower classes of the people, on the deplorable state of public affairs, as they existed in the latter part of the weak reign of Henry the Fourth. It seems to have been written about the year 1472.[11] The interlocutors are two shepherds; one of whom, called Mingo Revulgo, — a name corrupted from Domingo Vulgus, — represents the common people; and the other, called Gil Arribato, or Gil the Elevated, represents the higher classes, and speaks with the authority of a prophet, who, while complaining of the ruinous condition of the state, yet lays no small portion of the blame on the

[10] I am not unaware that attempts have been made to give the Spanish theatre a different origin from the one I have assigned to it. 1. The marriage of Doña Endrina and Don Melon has been cited for this purpose in the French translation of "Celestina" by De Lavigne (Paris, 12mo, 1841, pp. v., vi.). But their adventures, taken from Pamphylus Maurianus, already noticed (Ch. V.), constitute, in fact, a mere story arranged about 1335, by the Archpriest of Hita, out of an old Latin dialogue (Sanchez, Tom. IV. stanz. 550–865), but differing in nothing important from the other tales of the Archpriest, and quite insusceptible of dramatic representation. (See Preface of Sanchez to the same volume, pp. xxiii., etc.) 2. The "Dança General de la Muerte," already noticed as written about 1350 (Castro, Biblioteca Española, Tom. I. pp. 200, etc.), has been cited by L. F. Moratin (Obras, ed. de la Academia, Madrid, 1830, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 112) as the earliest specimen of Spanish dramatic literature. But it is unquestionably not a drama, but a didactic poem, which it would have been quite absurd to attempt to exhibit. 3. The "Comedieta de Ponza," on the great naval battle fought near the island of Ponza, in 1435, and written by the Marquis of Santillana, who died in 1454, has been referred to as a drama by Martinez de la Rosa (Obras Literarias, Paris, 1827, 12mo, Tom. II. pp. 518, etc.), who assigns it to about 1436. But it is, in truth, merely an allegorical poem thrown into the form of a dialogue, and written in *coplas de arte mayor*. I shall notice it hereafter. And finally, 4. Blas de Nasarre, in his Prólogo to the plays of Cervantes (Madrid, 1749, 4to, Vol. I.), says there was a *comedia* acted before Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469, at the house of the Count de Ureña, in honor of their wedding. But we have only Blas de Nasarre's *dictum* for this, and he is not a good authority: besides which, he adds that the author of the *comedia* in question was John de la Enzina, who, we know, was not born earlier than the year before the event referred to. The moment of the somewhat secret marriage of these illustrious persons was, moreover, so full of anxiety, that it is not at all likely *any* show or mumming accompanied it. See Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, Part I. c. 3.

[11] "Coplas de Mingo Revulgo," often printed, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the beautiful Coplas of Manrique. The editions I use are those of 1588, 1632, and the one at the end of the "Crónica de Enrique IV." (Madrid, 1787, 4to, ed. de la Academia), with the commentary of Pulgar.

common people, for having, as he says, by their weakness and guilt, brought upon themselves so dissolute and careless a shepherd. It opens with the shouts of Arribato, who sees Revulgo at a distance, on a Sunday morning, ill dressed, and with a dispirited air:

> Hollo, Revulgo! Mingo, ho!
> Mingo Revulgo! Ho, hollo!
> Why, where 's your cloak of blue so bright?
> Is it not Sunday's proper wear?
> And where 's your jacket red and tight?
> And such a brow why do you bear,
> And come abroad, this dawning mild,
> With all your hair in elf-locks wild?
> Pray, are you broken down with care?[12]

Revulgo replies that the state of the flock, governed by so unfit a shepherd, is the cause of his squalid condition; and then, under this allegory, they urge a coarse, but efficient, satire against the measures of the government; against the base, cowardly character of the king, and his scandalous passion for his Portuguese mistress; and against the ruinous carelessness and indifference of the people, ending with praises of the contentment found in a middle condition of life. The whole dialogue consists of only thirty-two stanzas, of nine lines each; but it produced a great effect at the time, was often printed in the next century, and was twice elucidated by a grave commentary.[13]

Its author wisely concealed his name, and has never been absolutely ascertained.[14] The earlier editions gen-

[12] A Mingo Revulgo, Mingo!
A Mingo Revulgo, hao!
Que es de tu sayo de blao?
No le vistes en Domingo?
Que es de tu jubon bermejo?
Por que traes tal sobrecejo?
Andas esta madrugada
La cabeza desgreñada:
No te llotras de buen rejo?
Copla I.

[13] Velazquez (Origenes, p. 52) treats Mingo Revulgo as a satire against King John and his court. But it applies much more naturally and truly to the time of Henry IV., and has, indeed, generally been considered as directed against that unhappy monarch. Copla the Sixth seems plainly to allude to his passion for Doña Guiomar de Castro.

[14] The Coplas of Mingo Revulgo were very early attributed to John de Mena, the most famous poet of the time (N. Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. I. p. 387); but, unhappily for this conjecture, Mena was of the opposite party in politics. Mariana, who found Revulgo of consequence enough to be mentioned when discussing the troubles of Henry IV., declares (Historia, Lib. XXIII c. 17, Tom. II. p. 475) the Coplas to have

erally suppose him to have been Rodrigo Cota the elder, of Toledo, to whom also is attributed "A Dialogue between Love and an Old Man," which dates from the same period, and is no less spirited, and even more dramatic. It opens with a representation of an old man retired into a poor hut, which stands in the midst of a neglected and decayed garden. Suddenly Love appears before him, and he exclaims, "My door is shut; what do you want? Where did you enter? Tell me how, robber-like, you leaped the walls of my garden. Age and reason had freed me from you; leave, therefore, my heart, retired into its poor corner, to think only of the past." He goes on giving a sad account of his own condition, and a still more sad description of Love; to which Love replies, with great coolness, "Your discourse shows that you have not been well acquainted with me." A discussion follows, in which Love, of course, gains the advantage. The old man is promised that his garden shall be restored, and his youth renewed; but, when he has surrendered at discretion, he is only treated with the gayest ridicule by his conqueror, for thinking that at his age he can again make himself attractive in the ways of love. The whole is in a light tone, and managed with a good deal of ingenuity; but, though susceptible, like other poetical eclogues, of being represented, it is not certain that it ever was. It is, however, as well as the Couplets of Revulgo, so much like the pastorals which we know were publicly exhibited as dramas a few years later, that

Rodrigo Cota.

been written by Hernando del Pulgar, the chronicler; but no reason is given for this opinion, except the fact that Pulgar wrote a commentary on them, making their allegory more intelligible than it would have been likely to be made by anybody not quite familiar with the thoughts and purposes of the author. See the dedication of this commentary to Count Haro, with the Prólogo, and Sarmiento, Poesia Española, Madrid, 1775, 4to, § 872. But, whoever wrote Mingo Revulgo, there is no doubt it was an important and a popular poem in its day.

Sarmiento, besides what he says of Mingo Revulgo, in his "Poesia Española," wrote a letter about it to a friend in 1756, which was published, or reprinted, with the title "Meco-Moro-Agudo," ec. (Madrid, 1795, 18mo, pp. 20); the object of it being to show that *Meco-Moro Agudo*, in Mingo Revulgo, means the Spanish Mahometans of the time of Henry IV.; — *Tartamudo*, the Spanish Jews; and *Christobal Mexia*, the Spanish Christians.

A spirited imitation of Mingo Revulgo, satirizing abuses in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, is mentioned by Pidal, in the notes to his essay prefixed to Baena, and an extract from it is given; but the whole poem has not been published. (Cancionero de Baena, 1851, pp. lxxiv.–v.)

we may reasonably suppose it had some influence in preparing the way for them.[15]

The next contribution to the foundations of the Spanish theatre is the "Celestina," a dramatic story, contemporary with the poems just noticed, and probably, in part, the work of the same hands. It is a prose composition, in twenty-one acts, or parts, originally called "The Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibœa;" and though, from its length, and, indeed, from its very structure, it can never have been represented, its dramatic spirit and movement have left traces that are not to be mistaken[16] of their influence on the national drama ever since.

The Celestina.

The first act, which is much the longest, was probably written by Rodrigo Cota, of Toledo, and in that case we may safely assume that it was produced about 1480.[17] It opens in the environs of a city,

Begun by Cota.

[15] The "Diálogo entre el Amor y un Viejo" was first printed, I believe, in the "Cancionero General" of 1511, but it is found with the Coplas de Manrique, 1588 and 1632. See, also, N. Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. II. pp. 263, 264, for notices of Cota. The fact of this old Dialogue having an effect on the coming drama may be inferred, not only from the obvious resemblance between the two, but from a passage in Juan de la Enzina's Eclogue, beginning "Vamonos, Gil, al aldea," which plainly alludes to the opening of Cota's Dialogue, and, indeed, to the whole of it. The passage in Enzina is the concluding *Villancico*, which begins, —

Ninguno cierre las puertas;
Si Amor viniese a llamar,
Que no le ha aprovechar.

Let no man shut his doors:
If Love should come to call,
'T will do no good at all.

I have a copy of the "Dialogo" printed in 1785, with MS. notes by Thomas de Yriarte, the poet, correcting the text, which much needs it.

[16] They are called *actos* in the original; but neither *act* nor *scene* is a proper name for the parts of which the Celestina is composed; since it occasionally mingles up, in the most confused manner, and in the *same* act, conversations that necessarily happened at the *same* moment in *different* places. Thus, in the fourteenth act, we have conversations held partly between Calisto and Melibœa inside her father's garden, and partly between Calisto's servants, who are outside of it; all given as a consecutive dialogue, without any notice of the change of place.

[17] Rojas, the author of all but the first act of the Celestina, says, in a prefatory letter to a friend, that the first act was supposed by some to have been the work of Juan de Mena, and by others to have been the work of Rodrigo Cota. The absurdity of the first conjecture was noticed long ago by Nicolas Antonio, and has been admitted ever since, while, on the other hand, what we have of Cota falls in quite well with the conjecture that *he* wrote it; besides which, Alonso de Villegas, in the verses prefixed to his "Selvagia," 1554, to be noticed hereafter, says expressly, "Though he was poor and of low estate (*pobre y de baxo lugar*), we know that Cota's skill (*ciencia*) enabled him to begin the great Celestina, and that Rojas finished it with an ambrosial air that can never be enough valued;" — a testimony heretofore overlooked, but one which, under the circumstances of the case, seems sufficient to decide the question. Rodrigo Cota is con-

which is not named,[18] with a scene between Calisto, a young man of rank, and Melibœa, a maiden of birth and qualities still more noble than his own. He finds her in her father's garden, where he had accidentally followed his bird in hawking, and she receives him as a Spanish lady of condition in that age would be likely to receive a stranger who begins his acquaintance by making love to her. The result is that the presumptuous young man goes home full of mortification and despair, and shuts himself up in his darkened chamber. Sempronio, a confidential servant, understanding the cause of his master's trouble, advises him to apply to an old woman, with whom the unprincipled valet is secretly in league, and who is half a pretender to witchcraft, and half a dealer in love-philters. This personage is Celestina. Her character, the first hint of which may have been taken from the Archpriest of Hita's sketch of one with not dissimilar pretensions, is at once revealed in all its power. She boldly promises Calisto that he shall obtain possession of Melibœa, and from that moment secures to herself a complete control over him, and over all who are about him.[19]

Thus far Cota had proceeded in his outline, when, from some unknown reason, he stopped short. The fragment he had written was, however, circulated and admired, and Fernando de Rojas of Montalvan, a bachelor of laws living at Salamanca, took it up, at the request of some of

jectured to have been a converted Jew, and to have encouraged the persecution of the faith he had abjured. (Pidal, in Cancionero de Baena, 1851, p. xxxvii.)

As to the time when the Celestina was written, we must bring it into the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, before which we cannot find sufficient ground for believing such Spanish prose to have been possible. It is curious, however, that, from one and the same passage in the third act of the Celestina, Blanco White (Variedades, London, 1824, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 226) supposes Rojas to have written his part of it before the fall of Granada, and Germond de Lavigne (Celestine, p. 63) supposes him to have written it either afterwards, or at the very time when the last siege was going on. But Blanco White's inference seems to be the true one, and would place both parts of it before 1490. If to this we add the allusions (Acts 4 and 7) to the *autos de fé* and their arrangements, we must place it after 1480, when the Inquisition was first established. But this is doubtful.

18 Blanco White gives ingenious reasons for supposing that Seville is the city referred to. He himself was born there, and could judge well.

19 The Trota-Conventos of Juan Ruiz, the Archpriest of Hita, has already been noticed; and certainly is not without a resemblance to the Celestina. Besides, in the Second Act of "Calisto y Melibœa," Celestina herself is once expressly called Trota-Conventos.

his friends, and, as he himself tells us, wrote the remainder in a fortnight of his vacations; the twenty acts or scenes which he added for this purpose constituting about seven-eighths of the whole composition.[20] That the conclusion he thus arranged was such as the original inventor of the story intended, is not to be imagined. Rojas was even uncertain who this first author was, and evidently knew nothing about his plans or purposes; besides which, he says the portion that came into his hands was a comedy, while the remainder is so violent and bloody in its course that he calls the completed work a tragicomedy; a name which it has generally borne since, and which he perhaps invented to suit this particular case. One circumstance, however, connected with it, should not be overlooked. It is that the different portions attributed to the two authors are so similar in style and finish, as to have led to the conjecture that, after all, the whole might have been the work of Rojas, who, for reasons, perhaps, arising out of his ecclesiastical position in society, was unwilling to take the responsibility of being the sole author of it.[21]

Finished by Fernando de Rojas.

But this is not the account given by Rojas himself. He says that he found the first act already written; and he begins the second with the impatience of Calisto in urging Celestina to obtain access to the high-born and high-bred Melibœa. The low and vulgar woman succeeds, by presenting herself at the house of Melibœa's father with lady-

[20] Rojas states these facts in his prefatory anonymous letter, already mentioned, and entitled "El Autor á un su Amigo;" and he declares his own name and authorship in an acrostic, called "El Autor excusando su Obra," which immediately follows the epistle, and the initial letters of which bring out the following words: "El Bachiller Fernando de Rojas acabó la comedia de Calysto y Meliboea, y fue nascido en la puebla de Montalvan." Of course, if we believe Rojas himself, there can be no doubt on this point. A person named Fernando de Rojas is noticed by Gayangos, in the notes to the Spanish translation of this work (Tom. I. p. 546), as the author or copyist of a treatise on "Fascination, or the Evil Eye." (*Acabo describir*, etc., año de MCCCCLVI. años.) But I think there is no connection between the two.

[21] Blanco White, in a criticism on the Celestina (Variedades, Tom. I. pp. 224, 296), expresses this opinion, which is also found in the Preface to M. Germond de Lavigne's French translation of the Celestina. L. F. Moratin, too (Obras, Tom. I. Parte I. p. 88), thinks there is no difference in style between the two parts, though he treats them as the work of different writers. But the acute author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas" (Mayans y Siscar, Origenes, Madrid, 1737, 12mo, Tom. II. p. 165) is of a different opinion; and so is Lampillas, Ensayo, Madrid, 1789, 4to, Tom. VI. p. 54.

like trifles to sell; and, having once obtained an entrance, easily finds the means of establishing her right to return. Intrigues of the grossest kind amongst the servants and subordinates follow; and the machinations and contrivances of the mover of the whole mischief advance through the midst of them with great rapidity, — all managed by herself, and all contributing to her power and purposes. Nothing, indeed, seems to be beyond the reach of her unprincipled activity and talent. She talks like a saint or a philosopher, as it suits her purpose. She flatters; she threatens; she overawes. Her unscrupulous ingenuity is never at fault; her main object is never forgotten or overlooked.

Meantime, the unhappy Meliboea, urged by whatever insinuation and seduction can suggest, is made to confess her love for Calisto. From this moment her fate is sealed. Calisto visits her secretly in the night, after the fashion of the old Spanish gallants; and then the conspiracy hurries onward to its consummation. At the same time, however, the retribution begins. The persons who had assisted Calisto to bring about his first interview with her quarrel for the reward he had given them; and Celestina, at the moment of her triumph, is murdered by her own base agents and associates, two of whom, attempting to escape, are in their turn summarily put to death by the officers of justice. Great confusion ensues. Calisto is regarded as the indirect cause of Celestina's death, since she perished in his service; and some of those who had been dependent upon her are roused to such indignation, that they track him to his place of assignation, seeking for revenge. There they fall into a quarrel with the servants he had posted in the streets for his protection. He hastens to the rescue, is precipitated from a ladder, and is killed on the spot. Meliboea confesses her guilt and shame, and throws herself headlong from a high tower; immediately upon which the whole melancholy and atrocious story ends with the lament of the broken-hearted father over her dead body.

As has been intimated, the Celestina is rather a dramatized romance than a proper drama, or even a well-

considered attempt to produce a strictly dramatic effect. Such as it is, however, Europe can show nothing on its theatres, at the same period, of equal literary merit. It is full of life and movement throughout. Its characters, from Celestina down to her insolent and lying valets, and her brutal female associates, are developed with a skill and truth rarely found in the best periods of the Spanish drama. Its style is easy and pure, sometimes brilliant, and always full of the idiomatic resources of the old and true Castilian; such a style, unquestionably, as had not yet been approached in Spanish prose, and was not often reached afterwards. Occasionally, indeed, we are offended by an idle and cold display of learning; but, like the gross manners of the piece, this poor vanity is a fault that belonged to the age.

A dramatized romance.

The great offence of the Celestina, however, is, that large portions of it are foul with a shameless libertinism of thought and language. Why the authority of church and state did not at once interfere to prevent its circulation, seems now hardly intelligible. Probably it was, in part, because the Celestina claimed to be written for the purpose of warning the young against the seductions and crimes it so loosely unveils; or, in other words, because it claimed to be a book whose tendency was good. Certainly, strange as the fact may now seem to us, many so received it. It was dedicated to reverend ecclesiastics, and to ladies of rank and modesty in Spain and out of it, and seems to have been read generally, and perhaps by the wise, the gentle, and the good, without a blush. When, therefore, those who had the power were called to exercise it, they shrank from the task; only slight changes were required; and the Celestina was then left to run its course of popular favor unchecked.[22] In

Its indecency.

[22] For a notice of the first known edition, — that of 1499, — which is entitled "Comedia," and is divided into sixteen acts, see an article on the Celestina by F. Wolf, in Blätter für Literarische Unterhaltung, 1845, Nos. 213 to 217, which leaves little to desire on the subject it so thoroughly discusses. The expurgations in the editions of Alcalá, 1586, and Madrid, 1595, are slight, and in the Plantiniana edition, 1595, I think there are none. It is curious to observe how few are ordered in the Index of 1667 (p. 948), and that the *whole* book was not forbidden till 1793, having been expressly permitted, with expurgations, in the Index of 1790, and appearing first, as prohibited, in

the century that followed its first appearance from the press in 1499, a century in which the number of readers was comparatively very small, it is easy to enumerate above thirty editions of the original. Probably there were more. At that time, too, or soon afterwards, it was made known in English, in German, and in Dutch; and, that none of the learned at least might be beyond its reach, it appeared in the universal Latin. Thrice it was translated into Italian, and thrice into French. The cautious and severe author of the "Dialogue on Languages," the Protestant Valdés, gave it the highest praise.[23] So did Cervantes.[24] The very name of Celestina became a proverb, like the thousand bywords and adages she herself pours out, with such wit and fluency;[25] and it is not too much to add, that, down to the days of the Don Quixote, no Spanish book was so much known and read at home and abroad.

Its great success, and numerous translations.

Such success insured for it a long series of imitations; most of them yet more offensive to morals and public decency than the Celestina itself, and all of them, as might be anticipated, of inferior literary merit to their

the Index printed 1805. No other book, that I know of, shows so distinctly how supple and compliant the Inquisition was, where, as in this case, it was deemed impossible to control the public taste. "If these men," — says Louis de Leon, speaking of persons who did not entirely approve the works of Santa Teresa, — "if these men were moved by the Spirit of God, they would, first, and before all things, condemn the Celestina and Books of Chivalry, and the other thousand tales and works full of vanity and indecencies, with which the souls of men are continually poisoned." (Obras, Madrid, Tom. V. 1806, p. 362.) Yet an Italian translation of the Celestina, printed at Venice in 1525, which is well made, and is dedicated to a lady, is not expurgated at all. There are lists of the editions of the original in L. F. Moratin (Obras, Tom. I. Parte I. p. 89), and B. C. Aribau's "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles" (Madrid, 1846, 8vo, Tom. III. p. xii.), to which, however, additions can be made by turning to Brunet, Ebert, and the other bibliographers. The best editions are those of Amarita (1822) and Aribau (1846).

[23] Mayans y Siscar, Origenes, Tom. II. p. 167. "No book in Castilian has been written in a language more natural, appropriate, and elegant." Salas Barbadillo, in the dedication of his "Sagaz Estacio," 1620, says of the Celestina: "Es de tanto valor, que, entre todos los hombres doctos y graves, aunque sean los de mas recatada virtud, se ha hecho lugar, adquiriendo cada dia venerable estimacion; porque entre aquellas burlas, al paracer livianas, enseña una doctrina moral y Catolica, amenazando con el mal fin de los interlocutores a los que les imitan en los vicios." This was, no doubt, till a late period, and is, in part, even now, the opinion in Spain respecting the Celestina.

[24] Verses by "El Donoso," prefixed to the first part of Don Quixote.

[25] Sebastian de Covarrubias, Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana, Madrid, 1674, fol., ad verb.

model. One, called "The Second Comedia of Celestina," in which she is raised from the dead, was published in 1530, by Feliciano de Silva, the author of the old romance of "Florisel de Niquea," and went through four editions. A second, by Gaspar Gomez de Toledo, appeared in 1537; a third in 1547, by Sebastian Fernandez, called "The Tragedy of Policiana," in twenty-nine acts; a fourth in 1554, by Joan Rodrigues Florian, in forty-three scenes, called "The Comedia of Florinea;" and a fifth, "The Selvagia," in five acts, also in 1554, by Alonso de Villegas. In 1513, Pedro de Urrea, of the same family with the translator of Ariosto, rendered the first act of the original Celestina into good Castilian verse, dedicating it to his mother; and in 1540, Juan Sedeño performed a similar service for the whole of it. Tales and romances followed, somewhat later, in large numbers; some, like "The Ingenious Helen," and "The Cunning Flora," not without merit; while others, like "The Eufrosina," praised more than it deserves by Quevedo, were little regarded from the first.[26]

Its imitations.

[26] Puibusque, Hist. Comparée des Littératures Espagnole et Francaise, Paris, 1843, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 478; — the Essay prefixed to the French translation of Lavigne, Paris, 1841, 12mo; — Montiano y Luyando, Discurso sobre las Tragedias Españolas, Madrid, 1750, 12mo, p. 9, and *post*, c. 21. The "Ingeniosa Helena" (1613) and the "Flora Malsabidilla" (1623) are by Salas Barbadillo, and will be noticed hereafter, among the prose fictions of the seventeenth century. The "Eufrosina" is by Ferreira de Vasconcellos, a Portuguese, and why, in 1631, it was translated into Spanish by Ballesteros Saavedra as if it had been anonymous, I know not. It is often mentioned as the work of Lobo, another Portuguese (Barbosa, Bib. Lusit., Tom. II. p. 242, and Tom. IV. p. 143), and Quevedo, in his Preface to the Spanish version, seems to have been of that opinion; but this, too, is not true. Lobo only prepared, in 1613, an edition of the Portuguese original.

Of the imitations of the Celestina mentioned in the text, three, perhaps, deserve further notice.

The first is "La Segunda Celestina," of which my copy is a very small 32mo., printed at Antwerp, without year or paging, but announced as sold at the "Polla grassa" in that city, and at the "Samaritana" in Paris. It is founded on the idea that Celestina herself, instead of having been put to death by her own brutal associates, had only feigned to be dead, and then availed herself of her magical arts to keep up the delusion afterwards. During this period, she is concealed in the house of a high ecclesiastic, and when she comes out to the world, after her eclipse, she is received as one raised from the dead, and sets up for holiness and for the power of working miracles, but all the while goes on with her career of secret crimes and abominations. The story of Felides and Poliandria — the lovers whom she serves — is much like that of Calisto and Melibœa, but does not end with such horrors and guilt. Some of the scenes with the inferior personages are very coarse, and others are ingenious and amusing; but throughout it lacks the spirited, effective style of its brilliant prototype. Like that, the Segunda Celestina is very long, and is divided into forty *Cenas*; — an ancient mode of spell-

At last, it came upon the stage, for which its original character had so nearly fitted it. Cepeda, in 1582, formed out of it one-half of his "Comedia Selvage," which is only the four first acts of the Celestina thrown into easy verse;[27] and Alfonso Velasquez de Velasco, as early as 1602, published a drama in prose, called

It is brought on the stage.

ing *Escenas*. The name of the author is indicated in some prefatory verses by Pedro .Mercado; but not elsewhere. The Antwerp edition, as I have noted, is without date. But, in the Biblioteca Comunale, at Bologna, I found a copy of one printed at Venice, 1536, said to be corrected by Domingo de Gaztelu, Secretary to Don Lope de Soria, then Ambassador to the Venetian republic.

The second is the one entitled "Florinea," which was printed at Medina del Campo, in 1554, and which, though certainly without the power and life of the work it imitates, is yet written in a pure and good style. The principal personage is Marcelia, — parcel witch, wholly shameless, — going regularly to matins and vespers, and talking religion and philosophy, while her house and life are full of whatever is most infamous. Some of the scenes are as indecent as any in the Celestina; but the story is less disagreeable, as it ends with an honorable love-match between Floriano and Belisea, the hero and heroine of the drama, and promises to give their wedding in a continuation, which, however, never appeared. It is longer than its prototype, filling 312 pages of black letter, closely printed, in small quarto; abounds in proverbs; and contains occasional snatches of poetry, which are not in so good taste as the prose. Florian, the author, says, that, though his work is called *comedia*, he is to be regarded as "historiador cómico," a dramatic narrator.

The other is the "Selvagia," by Alonso de Villegas, published at Toledo, in 1554, 4to, the same year with the Florinea, to which it alludes with great admiration. Its story is ingenious. Flesinardo, a rich gentleman from Mexico, falls in love with Rosiana, whom he has only seen at a window of her father's house. His friend Selvago, who is advised of this circumstance, watches the same window, and falls in love with a lady whom he supposes to be the same that had been seen by Flesinardo. Much trouble naturally follows. But it is happily discovered that the lady is *not* the same; after which — except in the episodes of the servants, the bully, and the inferior lovers — everything goes on successfully, under the management of an unprincipled counterpart of the profligate Celestina, and ends with the marriage of the four lovers. It is not so long as the Celestina or the Florinea, filling only seventy-three leaves in quarto, but it is an avowed imitation of both. Of the genius that gives such life and movement to its principal prototype there is little trace, nor has it an equal purity of style. But some of its declamations, perhaps, — though as misplaced as its pedantry, — are not without power, and some of its dialogue is free and natural. It claims everywhere to be very religious and moral, but it is anything rather than either. Of its author there can be no doubt. As in everything else he imitates the Celestina, so he imitates it in some prefatory acrostic verses, from which I have spelt out the following sentence: "Alonso de Villegas Selvago compuso la Comedia Selvagia en servicio de su Sennora Isabel de Barrionuevo, siendo de edad de veynte annos, en Toledo, su patria;" — a singular offering, certainly, to the lady of his love. It is divided into scenes, as well as acts.

Gayangos, in a note to the Spanish translation of this History (Madrid, 1851, Tom. I. pp. 525–28), gives an account of the "Policiana," which, from an acrostic prefixed to it, was the work of El Bachiller Sebastian Fernandez, and, from an abstract of its contents, is as coarse and shameless as the Celestina, of which it seems to be at once a close and a poor imitation. Policiana, who is the heroine and scandal of the piece, perishes at the end by having a lion let loose on her; but not until she has made a will leaving the secrets of her art to Celestina.

[27] L. F. Moratin, Obras, Tom. I. Parte I. p. 280, and *post*, Period II. c. 28.

"The Jealous Man," founded entirely on the Celestina, whose character, under the name of Lena, is given with nearly all its original spirit and effect.[28] How far either the play of Velasco or that of Cepeda succeeded, we are not told; but the coarseness and indecency of both are so great, that they can hardly have been long tolerated by the public, if they were by the Church. The essential type of Celestina, however, the character as originally conceived by Cota and Rojas, was continued on the stage in such plays as the "Celestina" of Mendoza, "The Second Celestina" of Agustin de Salazar, and "The School of Celestina" by Salas Barbadillo, all produced soon after the year 1600, as well as in others that have been produced since. Even in our own days, a drama containing so much of her story as a modern audience will listen to has been received with favor; while, at the same time, the original tragicomedy itself has been thought worthy of being reprinted at Madrid, with various readings to settle its text, and of being rendered anew by fresh and vigorous translations into the French and German.[29]

[28] The name of this author seems to have been, for a time, somewhat uncertain, and has been given in two or three different ways, — Alfonso Vaz, Vazquez, Velasquez, and Uz. de Velasco. I have a copy of an edition of 1602, printed at Milan, where I think it was written, for its dedication is dated there, Sept. 15, 1602, and it is addressed to another Velasco, President of the Council of Italy. It is signed D. Alfonso Uz. de Velasco, which means Velasquez de Velasco, as the name is given in full in another edition of the same year. There is also, I believe, an edition of Barcelona, 1613, and it is in Ochoa's Origenes del Teatro Español (Paris, 1838). Some of the characters are well drawn; for instance, that of Inocencio, which reminds me occasionally of the inimitable Dominie Sampson. There are also by him "Odas a Imitacion de los siete Salmos penetenciales de David," 1592.

[29] Custine, L'Espagne sous Ferdinand VII., troisième édit., Paris, 1838, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 279. The edition of Celestina with the various readings is that of Madrid, 1822, 18mo, by Leon Amarita. The French translation is the one already mentioned, by Germond de Lavigne (Paris, 1841, 12mo); and the German translation, which is very accurate and spirited, is by Edw. Bülow (Leipzig, 1843, 12mo). Traces of it on the English stage are found as early as about 1530 (Collier's History of Dram. Poetry, etc., London, 1831, 8vo, Tom. II. p. 408); and I have a translation of it by James Mabbe (London, 1631, folio), which, for its idiomatic English style, deserves to be called beautiful. Three translations of it, in the sixteenth century, into French (the one published at Rouen, 1633, with the original, is in excellent old French), and three into Italian, which were frequently reprinted, besides one into Latin, already alluded to, and one into German, may be found noted in Brunet, Ebert, etc.

The old Latin translation, however, is the most curious of all. It was made by Caspar Barth, a scholar of no mean note (Niceron, Hommes Illustres, Tom. VII. 1729, p. 29, etc.), and it was printed at Frankfort in 1624 (12mo. pp. 462) with the title of "Pornoboscodidascalus Latinus,"

The influence, therefore, of the Celestina seems not yet at an end, little as it deserves regard, except for its life-like exhibition of the most unworthy forms of human character, and its singularly pure, rich, and idiomatic Castilian style.

Its present reputation.

with notes by the learned translator, that still have their value. I have compared the fourth act with the original, and it seems to me to be rendered with spirit and effect.

CHAPTER XIV.

DRAMA CONTINUED. — JUAN DE LA ENZINA. — HIS LIFE AND WORKS. — HIS REPRESENTACIONES, AND THEIR CHARACTER. — FIRST SECULAR DRAMAS ACTED IN SPAIN. — SOME RELIGIOUS IN THEIR TONE, AND SOME NOT. — GIL VICENTE, A PORTUGUESE. — HIS SPANISH DRAMAS. — AUTO OF CASSANDRA. — COMEDIA OF THE WIDOWER. — HIS INFLUENCE ON THE SPANISH DRAMA.

THE "Celestina," as has been intimated, produced little or no immediate effect on the rude beginnings of the Spanish drama; perhaps not so much as the dialogues of "Mingo Revulgo," and "Love and the Old Man." But the three taken together unquestionably lead us to the true founder of the secular theatre in Spain, Juan de la Enzina,[1] who was probably born in the village whose name he bears, in 1468 or 1469, and was educated at the neighboring University of Salamanca, where he had the good fortune to enjoy the patronage of its chancellor, then one of the rising family of Alva. Soon afterwards he was at court; and, at the age of twenty-five, we find him in the household of Fadrique de Toledo, first Duke of Alva, to whom and to his duchess Enzina addressed much of his poetry. In 1496 he published the earliest edition of his works, divided into four parts, which are successively dedicated to Ferdinand and Isabella, to the Duke and Duchess of Alva, to Prince John, and to Don Garcia de Toledo, son of his patron.

Juan de la Enzina.

Somewhat later, Enzina went to Rome, where he became a priest, and, from his skill in music, rose to be head of Leo the Tenth's chapel; the highest honor the world then offered to his art. In the course of 1518–1520 he made a pilgrimage from Rome to Jerusalem with

[1] He spells his name differently in different editions of his works; Encina in 1496, Enzina in 1509 and elsewhere.

Fadrique Afan de Ribera, Marquis of Tarifa; and, on his return, published, in 1521, a poor poetical account of his devout adventures, accompanied with great praises of the Marquis, and ending with an expression of his happiness at living in Rome.[2] At a more advanced age, however, having received a priory in Leon as a reward for his services, he returned to his native country, and died, in 1534, at Salamanca, in whose cathedral his monument was long to be seen.[3]

His works.

Of his collected works six editions at least were published between 1496 and 1516; showing that, for the period in which he lived, he enjoyed a remarkable degree of popularity. They contain a good deal of pleasant lyrical poetry, songs, and *villancicos*, in the old popular Spanish style; and two or three descriptive poems, particularly "A Vision of the Temple of Fame and the glories of Castile," in which Ferdinand and Isabella receive great eulogy, and are treated as if they were his patrons. But most of his shorter poems were slight contributions of his talent offered on particular occasions; and by far the most important works he has left us are the dramatic compositions which fill the fourth division of his Cancionero.

These compositions are called by Enzina himself "Representaciones;" and in the edition of 1496 there are nine of them, while in the last two editions there are eleven,

[2] There is an edition of it (Madrid, 1786, 12mo) filling a hundred pages, to which is added a summary of the whole in a ballad of eighteen pages, which may have been intended for popular recitation. The last is not, perhaps, the work of Enzina. Gayangos says Enzina's poetical account was printed with a prose account of their common travels, by the Marquis, in 1580, 1606, 1608, and 1733. It was looked upon as a book of devotion, and is, in fact, little else. A similar pilgrimage, partly devout, partly poetical, was made a century later by Pedro de Escobar Cabeza de la Vaca, who published an account of it in 1587 (12mo), at Valladolid, in twenty-five cantos of blank verse, entitled "Lucero de la Tierra Santa," — A Lighthouse for the Holy Land. He went and returned by the way of Egypt, and at Jerusalem became a knight-templar; but his account of what he saw and did, though I doubt not it is curious for the history of geography, is as free from the spirit of poetry as can well be imagined. Nearly the whole of it, if not broken into verses, might be read as pure and dignified Castilian prose, and parts of it would have considerable merit as such.

[3] The best life of Enzina is one in the "Allgemeine Encyclopedie der Wissenschaften und Künste" (Erste Section, Leipzig, 4to, Tom. XXXIV. pp. 187-189). It is by Ferdinand Wolf, of Vienna. An early and satisfactory notice of Enzina is to be found in Gonzalez de Avila, "Historia de Salamanca" (Salamanca, 1606, 4to, Lib. III. c. xxii.), where Enzina is called "hijo desta patria," that is, Salamanca.

one of which contains the date of 1498. They are in the nature of eclogues, though one of them, it is difficult to tell why, is called an "Auto;"[4] and they were represented before the Duke and Duchess of Alva, the Prince Don John, the Duke of Infantado, and other distinguished personages enumerated in the notices prefixed to them. All are in some form of the old Spanish verse; in all there is singing; and in one there is a dance. They have, therefore, several of the elements of the proper secular Spanish drama, whose origin we can trace no further back by any authentic monument now existing.

His dramatic works.

Two things, however, should be noted, when considering these dramatic efforts of Juan de la Enzina as the foundation of the Spanish drama. The first is their internal structure and essential character. They are eclogues only in form and name, not in substance and spirit. Enzina, whose poetical account of his travels in Palestine proves him to have had scholarlike knowledge, began by translating, or rather paraphrasing, the ten Eclogues of Virgil, accommodating some of them to events in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, or to passages in the fortunes of the house of Alva.[5] From these he easily passed to the preparation of eclogues to be represented before his patrons and their courtly friends. But, in doing this, he was naturally reminded of the religious exhibitions, which had been popular in Spain from the time of Alfonso the Tenth, and had always been given at the great festivals of the Church.

They are eclogues in form.

[4] "Auto del Repelon," or Auto of the Brawl, being a quarrel in the market-place of Salamanca, between some students of the University and sundry shepherds. The word *auto* comes from the Latin *actus*, and was applied to any particularly solemn acts, however different in their nature and character, like the *autos sacramentales* of the *Corpus Christi* days, and the *autos de fé* of the Inquisition. (See Covarrubias, Tesoro, ad verb.; and the account of Lope de Vega's drama, in the next period.) In 1514 Enzina published at Rome a drama entitled "Placida y Victoriano," which he called *una egloga*, and which is much praised by the author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas;" but it was put into the Index Expurgatorius, 1559, and occurs again in that of 1667, p. 733. I know of only one copy of it; that in the precious library of Don Vicente Salvá, at Valencia. Some others of his works were separately printed, — such as his "Disparates trobados," in 1496, — and some of his Farsas; one at first without a date, and afterwards, in 1553, in 4to.

[5] They may have been represented, but I know of no proof that they were, except this accommodation of them to personages some of whom are known to have been of his audience on similar occasions.

Six, therefore, of his eclogues, to meet the demands of ancient custom, are, in fact, dialogues of the simplest kind, represented at Christmas and Easter, or during Carnival and Lent; in one of which the manger at Bethlehem is introduced, and in another a sepulchral monument, setting forth the burial of the Saviour, while all of them seem to have been enacted in the chapel of the Duke of Alva, though two certainly are not very religious in their tone and character.

The remaining five are altogether secular: three of them having a sort of romantic story, the fourth introducing a shepherd so desperate with love that he kills himself, and the fifth exhibiting a market-day farce and riot between sundry country people and students, the materials for which Enzina may well enough have gathered during his own life at Salamanca. These five eclogues, therefore, connect themselves with the coming secular drama of Spain in a manner not to be mistaken, just as the first six look back towards the old religious exhibitions of the country.

The other circumstance that should be noted in relation to them, as proof that they constitute the commencement of the Spanish secular drama, is, that they were really acted. Nearly all of them speak in their titles of this fact, mentioning sometimes the personages who were present, and in more than one instance alluding to Enzina himself, as if he had performed some of the parts in person. Rojas, a great authority in whatever relates to the theatre, declares the same thing expressly, coupling the fall of Granada and the achievements of Columbus with the establishment of the theatre in Spain by Enzina; events which, in the true spirit of his profession as an actor, he seems to consider of nearly equal importance.[6] The precise year when this happened is given by a learned antiquary of the time of Philip the

They were really acted.

[6] Agustin de Rojas, Viage Entretenido, Madrid, 1614, 12mo, ff. 46, 47. Speaking of the bucolic dramas of Enzina, represented before the Dukes of Alva, Infantado, etc., he says expressly, "These were the first." Rojas was not born 'till 1577, but he was devoted to the theatre his whole life, and seems to have been more familiar with its history than anybody else of his time.

Fourth, who says, "In 1492, companies began to represent publicly in Castile plays by Juan de la Enzina."[7] From this year, then, the great year of the discovery of America, we may safely date the foundation of the Spanish secular theatre.

Their character.

It must not, however, be supposed that the "Representations," as he calls them, of Juan de la Enzina, have much dramatic merit. On the contrary, they are rude and slight. Some have only two or three interlocutors, and no pretension to a plot; and none has more than six personages, nor anything that can be considered a proper dramatic structure. In one of those prepared for the Nativity, the four shepherds are, in fact, the four Evangelists, — Saint John, at the same time, shadowing forth the person of the poet. He enters first, and discourses, in rather a vainglorious way, of himself as a poet; not forgetting, however, to compliment the Duke of Alva, his patron, as a person feared in France and in Portugal, with which countries the political relations of Spain were then unsettled. Matthew, who follows, rebukes John for this vanity, telling him that "all his works are not worth two straws;" to which John replies, that, in pastorals and graver poetry, he defies competition, and intimates that, in the course of the next May, he shall publish what will prove him to be something even more than bucolic. They both agree that the Duke and Duchess are excellent masters, and Matthew wishes that he, too, were in their service. At this point of the dialogue, Luke and Mark come in, and, with slight preface, announce the birth of the Saviour as the last news. All four then talk upon that event at large, alluding to John's Gospel as if already known, and end with a determination to go to Bethlehem, after singing a *villancico* or rustic song, which is much too light in its tone to be religious.[8]

[7] Rodrigo Mendez de Silva, Catálogo Real Genealógico de España, at the end of his "Poblacion de España" (Madrid, 1675, folio, f. 250. b). Mendez de Silva was a learned and voluminous author. See his Life, Barbosa, Bib. Lusitana, Tom. III. p. 649, where is a sonnet of Lope de Vega in praise of the learning of this very Catálogo Real. The word "publicly," however, seems only to refer to the representations in the houses of Enzina's patrons, etc., as we shall see hereafter.

[8] The *villancicos* long retained a pastoral tone, and something of a dramatic

The whole eclogue is short, and comprised in less than forty rhymed stanzas of nine lines each, including a wild lyric at the end, which has a chorus to every stanza, and is not without the spirit of poetry.[9]

This belongs to the class of Enzina's religious dramas. One, on the other hand, which was represented at the conclusion of the Carnival, during the period then called popularly at Salamanca *Antruejo*, seems rather to savor of heathenism, as the festival itself did.[10] It is merely a rude dialogue between four shepherds. It begins with a description of one of those mummings common at the period when Enzina lived, which, in this case, consisted of a mock battle in the village between Carnival and Lent, ending with the discomfiture of Carnival; but the general matter of the scene presented is a somewhat free frolic of eating and drinking among the four shepherds, ending, like the rest of the eclogues, with a *villancico*, in which Antruejo, it is not easy to tell why, is treated as a saint.[11]

The Antruejo.

Quite opposite to both of the pieces already noticed is the Representation for Good Friday, between two hermits,

character. At the marriage of Philip II., in Segovia, 1570, "the youth of the choir, gayly dressed as shepherds, danced and sang a *villancico*," says Colmenares (Hist. de Segovia, Segovia, 1627, fol., p. 558), and in 1600 *villancicos* were again performed by the choir, when Philip III. visited the city. (Ibid., p. 594.) Some of the churches continued them to a very late period. I have a series published for the service of our Lady of the Pillar at Zaragoza, every year from 1679 to 1715, except 1707, when the troubles of the War of the Succession interrupted them. They are generally very rude.

9 This is the eclogue beginning "Dios salva acá buena gente," etc., and is on fol. 103 of the "Cancionero de Todas las Obras de Juan de la Encina; impreso en Salamanca, a veinte dias del Mes de Junio de M.CCCC. E XCVI. años" (116 leaves, folio). It was represented before the Duke and Duchess of Alva, while they were in the chapel for matins on Christmas morning; and the next eclogue, beginning "Dios mantenga, Dios mantenga," was represented in the same place, at vespers, the same day.

10 "This word," says Covarruvias, in his Tesoro, "is used in Salamanca, and means Carnival. In the villages, they call it *Antruydo*; it is certain days before Lent..... They savor a little of heathenism." Later, *Antruejo* became, from a provincialism, an admitted word. Villalobos, about 1520, in his amusing "Dialogue between the Duke and the Doctor," says, "Y el dia de Antruejo," etc. (Obras, Çaragoça, 1544, folio, f. 35); and the Academy's dictionary has it, and defines it to be "the three last days of Carnival."

11 The "Antruejo" ecologue begins "Carnal fuera! Carnal fuera!"—"Away, Carnival! away, Carnival!"—and recalls the old ballad, "Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo!" It is found at f. 85 of the edition of 1509, and is preceded by another "Antruejo" eclogue, represented the same day before the Duke and Duchess, beginning "O triste de mi cuytado" (f. 83), and ending with a *villancico* full of hopes of a peace with France.

Saint Veronica, and an angel. It opens with the meeting and salutation of the two hermits, the elder of whom, as they walk along, tells the younger, with great grief, that the Saviour has been crucified that very day, and agrees with him to visit the sepulchre. In the midst of their talk, Saint Veronica joins them, and gives an account of the crucifixion, not without touches of a simple pathos; showing, at the same time, the napkin on which the portrait of the Saviour had been miraculously impressed, as she wiped from his face the sweat of his agony. Arrived at the sepulchre, — which was some kind of a monument for the Corpus Christi in the Duke of Alva's chapel, where the representation took place, — they kneel; an angel whom they find there explains to them the mystery of the Saviour's death; and then, in a *villancico* in which all join, they praise God, and take comfort with the promise of the resurrection.[12]

Nearest approach to dramas.

But the nearest approach to a dramatic composition made by Juan de la Enzina is to be found in two eclogues between "The Esquire that turns Shepherd" and "The Shepherds that turn Courtiers;" both of which should be taken together and examined as one whole, though, in his simplicity, the poet makes them separate and independent of each other.[13] In the first, a shepherdess, who is a coquette, shows herself well disposed to receive Mingo, one of the shepherds, for her lover, till a certain gay esquire presents himself, whom, after a fair discussion, she prefers to accept, on condition he will turn shepherd; — an unceremonious transformation, with which, and the customary *villancico*, the piece concludes. The second eclogue, however, at its opening, shows the esquire already tired of his pastoral life, and busy in persuading all the shepherds, somewhat in the tone of Touchstone in "As You Like It," to go to court, and become courtly. In the dialogue that follows, an

12 It begins "Deo gracias, padre onrado!" and is at f. 80 of the edition of 1509.

13 These are two eclogues, "Pascuala, Dios te mantenga!" (f. 86), and "Ha, Mingo, quedaste atras" (f. 88). They were, I have little doubt, represented in succession, with a pause between, like that between the acts of a modern play, in which Enzina presented a copy of his Works to the Duke and Duchess, and promised to write no more poetry unless they ordered him to do it.

is a monologue in Spanish, a little more than a hundred lines long, spoken before the king, the king's mother, and the Duchess of Braganza, probably by Vicente himself, in the person of a herdsman, who enters the royal chambers, and, after addressing the queen mother, is followed by a number of shepherds, bringing presents to the new-born prince. The poetry is simple, fresh, and spirited, and expresses the feelings of wonder and admiration that would naturally rise in the mind of such a rustic, on first entering a royal residence. Regarded as a courtly compliment, the attempt succeeded. In a modest notice, attached to it by the son of Vicente, we are told that, being the first of his father's compositions, and the first dramatic representation ever made in Portugal, it pleased the queen mother so much as to lead her to ask its author to repeat it at Christmas, adapting it to the birth of the Saviour.

Vicente's first dramatic effort.

Vicente, however, understood that the queen desired to have such an entertainment as she had been accustomed to enjoy at the court of Castile, when John de la Enzina brought his contributions to the Christmas festivities. He therefore prepared for Christmas morning what he called an "Auto Pastoril," or Pastoral Act; — a dialogue in which four shepherds with Luke and Matthew are the interlocutors, and in which not only the eclogue forms of Enzina are used, and the manger of Bethlehem is introduced, just as that poet had introduced it, but in which Enzina's verses are freely imitated. This effort, too, pleased the queen, and again, on the authority of his son, we are told she asked Vicente for another composition, to be represented on Twelfth Night,

His Auto Pastoril.

Works of Vicente become, that Moratin, to whom it was very important to see a copy of them, and who knew whatever was to be found at Madrid and Paris, in both which places he lived long, never saw one, as is plain from No. 49 of his "Catálogo de Piezas Dramáticas." We therefore owe much to two Portuguese gentlemen, J. V. Barreto Feio and J. G. Monteiro, who published an excellent edition of Vicente's Works at Hamburg, 1834, in three volumes, 8vo, using chiefly the Göttingen copy. In this edition (Vol. I. p. 1) occurs the monologue spoken of in the text, placed first, as the son says, "por ser á *primeira* coisa, que o autor fez, *e que em Portugal representou.*" He says, the representation took place on the second night after the birth of the prince, and, this being so exactly stated, we know that the first secular dramatic exhibition in Portugal took place June 8, 1502, John III. having been born on the 6th. (Crónica de D. Manoel, Parte I. c. 62.)

1503. Her request was not one to be slighted; and, in the same way, four other pastorals followed for similar devout occasions, making, when taken together, six; all of which being in Spanish, and all religious pastorals, represented with singing and dancing before King Manuel, his queen, and other distinguished personages, they are to be regarded throughout as imitations of Juan de la Enzina's eclogues.[20]

His auto of the Sybil Cassandra.

Of these six pieces, three of which we know were written in 1502 and 1503, and the rest, probably, soon afterwards, the most curious and characteristic is the one called "The Auto of the Sibyl Cassandra," which was represented in the rich old monastery of Enxobregas, on a Christmas morning, before the queen mother. It is an eclogue in Spanish, above eight hundred lines long, and is written in the stanzas most used by Enzina. Cassandra, the heroine, devoted to a pastoral life, yet supposed to be a sort of lay prophetess who has had intimations of the approaching birth of the Saviour, enters at once on the scene, where she remains to the end, the central point, round which the other seven personages are not inartificially grouped. She has hardly avowed her resolution not to be married, when Solomon appears, making love to her, and telling her, with great simplicity, that he has arranged everything with her aunts to marry her in three days. Cassandra, nothing daunted at the annunciation, persists in the purpose of celibacy; and he, in consequence, goes out to summon these aunts to his assistance. During his absence she sings the following song:

They say, "'T is time, go, marry! go!"
But I 'll no husband! not I! no!

[20] The imitation of Enzina's poetry by Vicente is noticed by the Hamburg editors. (Vol. I. Ensaio, p. xxxviii.) Indeed, it is quite too obvious to be overlooked, and is distinctly acknowledged by one of his contemporaries, Garcia de Resende, the collector of the Portuguese Cancioneiro of 1516, who says, in some rambling verses on things that had happened in his time:

E vimos singularmente
Fazer representações
Destilo muy eloquente,
De muy novas invenções,
E feitas por Gil Vicente.
Elle foi o que inventou
Isto ca e o usou
Cõ mais graça e mais dotrina;
Posto que Joam del Enzina
O pastoril començou.

(Miscellania e Variedade de Historias, at the end of Resende's Crónica de João II., 1622, folio, f. 164.)

For I would live all carelessly,
Amidst these hills, a maiden free,
And never ask, nor anxious be,
  Of wedded weal or woe.
Yet still they say, "Go, marry! go!"
But I'll no husband! not I! no!

So, mother, think not I shall wed,
And through a tiresome life be led,
Or use, in folly's ways instead,
  What grace the heavens bestow.
Yet still they say, "Go, marry! go!"
But I'll no husband! not I! no!

The man has not been born, I ween,
Who as my husband shall be seen;
And since what frequent tricks have been
  Undoubtingly I know,
In vain they say, "Go, marry! go!"
For I'll no husband! not I! no![21]

The aunts, named Cimeria, Peresica, and Erutea, who are, in fact, the Cumæan, Persian, and Erythræan Sybils, now come in with King Solomon, and endeavor to persuade Cassandra to consent to his love; setting forth his merits and pretensions, his good looks, his good temper, and his good estate. But, as they do not succeed, Solomon, in despair, goes for her three uncles, Moses, Abraham, and Isaiah, with whom he instantly returns, all four dancing a sort of mad dance as they enter, and singing, —

She is wild! She is wild!
Who shall speak to the child?
  On the hills pass her hours,
As a shepherdess free;
  She is fair as the flowers,
She is wild as the sea!

21 Dicen que me case yo;
No quiero marido, no!
Mas quiero vivir segura
Nesta sierra á mi soltura,
Que no estar en ventura
Si casaré bien ó no.
Dicen que me case yo;
No quieró marido, no!

Madre, no seré casada,
Por no ver vida cansada,
O quizá mal empleada
La gracia que Dios me diô.
Dicen que me case yo;
No quiero marido, no!

No será ni es nacido
Tal para ser mi marido;
Y pues que tengo sabido
Que la flor yo me la so,
Dicen que me case yo;
No quiero marido, no!
(Gil Vicente, Obras, Hamburgo, 1834, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 42.)

She is wild ! She is wild !
Who shall speak to the child ?[22]

The three uncles first endeavor to bribe their niece into a more teachable temper ; but, failing in that, Moses undertakes to show her, from his own history of the creation, that marriage is an honorable sacrament, and that she ought to enter into it. Cassandra replies, and, in the course of a rather jesting discussion with Abraham about good-tempered husbands, intimates that she is aware the Saviour is soon to be born of a virgin ; an augury which the three Sibyls, her aunts, prophetically confirm, and to which Cassandra then adds that she herself has hopes to be this Saviour's mother. The uncles, shocked at the intimation, treat her as a crazed woman, and a theological and mystical discussion follows, which is carried on by all present, till a curtain is suddenly withdrawn, and the manger of Bethlehem and the child are discovered, with four angels, who sing a hymn in honor of his birth. The rest of the drama is taken up with devotions suited to the occasion, and it ends with the following graceful *cancion* to the Madonna, sung and danced by the author, as well as the other performers :

The maid is gracious all and fair ;
How beautiful beyond compare !

Say, sailor, bold and free,
That dwell'st upon the sea,
If ships or sail or star
So winning are.

And say, thou gallant knight,
That donn'st thine armor bright,
If steed, or arms, or war,
So winning are.

[22] Traz Salomaõ, Esaias, e Moyses, e Abrahaõ cantando todos quatro de folia á cantiga seguinte :

Que sañosa está la niña !
Ay Dios, quien le hablaria ?

En la sierra anda la niña
Su ganado á repastar ;
Hermosa como las flores,
Sañosa como la mar.

Sañosa como la mar
Está la niña :
Ay Dios, quien le hablaria ?
Vicente, Obras, Tom. I. p. 46.

And say, thou shepherd hind,
That bravest storm and wind,
If flocks, or vales, or hills afar,
So winning are.[23]

And so ends this incongruous drama;[24] a strange union of the spirit of an ancient mystery and of a modern *vaudeville,* but not without poetry, and not more incongruous or more indecorous than the similar dramas which, at the same period, and in other countries, found a place in the princely halls of the most cultivated, and were listened to with edification in monasteries and cathedrals by the most religious.

Vicente, however, did not stop here. He took counsel of his success, and wrote dramas which, without skill in the construction of their plots, and without any idea of conforming to rules of propriety or taste, are yet quite in advance of what was known on the Spanish or Portuguese theatre at the time. Such is the "Comedia," as it is called, of "The Widower," — *O Viudo,* — which was

23 Muy graciosa es la doncella:
Como es bella y hermosa!

Digas tú el marinero,
Que en las naves vivias,
Si la nave ó la vela ó la estrella
Es tan bella.

Digas tú, el caballero,
Que las armas vestias,
Si el caballo ó las armas ó la guerra
Es tan bella.

Digas tú, el pastorcico,
Que el ganadico guardas,
Si el ganado ó las valles ó la sierra
Es tan bella.

Vicente, Obras, Tom. I. p. 61.

24 It is in the Hamburg edition (Tom. I. pp. 36–62); but, though it properly ends, as has been said, with the song to the Madonna, there is afterwards, by way of *envoi,* the following *vilancete* ("*por despedida ó vilancete seguinte*"), which is curious as showing how the theatre was, from the first, made to serve for immediate excitement and political purposes; since the *vilancete* is evidently intended to stir up the noble company present to some warlike enterprise in which their services were wanted, probably against the Moors of Africa, as King Manoel had no other wars.

To the field! To the field!
Cavaliers of emprise!
Angels pure from the skies
Come to help us and shield.
To the field! To the field!
With armor all bright,
They speed down their road,
On man call, on God,
To succor the right.
To the field! To the field!
Cavaliers of emprise!
Angels pure from the skies
Come to help us and shield.
To the field! To the field!

A la guerra,
Caballeros esforzados;
Pues los angeles sagrados
A socorro son en tierra.
A la guerra!
Con armas resplandecientes
Vienen del cielo volando,
Dios y hombre apelidando
En socorro de las gentes.
A la guerra,
Caballeros esmerados;
Pues los angeles sagrados
A socorro son en tierra.
A la guerra!

Vicente, Obras, Tom. I. p. 62.

A similar tone is more fully heard in the spirited little drama entitled "The Exhortation to War," performed 1513.

acted before the court in 1514.[25] It opens with the grief of the widower, a merchant of Burgos, on the loss of an affectionate and faithful wife, for which he is consoled, first by a friar, who uses religious considerations, and afterwards by a gossiping neighbor, who, being married to a shrew, assures his friend that, after all, it is not probable his loss is very great. The two daughters of the disconsolate widower, however, join earnestly with their father in his mourning; but their sorrows are mitigated by the appearance of a noble lover who conceals himself in the disguise of a herdsman, in order to be able to approach them. His love is very sincere and loyal; but, unhappily, he loves them both, and hardly addresses either separately. His trouble is much increased and brought to a crisis by the father, who comes in and announces that one of his daughters is to be married immediately, and the other probably in the course of a week. In his despair, the noble lover calls on death, but insists that as long as he lives he will continue to serve them both faithfully and truly. At this juncture, and without any warning, as it is impossible that he should marry both, he proposes to the two ladies to draw lots for him; a proposition which they modify by begging the Prince John, then a child twelve years old, and among the audience, to make a decision on their behalf. The prince decides in favor of the elder, which seems to threaten new anxieties and troubles, till a brother of the disguised lover appears and consents to marry the remaining lady. Their father, at first disconcerted, soon gladly accedes to the double arrangement, and the drama ends with the two weddings, and the exhortations of the priest who performs the ceremony.

His Viudo.

This, indeed, is not a plot, but it is an approach to one. The "Rubena," acted in 1521, comes still nearer,[26] and so do "Don Duardos," founded on the romance of "Pal-

[25] Obras, Hamburgo, 1834, 8vo, Tom. II. pp. 68, etc.

[26] The "Rubena" is the first of the plays called, — it is difficult to tell why, — by Vicente or his editor, *Comedias*; and is partly in Spanish, partly in Portuguese. It is among those prohibited in the Index Expurgatorius of 1667 (p. 464), — a prohibition renewed down to 1790.

merin," and "Amadis of Gaul,"[27] founded on the romance of the same name, both of which bring a large number of personages on the stage, and, if they have not a proper dramatic action, yet give, in much of their structure, intimations of the Spanish heroic drama, as it was arranged half a century later. On the other hand, the "Templo d' Apollo,"[28] acted in 1526, in honor of the marriage of the Portuguese princess to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, belongs to the same class with the allegorical plays subsequently produced in Spain: the three *Autos* on the three ships that carried souls to Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, evidently gave Lope de Vega the idea and some of the materials for one of his early moral plays;[29] and the *Auto* in which Faith explains to the shepherds the origin and mysteries of Christianity[30] might, with slight alterations, have served for one of the processions of the Corpus Christi at Madrid, in the time of Calderon. All of them, it is true, are

Other dramas of Vicente.

27 These two long plays, wholly in Spanish, are the first two of those announced as "Tragicomedias" in Book III. of the Works of Vicente. No reason that I know of can be given for this precise arrangement and name.

28 This, too, is one of the "Tragicomedias," and is chiefly, but not wholly, in Spanish.

29 The first of these three *Autos*, the "Barca do Inferno," was represented, in 1517, before the queen, Maria of Castile, in her sick chamber, when she was suffering under the dreadful disease of which she soon afterwards died. Like the "Barca do Purgatorio" (1518), it is in Portuguese; but the remaining *Auto*, the "Barca da Gloria" (1519), is in Spanish. The last two were represented in the royal chapel. The moral play of Lope de Vega which was suggested by them is the one called "The Voyage of the Soul," and is found in the First Book of his "Peregrino en su Patria." The opening of Vicente's play resembles remarkably the setting forth of the Demonio on his voyage in Lope, besides that the general idea of the two fictions is almost the same. On the other side of the account, Vicente shows himself frequently familiar with the old Spanish literature. For instance, in one of his Portuguese *Farças*, called "Dos Fisicos" (Tom. III. p. 323), we have—

En el mes era de Mayo,
Vespora de Navidad,
Cuando canta la cigarra, etc.;

plainly a parody of the well known and beautiful old Spanish ballad beginning—

Por el mes era de Mayo,
Quando hace la calor,
Quando canta la calandria, etc.,

a ballad which, so far as I know, can be traced no further back than the ballad-book of 1555, or, at any rate, that of 1550, while here we have a distinct allusion to it before 1536, giving a curious proof how widely this old popular poetry was carried about by the memories of the people before it was written down and printed, and how much it was used for dramatic purposes from the earliest period of theatrical compositions.

30 This "Auto da Fé," as it is strangely called, is in Spanish (Obras, Tom. I. pp. 64, etc.); but there is one in Portuguese, represented before John III. (1527), which is still more strangely called "Breve Summario da Historia de Deos," the action beginning with Adam and Eve, and ending with the Saviour. (Ibid., I. pp. 306, etc.)

extremely rude; but nearly all contain elements of the coming drama, and some of them, like "Don Duardos," which is longer than a full-length play ordinarily is, are quite long enough to show what was their dramatic tendency. But the real power of Gil Vicente does not lie in the structure or the interest of his stories. It lies in his poetry, of which, especially in the lyrical portions of his dramas, there is much.[31]

His chief merits.

[31] Joam de Barros, the historian, in his dialogue on the Portuguese Language (Varias Obras, Lisboa, 1785, 12mo, p. 222), praises Vicente for the purity of his thoughts and style, and contrasts him proudly with the Celestina; "a book," he adds, "to which the Portuguese language has no parallel."

CHAPTER XV.

DRAMA CONTINUED. — ESCRIVA. — VILLALOBOS. — QUESTION DE AMOR. — TORRES NAHARRO, IN ITALY. — HIS EIGHT PLAYS. — HIS DRAMATIC THEORY. — DIVISION OF HIS PLAYS, AND THEIR PLOTS. — THE TROFEA. — THE HYMENEA. — INTRIGUING DRAMA. — BUFFOON. — CHARACTER AND PROBABLE EFFECTS OF NAHARRO'S PLAYS. — STATE OF THE THEATRE AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

WHILE Vicente, in Portugal, was thus giving an impulse to Spanish dramatic literature, which, considering the intimate connection of the two countries and their courts, can hardly have been unfelt in Spain at the time, and was certainly recognized there afterwards, scarcely anything was done in Spain itself. During the five-and-twenty years that followed the first appearance of Juan de la Enzina, hardly any other dramatic poet seems to have been encouraged or demanded. He was sufficient to satisfy the rare wants of his royal and princely patrons; and, as we have seen, in both countries, the drama continued to be a courtly amusement, confined to a few persons of the highest rank. The commander Escriva, who lived at this time, and is the author of a few beautiful verses found in the oldest Cancioneros,[1] wrote,

Drama not encouraged.

[1] His touching verses, "Ven, muerte, tan escondida," so often cited, and at least once in Don Quixote (Parte II. c. 38), are found as far back as the Cancionero of 1511; but I am not aware that Escriva's "Quexa de su Amiga" can be found earlier than in the Cancionero, Sevilla, 1535, where it occurs, f. 175. b, etc. He himself, no doubt, flourished about the year 1500–1510. But I should not, probably, have alluded to him here, if he had not been noticed in connection with the early Spanish theatre, by Martinez de la Rosa (Obras, Paris, 1827, 12mo, Tom. II. p. 336). Other poems, written in dialogue, by Cartagena, and by Puerto Carrero, occur in the Cancioneros Generales, but they can hardly be regarded as dramatic; and Clemencin twice notices Pedro de Lerma as one of the early contributors to the Spanish drama; but he is not mentioned by Moratin, Antonio, Pellicer, or any of the other authors who would naturally be consulted in relation to such a point. Don Quixote, ed. Clemencin, Tom. IV. p. viii., and Memorias de la Academia de Historia, Tom. VI. p. 406.

indeed, a dialogue, partly in prose and partly in verse, in which he introduces several interlocutors, and brings a complaint to the god of Love against his lady. But the whole is an allegory, occasionally graceful and winning from its style, but obviously not susceptible of representation; so that there is no reason to suppose it had any influence on a class of compositions already somewhat advanced. A similar remark may be added about a translation of the "Amphitryon" of Plautus, made into terse Spanish prose by Francisco de Villalobos, physician to Ferdinand the Catholic and Charles the Fifth, which was first printed in 1515, but which it is not at all probable was ever acted.[2] These, however, are the only attempts made in Spain or Portugal before 1517, except those of Enzina and Vicente, which need to be referred to at all.

But in 1517, or a little earlier, a new movement was felt in the difficult beginnings of the Spanish drama; and it is somewhat singular that, as the last came from Portugal, the present one came from Italy. It came, however, from two Spaniards. The first of them is the anonymous author of the "Question of Love," a fiction to be noticed hereafter, which was finished at Ferrara in 1512, and which contains an eclogue of respectable poetical merit, that seems undoubtedly to have been represented before the court of Naples.[3]

Anonymous eclogue.

The other, a person of more consequence in the history of the Spanish drama, is Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, born at Torres, near Badajoz, on the borders of Portugal, who, after he had been for some time a captive in Algiers, was redeemed, and visited Rome, hoping to find favor at the court of Leo the Tenth. This must have been after 1513, and was, of course, at the

Bartolomé de Torres Naharro.

[2] Three editions of it are cited by L. F. Moratin (Catálogo, No. 20), the earliest of which is in 1515. My copy, however, is of neither of them. It is dated Çaragoça, 1544 (folio), and is at the end of the "Problemas" and of the other works of Villalobos, which also precede it in the editions of 1543 and 1574. The same play, "The Amphitryon," was translated, before 1530, by Fern. Perez de Oliva (who will be noticed in chapters VII. and VIII.), and Gayangos says that in 1554 an anonymous translation of it in prose appeared at Toledo, in which the author says he availed himself of the assistance of both his predecessors.

[3] It fills about twenty six pages and six hundred lines, chiefly in octave stanzas, in the edition of Antwerp, 1576, and contains a detailed account of the circumstances attending its representation.

time wnen Juan de la Enzina resided there. But Naharro, by a satire against the vices of the court, made himself obnoxious at Rome, and fled to Naples, where he lived for some time under the protection of the noble-minded Fabricio Colonna, and where, at last, we lose sight of him. He died in poverty.[4]

His works, first published by himself at Naples, in 1517, and dedicated to a noble Spaniard, Don Fernando Davalos, a lover of letters,[5] who had married Vittoria Colonna, the poetess, are entitled "Propaladia," or "The Firstlings of his Genius."[6] They consist of satires, epistles, ballads, a Lamentation for King Ferdinand, who died in 1516, and some other miscellaneous poetry; but chiefly of eight plays, which he calls "Comedias," and which fill almost the whole volume.[7] He was well situated for making an attempt to advance the drama, and partly succeeded in it. There was, at the time he wrote, a great literary movement in Italy, especially at the court of Rome. The representations of plays, he tells us, were much resorted to,[8] and, though he may not have known it, Trissino had, in 1515, written the first regular tragedy in the Italian language, and thus given an impulse to dramatic literature, which it never afterwards entirely lost.[9]

His Propaladia.

[4] This notice of Naharro is taken from the slight accounts of him contained in the letter of Juan Baverio Mesinerio prefixed to the "Propaladia" (Sevilla, 1573, 18mo), as a life of its author, and from the article in Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. I. p. 202. A poor "Lamentacion" on him is to be found in the Floresta of Diego Ramirez Pagan, 1562, and is copied by Gayangos in a note (I. 530); but it adds nothing to our real knowledge of Naharro.

[5] Antonio (Preface to Biblioteca Nova, Sec. 29) says he bred young men to become soldiers by teaching them to read romances of chivalry.

[6] "Intituléalas" (he says, "Al Letor") "Propaladia a Prothon, quod est primum, et Pallade, id est, primæ res Palladis, a differencia de las que segundariamente y con mas maduro estudio podrian succeder." They were, therefore, probably written when he was a young man.

[7] I have never seen the first edition, 1517, which is sometimes said to have been printed at Naples (Ebert, etc.), and sometimes (Moratin, etc.) at Rome; but, as it was dedicated to one of its author's Neapolitan patrons, and as Mesinerio, who seems to have been a personal acquaintance of its author, implies that it was, *at some time*, printed at Naples, I have assigned its *first* edition to that city. Editions appeared at Seville in 1520, 1526, 1533, and 1545; one at Toledo, 1535; one at Madrid, 1573; and one without date, at Antwerp. I have used the editions of Seville, 1533, small quarto, and Madrid, 1573, small 18mo; the latter being expurgated, and having "Lazarillo de Tormes" at the end. There were but six plays in the early editions; the "Calamita" and "Aquilana" being added afterwards.

[8] "Viendo assi mismo todo el mundo en fiestas de Comedias y destas cosas," is part of his apology to Don Fernando Davalos for asking leave to dedicate them to him.

[9] Trissino's "Sofonisba" was written as early as 1515, though not printed till later.

The eight plays of Naharro, however, do not afford much proof of a familiarity with antiquity, or of a desire to follow ancient rules or examples; but their author gives us a little theory of his own upon the subject of the drama, which is not without good sense. Horace, he says, requires five acts to a play, and he thinks this reasonable; though he looks upon the pauses they make rather as convenient resting-places than anything else, and calls them, not acts, but "Jornadas," or days.[10] As to the number of persons, he would have not less than six, nor more than twelve; and as to that sense of propriety which refuses to introduce materials into the subject that do not belong to it, or to permit the characters to talk and act inconsistently, he holds it to be as indispensable as the rudder to a ship. This is all very well.

His theory of the drama.

Besides this, his plays are all in verse, and all open with a sort of prologue, which he calls "Introyto," generally written in a rustic and amusing style, asking the favor and attention of the audience, and giving hints concerning the subject of the piece that is to follow.

His dramas.

But when we come to the dramas themselves, though we find a decided advance, in some respects, beyond anything that had preceded them, in others we find great rudeness and extravagance, and little regard paid to his own theories. Their subjects are very various. One of them, the "Soldadesca," is on the Papal recruiting service at Rome. Another, the "Tinelaria," or Servants' Dining-Hall, is on such riots as were likely to happen in the disorderly service of a cardinal's household; full of revelry and low life. Another, "La Jacinta," gives us the story of a lady who lives at her castle on the road to Rome, where she violently detains sundry passengers, and chooses a husband among them. And of two others, one is on the adventures of a

Their subjects and treatment.

10 "Jornadas," days'-work, days'-journey, etc. The old French mysteries were divided into *journeés*, or portions each of which could conveniently be represented in the time given by the Church to such entertainments on a single day. One of the mysteries in this way required forty days for its exhibition.

disguised prince, who comes to the court of a fabulous King of Leon, and wins his daughter after the fashion of the old romances of chivalry;[11] and the other is on the adventures of a child stolen in infancy, which involve disguises in more humble life.[12]

How various were the modes in which these subjects were thrown into action and verse, and, indeed, how different was the character of his different dramas, may be best understood by a somewhat ampler notice of the two not yet mentioned.

His Trofea.

The first of these, the "Trofea," is in honor of King Manuel of Portugal, and the discoveries and conquests that were made in India and Africa under his auspices; but it is very meagre and poor. After the Prologue, which fills above three hundred verses, Fame enters in the first act and announces that the great king has in his most holy wars gained more lands than are described by Ptolemy; whereupon Ptolemy appears instantly, by especial permission of Pluto, from the regions of torment, and denies the fact; but, after a discussion, is compelled to admit it, though with a saving clause for his own honor. In the second act two shepherds come upon the stage to sweep it for the king's appearance. They make themselves very merry at first with the splendor about them, and one of them sits on the throne, and imitates grotesquely the curate of his village; but they soon quarrel and continue in bad humor, till a royal page interferes, and compels them to go on and arrange the apartment. The whole of the third act is taken up with the single speech of an interpreter, bringing in twenty Eastern and African kings who are unable to speak for themselves, but avow, through his very tedious harangue, their allegiance to the crown of Portugal; to all which the king makes no word of reply. The next act is absurdly filled with a royal reception of four shepherds, who bring him presents of a fox, a lamb, an eagle, and a cock, which they explain with some humor and abundance of allegory; but to all which he makes as little reply as he did to the proffered fealty of the twenty

11 La Aquilana. 12 La Calamita.

heathen kings. In the fifth and last act, Apollo gives verses, in praise of the king, queen, and prince, to Fame, who distributes copies to the audience; but, refusing them to one of the shepherds, has a riotous dispute with him. The shepherd tauntingly offers Fame to spread the praises of King Manuel through the world as well as she does, if she will but lend him her wings. The goddess consents. He puts them on and attempts to fly, but falls headlong on the stage, with which poor practical jest and a *villancico* the piece ends.

His Hymenea.

The other drama, called "Hymenéa," is better, and gives intimations of what became later the foundations of the national theatre. Its "Introyto," or prologue, is coarse, but not without wit, especially in those parts which, according to the peculiar toleration of the times, were allowed to make free with religion, if they but showed sufficient reverence for the Church. The story is entirely invented, and may be supposed to have passed in any city of Spain. The scene opens in front of the house of Febea, the heroine, before daylight, where Hymeneo, the hero, after making known his love for the lady, arranges with his two servants to give her a serenade the next night. When he is gone the servants discuss their own position, and Boreas, one of them, avows his desperate love for Doresta, the heroine's maid; a passion which, through the rest of the piece, becomes the running caricature of his master's. But at this moment the Marquis, a brother of Febea, comes with his servants into the street, and, by the escape of the others, who fly immediately, has little doubt that there has been love-making about the house, and goes away determined to watch more carefully. Thus ends the first act, which might furnish materials for many a Spanish comedy of the seventeenth century.

In the second act Hymeneo enters with his servants and musicians, and they sing a *cancion* which reminds us of the sonnet in Molière's "Misantrope," and a *villancico* which is but little better. Febea then appears in the balcony, and after a conversation which, for its substance, and often for its graceful manner, might have been in Cal-

deron's "Dar la Vida por su Dama," she promises to receive her lover the next night. When she is gone the servants and the master confer a little together, the master showing himself very generous in his happiness; but they all escape at the approach of the Marquis, whose suspicions are thus fully confirmed, and who is with difficulty restrained by his page from attacking the offenders at once.

The next act is devoted entirely to the loves of the servants. It is amusing, from its caricature of the troubles and trials of their masters, but does not advance the action at all. The fourth, however, brings the hero and lover into the lady's house, leaving his attendants in the street, who confess their cowardice to one another, and agree to run away if the Marquis appears. This happens immediately. They escape, but leave a cloak, which betrays who they are, and the Marquis remains undisputed master of the ground at the end of the act.

The last act opens without delay. The Marquis, offended in the nicest point of Castilian honor, — the very point on which the plots of so many later Spanish dramas turn, — resolves at once to put both of the guilty parties to death, though their offence is no greater than that of having been secretly in the same house together. The lady does not deny her brother's right, but enters into a long discussion with him about it, part of which is touching and effective, but most of it very tedious; in the midst of all which Hymeneo presents himself, and after explaining who he is and what are his intentions, and especially after admitting that, under the circumstances of the case, the Marquis might justly have killed his sister, the whole is arranged for a double wedding of masters and servants, and closes with a spirited *villancico* in honor of Love and his victories.

The two pieces are very different, and mark the extremes of the various experiments Naharro tried in order to produce a dramatic effect. "As to the kinds of dramas," he says, "it seems to me that two are sufficient for our Castilian language; dramas founded on

knowledge, and dramas founded on fancy."[13] The "Trofea," no doubt, was intended by him to belong to the first class. Its tone is that of compliment to Manuel, the really great king then reigning in Portugal; and from a passage in the third act it is not unlikely that it was represented in Rome before the Portuguese ambassador, the venerable Tristan d' Acuña. But the rude and buffoon shepherds, whose dialogue fills so much of the slight and poor action, show plainly that he was neither unacquainted with Enzina and Vicente, nor unwilling to intimate them; while the rest of the drama — the part that is supposed to contain historical facts — is, as we have seen, still worse. The "Hymenea," on the other hand, has a story of considerable interest, announcing the intriguing plot which became a principal characteristic of the Spanish theatre afterwards. It has even the "Gracioso," or Droll Servant, who makes love to the heroine's maid; a character which is also found in Naharro's "Serafina," but which Lope de Vega above a century afterwards claimed as if invented by himself.[14]

His theories.

What is more singular, the Hymenea approaches to a fulfilment of the requisitions of the unities, for it has but one proper action, which is the marriage of Febea; it does not extend beyond the period of twenty-four hours; and the whole passes in the street before the house of the lady, unless, indeed, the fifth act passes within the house, which is doubtful.[15] The whole, too, is founded on the national manners, and preserves the national costume and character. The best parts, in general, are the humorous; but there are graceful passages between the lovers, and touching passages between the brother and sister. The

[13] "Comedia á noticia," he calls them, in the Address to the Reader, and "comedia á fantasia;" and explains the first to be "de cosa nota y vista en realidad," illustrating the remark by his plays on recruiting and on the riotous life of a cardinal's servants. His *comedias* are extremely different in length; one of them extending to about twenty-six hundred lines, which would be very long, if represented, and another hardly reaching twelve hundred. All, however, are divided into five *jornadas*.

[14] In the Dedication of "La Francesilla" in his Comedias, Tom. XIII. Madrid, 1620, 4to.

[15] The "Aquilana," absurd as its story is, approaches, perhaps, even nearer to absolute regularity in its form.

parody of the servants, Boreas and Doresta, on the passion of the hero and heroine, is spirited; and in the first scene between them we have the following dialogue, which might be transferred with effect to not a few plays of Calderon:

Boreas. O, would to heaven, my lady dear,
That, at the instant I first looked on thee,
Thy love had equalled mine!
Doresta. Well! that 's not bad!
But still you 're not a bone for me to pick.[16]
Boreas. Make trial of me. Bid me do my best,
In humble service of my love to thee;
So shalt thou put me to the proof, and know
If what I say accord with what I feel.
Doresta. Were my desire to bid thee serve quite clear,
Perchance thy offers would not be so prompt.
Boreas. O lady, look'ee, that 's downright abuse!
Doresta. Abuse? How 's that? Can words and ways so kind,
And full of courtesy, be called abuse?
Boreas. I 've done.
I dare not speak. Your answers are so sharp,
They pierce my very bowels through and through.
Doresta. Well, by my faith, it grieves my heart to see
That thou so mortal art. Dost think to die
Of this disease?
Boreas. 'T would not be wonderful.
Doresta. But still, my gallant Sir, perhaps you 'll find
That they who give the suffering take it too.
Boreas. In sooth, I ask no better than to do
As do my fellows, — give and take; but now
I take, fair dame, a thousand hurts,
And still give none.
Doresta. How know'st thou that?

And so she continues, till she comes to a plenary confession of being no less hurt, or in love, herself, than he is.[17]

[16] This is an old proverb, "A otro can con esse huesso." It occurs more than once in Don Quixote. A little lower we have another, "Ya las toman do las dan," — "Where they give, they take." Naharro is accustomed to render his humorous dialogue savory by introducing such old proverbs frequently.

[17] *Boreas.* Plugiera, Señora, a Dios,
En aquel punto que os vi,
Que quisieras tanto a mi,
Como luego quise a vos.
Doresta. Bueno es esso;
A otro can con esse huesso!
Boreas. Ensayad vos de mandarme
Quanto yo podré hazer,
Pues os desseo seruir:
Si quiera porqu' en prouarme,

All the plays of Naharro have a versification and diction remarkably fluent and harmonious for the period in which he wrote,[18] and nearly all of them have passages of easy and natural dialogue, and of spirited lyrical poetry. But several are very gross; two are absurdly composed in different languages, — one of them in four, and the other in six;[19] and all contain abundant proof, in their structure and tone, of the rudeness of the age that produced them. In consequence of their little respect for the Church, they were soon forbidden by the Inquisition in Spain.[20]

Character of Naharro's dramas.

That they were represented in Italy before they were printed,[21] and that they were so far circulated before their

Conozcays si mi querer
Concierta con mi dezir.
Doresta. Si mis ganas fuessen ciertas
De quereros yo mandar,
Quiça de vuestro hablar
Saldrian menos offertas.
Boreas. Si mirays,
Señora, mal me tratais.
Doresta. Como puedo maltrataros
Con palabras tan honestas
Y por tan cortesas mañas?
Boreas. Como? ya no osso hablaros,
Que teneys ciertas respuestas
Que lastiman las entrañas.
Doresta. Por mi fe tengo manzilla
De veros assi mortal:
Morireys de aquesse mal?
Boreas. No seria maravilla.
Doresta. Pues, galan,
Ya las toman do las dan.
Boreas. Por mi fe, que holgaria,
Si, como otros mis yguales,
Pudiesse dar y tomar:
Mas veo, Señora mia,
Que recibo dos mil males
Y ninguno puedo dar.
Propaladia, Madrid, 1573, 18mo, f. 222.

[18] There is a good deal of art in Naharro's verse. The "Hymenea," for instance, is written in twelve-line stanzas; the eleventh being a *pie quebrado*, or broken line. The "Jacinta" is in twelve-line stanzas, without the *pie quebrado*. The "Calamita" is in *quintillas*, connected by the *pie quebrado*. The "Aquilana" is in *quartetas*, connected in the same way; and so on. But the number of feet in each of his lines is not always exact, nor are the rhymes always good, though, on the whole, a harmonious result is generally produced.

[19] He partly apologizes for this in his Preface to the Reader, by saying that Italian words are introduced into the *comedias* because of the audiences in Italy. This will do, as far as the Italian is concerned; but what is to be said for the other languages that are used? In the *Introyto* to the "Serafina," he makes a jest of the whole, telling the audience, —

But you must all keep wide awake,
Or else in vain you'll undertake
To comprehend the differing speech,
Which here is quite distinct for each; —
Four languages, as you will hear,
Castilian with Valencian clear,
And Latin and Italian too; —
So take care lest they trouble you.

No doubt his *comedias* were exhibited before only a few persons, who were able to understand the various languages they contained, and found them only the more amusing for this variety.

[20] It is singular, however, that a very severe passage on the Pope and the clergy at Rome, in the "Jacinta," was not struck out, ed. 1573, f. 256. b; — a proof, among many others, how capriciously and carelessly the Inquisition acted in such matters. In the Index of 1667 (p. 114) only the "Aquilana" is prohibited.

[21] As the question, whether Naharro's plays were acted in Italy or not, has been angrily discussed between Lampillas (Ensayo, Madrid, 1789, 4to, Tom. VI. pp. 160–167) and Signorelli (Storia dei Teatri, Napoli, 1813, 8vo, Tom. VI. pp. 171, etc.), in consequence of a rash passage in Nasarre's Prólogo to the Plays of Cervantes (Madrid, 1749, 4to), I will copy the original phrase of Naharro himself, which had escaped all

author gave them to the press,[22] as to be already in some degree beyond his own control, we know on his own authority. He intimates, too, that a good many of the clergy were present at the representation of at least one of them.[23] But it is not likely that any of his plays were acted, except in the same way with Vicente's and Enzina's; that is, before a moderate number of persons in some great man's house,[24] at Naples, and perhaps at Rome. They, therefore, did not probably produce much effect at first on the condition of the drama, so far as it was then developed in Spain. Their influence came in later, and through the press, when four editions, beginning with that of 1520, appeared in Seville alone in twenty-five years, curtailed, indeed, and expurgated, in the last, but still giving specimens of dramatic composition much in advance of anything then produced in the country.

How they were acted.

But though men like Juan de la Enzina, Gil Vicente, and Naharro, had turned their thoughts towards dramatic composition, they seem to have had no idea of founding a popular national drama. For this we must look to the next period; since, as late as the end of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and even in the first years of that of Charles the Fifth, there is no trace of such a theatre in Spain.

No national drama yet founded.

the combatants, and in which he says he used Italian words in his plays, "aviendo respeto *al lugar*, y á las personas, á quien *se recitaron*." Neither of these learned persons knew even that the first edition of the "Propaladia" was probably printed in Italy, and that one early edition was certainly printed there.

[22] "Las mas destas obrillas andavan ya fuera de mi obediencia y voluntad."

[23] In the opening of the *Introyto* to the "Trofea."

[24] I am quite aware that, in the important passage already cited from Mendez Silva, on the first acting of plays, in 1492, we have the words, "Año de 1492 comenzaron en Castilla las compañias á representar *publicamente* comedias de Juan de la Enzina;" but what the word *publicamente* was intended to mean is shown by the words that follow: "*festejando con ellas á D. Fadrique de Toledo, Enriquez Almirante de Castilla, y á Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza segundo Duque del Infantado.*" So that the representations in the halls and chapels of these great houses were accounted *public* representations.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROVENÇAL LITERATURE IN SPAIN. — PROVENCE. — ITS BARBARIAN CONQUERORS. — ORIGIN OF THE PROVENÇAL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. — BARCELONA. — DIALECT OF CATALONIA. — ARAGON. — TROUBADOUR POETS IN CATALONIA AND ARAGON. — WAR OF THE ALBIGENSES. — PETER THE SECOND. — JAMES THE CONQUEROR AND HIS CHRONICLE. — RAMON MUNTANER AND HIS CHRONICLE. — DECAY OF POETRY IN PROVENCE, AND DECAY OF PROVENÇAL POETRY IN SPAIN. — CATALONIAN DIALECT.

PROVENÇAL literature appeared in Spain as early as any portion of the Castilian, with which we have thus far been exclusively occupied. Its introduction was natural, and, being intimately connected with the history of political power in both Provence and Spain, can be at once explained, at least so far as to account for its prevalence in the quarter of the Peninsula where, during three centuries, it predominated, and for its large influence throughout the rest of the country, both at that time and afterwards.

Provence. Provence — or, in other words, that part of the South of France which extends from Italy to Spain, and which originally obtained its name in consequence of the consideration it enjoyed as an early and most important province of Rome — was singularly fortunate, during the latter period of the Middle Ages, in its exemption from many of the troubles of those troubled times.[1] While the great movement of the Northern nations lasted, Provence was disturbed chiefly by the Alani, Vandali, and Suevi, fierce tribes who soon passed onward to Spain, leaving few traces of their character behind them; and by the Visigoths, the mildest of all the Teutonic invaders,

[1] F. Diez, Troubadours, Zwickau, 1826, 8vo, p. 5. "Breviterque Italia veriùs quam Provincia," — *rather another Italy than a Province*, — says Pliny the elder when expressing his great admiration for its race of men, its culture, and its wealth. (Hist. Nat., Lib. III. c. 5, Ed. Franzii, 1778, Tom. III. p. 548.)

who did not reach the south of France till they had been long resident in Italy, and, when they came, established themselves at once as the permanent masters of that tempting country.[2]

Greatly favored in this comparative quiet, which, though sometimes broken by internal dissension, or by the ineffectual incursions of their new Arab neighbors, was nevertheless such as was hardly known elsewhere, and favored no less by a soil and climate almost without rivals in the world, the civilization and refinement of Provence advanced faster than those of any other portion of Europe. From the year 879, a large part of it was fortunately constituted into an independent government; and, what was very remarkable, it continued under the same family till 1092, two hundred and thirteen years.[3] During this second period, its territories were again much spared from the confusion that almost constantly pressed their borders and threatened their tranquillity; for the troubles that then shook the North of Italy did not cross the Alps and the Var; the Moorish power, so far from making new aggressions, maintained itself with difficulty in Catalonia; and the wars and convulsions in the north of France, from the time of the first successors of Charlemagne to that of Philip Augustus, flowed rather in the opposite direction, and furnished, at a safe distance, occupation for tempers too fierce to endure idleness.

Condition of Provence.

In the course of these two centuries, a language sprang up in the South and along the Mediterranean, compounded, according to the proportions of their power and refinement, from that spoken by the Northern tribes and from the degraded Latin of the country, and slowly and quietly took the place of both. With this new language appeared, as noiselessly, about the middle of the tenth century, a new literature, suited to the climate, the age, and the manners that produced it, and one which, for nearly three hundred years, seemed to be advancing towards a grace

[2] Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, Monarquia de España, Libro I. Titulo iii. cap. 1 and 2. Ed. 1770. Fol., Tom. I. pp. 53, 55.

[3] Sismondi, Histoire des Français, Paris, 1821, 8vo, Tom. III. pp. 239, etc.

and refinement such as had not been known since the fall of the Roman Empire.

Thus things continued under twelve princes of barbarian blood, who make little show in the wars of their times, but who seem to have governed their states with a moderation and gentleness not to have been expected amidst the general disturbance of the world. This family became extinct, in the male branch, in 1092; and in 1113 the crown of Provence was transferred, by the marriage of its heir, to Raymond Berenger, the third Count of Barcelona.[4] The Provençal poets, many of whom were noble by birth, and all of whom, as a class, were attached to the court and its aristocracy, naturally followed their liege lady, in considerable numbers, from Arles to Barcelona, and willingly established themselves in her new capital, under a prince full of knightly accomplishments, and yet not disinclined to the arts of peace.

Connection of Provence with Barcelona.

Nor was the change for them a great one. The Pyrenees made then, as they make now, no very serious difference between the languages spoken on their opposite declivities; similarity of pursuits had long before induced a similarity of manners in the population of Barcelona and Marseilles; and if the Provençals had somewhat more of gentleness and culture, the Catalonians, from the share they had taken in the Moorish wars, possessed a more strongly-marked character, and one developed in more manly proportions.[5] At the very commencement of the twelfth century, therefore, we may fairly consider a Provençal refinement to have been introduced into the north-eastern corner of Spain; and it is worth notice that this is just about the period when, as we have already seen, the ultimately national school of poetry began to show itself in quite the opposite corner of the Peninsula, amidst the mountains of Biscay and Asturias.[6]

[4] E. A. Schmidt, Geschichte Aragoniens im Mittelalter, Leipzig, 1828, 8vo, p. 92.

[5] Barcelona was a prize often fought for successfully by Moors and Christians, but it was finally rescued from the misbelievers in 985 or 986. (Zurita, Anales de Aragon, Lib. I. c. 9.) Whatever relates to its early power and glory may be found in Capmany (Memorias de la Antigua Ciudad de Barcelona, Madrid, 1779–1792, 4 tom. 4to), and especially in the curious documents and notes in Tom. II. and IV.

[6] The members of the French Academy, in their continuation of the Benedictine

his father, gave to Saragossa and Barcelona something of the poetical grace that had been so attractive at Arles and Marseillés. But both these princes were obliged to protect themselves from the suspicion of sharing the heresy with which so many of the Troubadours they sheltered were infected; and James, in 1233, among other severe ordinances, forbade to the laity the Limousin Bible, which had been recently prepared for them, and the use of which would have tended so much to confirm their language and form their literature.[40] His successors, however, continued to favor the spirit of the minstrels of Provence. Peter the Third was numbered amongst them;[41] and if Alfonso the Third and James the Second were not themselves poets, a poetical spirit was found about their persons and in their court;[42] and when Alfonso the Fourth, the next in succession, was crowned at Saragossa in 1328, we are told that several poems of Peter, the king's brother, were recited in honor of the occasion, one of which consisted of seven hundred verses.[43]

Persecution of the Troubadours.

Royal Troubadours.

But these are among the later notices of Provençal literature in the north-eastern part of Spain, where it began now to be displaced by one taking its hue rather from the more popular and peculiar dialect of the country. What this dialect was, has already been intimated. It was commonly called the Catalan or Catalonian, from the name of the country, but probably, at the time of the conquest of Barcelona from the Moors in 985, it differed very little from the Provençal spoken at Perpignan, on the other side of the Pyrenees.[44] As, however, the Provençal became more cultivated and

Provençal poetry decays in Spain.

[40] Castro, Biblioteca Española, Tom. I. p. 411, and Schmidt, Gesch. Aragoniens im Mittelalter, p. 465.

[41] Latassa, Bib. Antigua de los Escritores Aragoneses, Tom. I. p. 242. Hist. Litt. de la France, Tom. XX. p. 529.

[42] Antonio, Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. Lib. VIII. c. vi., vii., and Amat, p. 207. But Serveri of Girona, about 1277, mourns the good old days of James I. (Hist. Litt. de la France, Tom. XX. p. 552), as if poets were, when he wrote, beginning to fail at the court of Aragon.

[43] Muntaner, Crónica, ed. 1562, fol., ff. 247, 248.

[44] Du Cange, Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, Parisiis, 1733, fol., Tom. I., Præfatio, sect. 34–36. Raynouard (Troub., Tom. I. pp. xii. and xiii.) would carry back both the Catalonian and Valencian dialects to A. D. 728; but the authority of Luitprand, on which he relies,

gentle, the neglected Catalan grew stronger and ruder; and when the Christian power was extended, in 1118, to Saragossa, and in 1239 to Valencia, the modifications which the indigenous vocabularies underwent, in order to suit the character and condition of the people, tended rather to confirm the local dialects than to accommodate them to the more advanced language of the Troubadours.

Perhaps, if the Troubadours had maintained their ascendency in Provence, their influence would not easily have been overcome in Spain. At least, there are indications that it would not have disappeared so soon. Alfonso the Tenth of Castile, who had some of the more distinguished of them about him, imitated the Provençal poetry, if he did not write it; and even earlier, in the time of Alfonso the Ninth, who died in 1214, there are traces of its progress in the heart of the country, that are not to be mistaken.[45] But, failing in its strength at home, it failed abroad. The engrafted fruit perished with the stock from which it was originally taken. After the opening of the fourteenth century we find no genuinely Provençal poetry in Castile, and after the middle of that century it begins to recede from Catalonia and Aragon, or rather to be corrupted by the harsher, but hardier, dialect spoken there by the mass of the people. Peter the Fourth, who reigned in Aragon from 1336 to 1387, shows the conflict and admixture of the two influences in such portions of his poetry as have been published, as well as in a letter he addressed to his son;[46] —

The Provençal displaced by the Catalan.

is not sufficient, especially as Luitprand shows that he believed these dialects to have existed also in the time of Strabo. The most that should be inferred from the passage Raynouard cites is, that they existed about 950, when Luitprand wrote, which it is hardly probable they did, even in their rudest elements, among the Christians in that part of Spain. Some good remarks on the connection of the south of France with Catalonia, and their common idiom, may be found in Capmany, Memorias Históricas de Barcelona (Madrid, 1779–92, 4to), Parte I., Introd., and the notes on it. The second and fourth volumes of this valuable historical work furnish many documents both curious and important for the illustration of the Catalan language. It was published at the expense of the "Junta de Comercio" of the city it honors.

[45] Millot, Hist. des Troubadours, Tom. II. pp. 186–201. Hist. Litt. de la France, Tom. XVIII. pp. 588, 634, 635. Diez, Troubadours, pp. 75, 227, and 331–350; but it may be doubted whether Riquier did not write the answer of Alfonso, as well as the petition to him given by Diez.

[46] Bouterwek, Hist. de la Lit. Españ ola, traducida por Cortina, Tom. I. p. 162. Latassa, Bib. Antigua, Tom. II. pp. 25–38.

a confusion, or transition, which we should probably be able to trace with some distinctness, if we had before us the dictionary of rhymes, still extant in its original manuscript, which was made at this king's command, in 1371, by Jacme March, a member of the poetical family that was afterwards so much distinguished.[47] In any event, there can be no reasonable doubt that, soon after the middle of the fourteenth century, if not earlier, the proper Catalan dialect began to be perceptible in the poetry and prose of its native country.[48]

[47] Bouterwek, trad. Cortina, p. 177. This manuscript, which ought to be published, was once owned by Ferdinand Columbus, son of the great discoverer, and is still to be found amidst the ruins of his library in Seville, with a memorandum by himself, declaring that he "bought it at Barcelona, in June, 1536, for 12 dineros, the ducat then being worth 588 dineros." See, also, the notes of Cerdá y Rico to the "Diana Enamorada" of Montemayor, 1802, pp. 487–490 and 293–295.

[48] Bruce Whyte (Histoire des Langues Romanes et de leur Littérature, Paris, 1841, 8vo, Tom. II. pp. 406–414) gives a striking extract from a manuscript in the Royal Library, Paris, which shows this mixture of the Provençal and Catalan very plainly. He implies that it is from the middle of the fourteenth century; but he does not prove it.

CHAPTER XVII.

ENDEAVORS TO REVIVE THE PROVENÇAL SPIRIT. — FLORAL GAMES AT TOULOUSE. — CONSISTORY OF THE GAYA SCIENCIA AT BARCELONA. — CATALAN AND VALENCIAN POETRY. — AUSIAS MARCH. — JAUME ROIG. — DECLINE OF THIS POETRY. — INFLUENCE OF CASTILE. — POETICAL CONTEST AT VALENCIA. — VALENCIAN POETS WHO WROTE IN CASTILIAN. — PREVALENCE OF THE CASTILIAN.

THE failure of the Provençal language, and especially the failure of the Provençal culture, were not looked upon with indifference in the countries on either side of the Pyrenees, where they had so long prevailed. On the contrary, efforts were made to restore both, first in France, and afterwards in Spain. At Toulouse, on the Garonne, not far from the foot of the mountains, the magistrates of the city determined, in 1323, to form a company or guild for this purpose; and, after some deliberation, constituted it under the name of the "Sobregaya Companhia dels Sept Trobadors de Tolosa," or the Very Gay Company of the Seven Troubadours of Toulouse. This company immediately sent forth a letter, partly in prose and partly in verse, summoning all poets to come to Toulouse on the first day of May, in 1324, and there "with joy of heart contend for the prize of a golden violet," which should be adjudged to him who should offer the best poem suited to the occasion. The concourse was great, and the first prize was given to a poem in honor of the Madonna, by Ramon Vidal de Besalú, a Catalan gentleman, who seems to have been the author of the regulations for the festival, and to have been declared a doctor of the *Gay Saber* on the occasion. In 1355, this company formed for itself a more ample body of laws, partly in prose and partly in verse, under the

Floral games at Toulouse.

title of "Ordenanzas dels Sept Senhors Mantenedors del Gay Saber," or Ordinances of the Seven Lords Conservators of the Gay Saber, which, with the needful modifications, have been observed down to our own times, and still regulate the festival annually celebrated at Toulouse, on the first day of May, under the name of the Floral Games.[1]

Toulouse was separated from Aragon only by the picturesque range of the Pyrenees; and similarity of language and old political connections prevented even the mountains from being a serious obstacle to intercourse. What was done at Toulouse, therefore, was soon known at Barcelona, where the court of Aragon generally resided, and where circumstances soon favored a formal introduction of the poetical institutions of the Troubadours.

John the First of Aragon.

John the First, who, in 1387, succeeded Peter the Fourth, was a prince of more gentle manners than were common in his time, and more given to festivity and shows than was, perhaps, consistent with the good of his kingdom, — certainly more than was suited to the fierce and turbulent spirit of his nobility.[2] Among his other attributes was a love of poetry; and, in 1388, he despatched a solemn embassy, as if for an affair of state, to Charles the Sixth of France, praying him to cause certain poets of the company at Toulouse to visit Barcelona, in order that they might found there an institution like their own, for the Gay Saber. In consequence of this mission, two of the seven conservators of the Floral Games came to Barcelona in 1390, and established what was called a "Consistory of the Gaya Sciencia," with laws and usages not unlike those of the institution they represented. Martin, who followed John

[1] Sarmiento, Memorias, Sect. 759–768. Torres Amat, Memorias, p. 651, article *Vidal de Besalú*. Santillana, Proverbios, Madrid, 1799, 18mo, Introduccion, p. xxiii. Sanchez, Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. pp. 5–9. Sismondi, Litt. du Midi, Paris, 1813, 8vo, Tom. I. pp. 227–230. Andres, Storia d' Ogni Letteratura, Roma, 1808, 4to, Tom. II. Lib. I. c. 1, sect. 23, where the remarks are important at pp. 49, 50. See also Ant. Bastero (Crusca Provenzale, Roma, 1744, Folio, pp. 88 and 94–101), who is another important witness, being a native of Barcelona, and curious about the history of an institution that had afterwards so much reputation there. Andres, too, it should be remembered, had a kindred interest in the Provençal, being a Valencian.

[2] Mariana, Hist. de España, Lib. XVIII. c. 14.

on the throne, increased the privileges of the new Consistory, and added to its resources ; but, at his death, in 1409, it was removed to Tortosa, and its meetings were suspended by troubles that prevailed through the country, in consequence of a disputed succession.

At length, when Ferdinand the Just was declared king, their meetings were resumed. Enrique de Villena — whom we must speedily notice as a nobleman of the first rank in the state, nearly allied to the blood royal both of Castile and Aragon — came with the new king to Barcelona, in 1412, and, being a lover of poetry, busied himself while there in reëstablishing and reforming the Consistory, of which he became, for some time, the principal head and manager. This was, no doubt, the period of its greatest glory. The king himself frequently attended its meetings. Many poems were read by their authors before the judges appointed to examine them, and prizes and other distinctions were awarded to the successful competitors.[3] From this time, therefore, poetry in the native dialects of the country was held in honor in the capitals of Catalonia and Aragon. Public poetical contests were, from time to time, celebrated, and many poets called forth under their influence during the reign of Alfonso the Fifth and that of John the Second, which, ending in 1479, was followed by the consolidation of the whole Spanish monarchy, and the predominance of the Castilian power and language.[4]

Consistory of the Gaya Sciencia at Barcelona.

During the period, however, of which we have been speaking, and which embraces the century before the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catalan modification of Provençal poetry had its chief success, and produced

[3] "El Arte de Trobar," or the "Gaya Sciencia," — a treatise on the art of Poetry, which, in 1433, Don Enrique de Villena, sent to his kinsman, the famous Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, in order to facilitate the introduction of such poetical institutions into Castile as then existed in Barcelona, — contains the best account of the establishment of the Consistory of Barcelona, which was a matter of such consequence as to be mentioned by Mariana, Zurita, and other grave historians. The treatise of Villena has never been printed entire ; but a poor abstract of its contents, with valuable extracts, is to be found in Mayans y Siscar, Orígenes de la Lengua Española, Madrid, 1737, 12mo, Tom. II. The MS. used by Mayans is in the British Museum.

[4] See Zurita, passim, and Eichhorn, Allg. Geschichte der Cultur, Göttingen, 1796, 8vo, Tom. I. pp. 127-131, with the authorities he cites in his notes.

all the authors that deserve notice. At its opening, Zurita, the faithful annalist of Aragon, speaking of the reign of John the First, says, that "in place of arms and warlike exercises, which had formerly been the pastime of princes, now succeeded *trobas* and poetry in the mother tongue, with its art, called the 'Gaya Sciencia,' whereof schools began to be instituted;" — schools which, as he intimates, were so thronged that the dignity of the art they taught was impaired by the very numbers devoted to it.[5] Who these poets were the grave historian does not stop to inform us; but we learn something of them from another and better source; for, according to the fashion of the time, a Cancionero or collection of poetry was made a little after the middle of the fifteenth century, which includes the whole period, and contains the names, and more or less of the works, of those who were then best known and most considered. It begins with a grant of assistance to the Consistory of Barcelona, by Ferdinand the Just, in 1413; and then, going back as far as to the time of Jacme March, who, as we have seen, flourished in 1371, presents a series of more than three hundred poems, by about thirty authors, down to the time of Ausias March, who certainly lived in 1460, and whose works are, as they well deserve to be, prominent in the collection.

Catalan poetry.

Cancionero of Catalan poets.

Among the poets here brought together are Luis de Vilarasa, who lived in 1416;[6] Berenguer de Masdovelles, who seems to have flourished soon after 1453;[7] Jordi, about whom there has been much discussion, but whom reasonable critics must place as late as 1450–1460;[8] and Antonio Vallmanya, some of whose

Catalan poets.

[5] Anales de la Corona de Aragon, Lib. X. c. 43, ed. 1610, folio, Tom. II. f. 393.

[6] Torres Amat, Memorias, p. 666.

[7] Ibid., p. 408.

[8] The discussion makes out two points very clearly, namely: 1st, There was a person named Jordi (the Valencian for George), who lived in the thirteenth century, and in the time of Jayme the Conqueror, was much with that monarch, and wrote, as an eye-witness, an account of the storm from which the royal fleet suffered at sea, near Majorca, in September, 1269 (Ximeno, Escritores de Valencia, Tom. I. p. 1; and Fuster, Biblioteca Valenciana, Tom. I. p. 1); and 2d, There was a person named Jordi, a poet in the fifteenth century; because the Marquis of Santillana, in his well-known letter written between 1454 and 1458, speaks of such a person as having

poems are dated in 1457 and 1458.[9] Besides these, Juan Rocaberti, Fogaçot, and Guerau, with others apparently of the same period, are contributors to the collection, so that its whole air is that of the Catalan and Valencian imitations of the Provençal Troubadours in the fifteenth century.[10] If, therefore, to this curious Cancionero we add the translation of the "Divina Commedia" made into Catalan by Andres Febrer in 1428,[11] and the romance of "Tirante the White," translated into Valencian by its author, Johannot Martorell, — which Cervantes calls "a

lived in *his* time. (See the letter in Sanchez, Tom. I. pp. lvi. and lvii., and the notes on it, pp. 81–85.) Now, the question is, to which of these two persons belong the poems bearing the name of Jordi in the various Cancioneros; for example, in the "Cancionero General," 1573, f. 301, and in the MS. Cancionero in the King's Library at Paris, which is of the fifteenth century. (Torres Amat, pp. 328–333.) This question is of some consequence, because a passage attributed to Jordi is so very like one in the 103d sonnet of Petrarch (Parte I.), that one of them must be taken quite unceremoniously from the other. The Spaniards, and especially the Catalans, have generally claimed the lines referred to as the work of the *elder* Jordi, and so would make Petrarch the copyist; — a claim in which foreigners have sometimes concurred. (Retrospective Review, Vol. IV. pp. 46, 47, and Foscolo's Essay on Petrarch, London, 1823, 8vo, p. 65.) But it seems to me difficult for an impartial person to read the verses printed by Torres Amat with the name of Jordi from the Paris MS. Cancionero, and not believe that they belong to the same century with the other poems in the same manuscript, and that thus the Jordi in question lived after 1400, and is the copyist of Petrarch. Indeed, the very position of these verses in such a manuscript seems to prove it, as well as their tone and character.

[9] Torres Amat, pp. 636–643.

[10] Of this remarkable manuscript, which is in the Royal Library at Paris, M. Tastu, in 1834, gave an account to Torres Amat, who was then preparing his "Memorias para un Diccionario de Autores Catalanes" (Barcelona, 1836, 8vo). It is numbered 7699, and consists of 260 leaves. See the Memorias, pp. xviii. and xli., and the many poetical passages from it scattered through other parts of that work. It is much to be desired that the whole should be published; but, in the mean time, the ample extracts from it given by Torres Amat leave no doubt of its general character. Another and in some respects even more ample account of it, with extracts, is to be found in Ochoa's "Catálogo de Manuscritos" (4to, Paris, 1844, pp. 286–374). From this last description of the manuscript we learn that it contains works of thirty-one poets.

Another Cancionero — containing works of Ausias March and thirty-two poets, Catalonian and Valencian, who wrote almost entirely in their native dialects — is in the Library of the University at Zaragoza, and an account of it may be found in the Spanish translation of this History (Tom. I. 1851, pp. 533–535). One of the poems is dated 1458, and the collection seems to have been made as early as 1500. How far this Cancionero contains the same poems with the one in Paris last noticed, it would be curious to determine.

[11] Torres Amat, p. 237. Febrer says expressly, that it is translated "en rims vulgars Cathalans." The first verses are as follows, word for word, from the Italian:

> En lo mig del cami de nostra vida
> Me retrobe per una selva oscura, etc.,

and the last is,

> L' amor qui mou lo sol e les estelles.

It was done at Barcelona, and finished August 1, 1428, according to the MS. copy in the Escurial.

treasure of contentment and a mine of pleasure,"[12] — we shall have all that is needful of the peculiar literature of the north-eastern part of Spain during the greater part of the century in which it flourished. Two authors, how-

[12] Don Quixote, Parte I. c. 6, where Tirante is saved in the *auto de fé* of the mad knight's library, and receives this abundant eulogy from Cervantes. Southey, however (Omniana, 1812, Vol. II. pp. 219–232), says he "never met with any work which implied so beastly a state of feeling in the author." Both the praise and the censure are extravagant. The Tirante is, no doubt, a more reasonable book than the fictions of chivalry commonly are, and, as Southey admits, contains "many curious passages;" but it is by no means what Cervantes calls it — "a treasure of content and a mine of amusement." Neither, on the other hand, is it a book so indecent as Southey describes it. He read an Italian translation of a most scandalous *rifacimento* of it made by Count Caylus in French, with the imprint of London [1740] and with a Preface by Freret, who knew something about Spanish literature. But, as Barbier says (Anonymes et Pseudonymes, 1823, No. 8110), "Tout est presque de l'imagination du comte de Caylus dans sa prétendue traduction de Tiran le Blanc;" and, in fact, the French translator is responsible for nearly the whole of what so much and so justly offended Southey. It is not easy to make out the history of Tirant lo blanch in a satisfactory manner. Only two or three copies of it in the Valencian dialect are known to exist, and for one of them £300 was paid in 1825. (Repertorio Americano, Londres, 1827, Tom. IV. pp. 57–60.) One of the others I examined at Rome in the winter of 1856–7. It is in the Biblioteca Alessandrina, more commonly called the Sapienza. It is marked IV. h. 3., and is in large quarto, without pagination, extremely well printed on good paper in black letter, and in double columns. It is divided into four hundred and eighty-seven short chapters, and the colophon announces that it was finished at Valencia on the 20th of November, 1490. One leaf, containing parts of chapters 152 and 153, is missing, and I suppose it to have been so from the time this copy was bound, which seems to have been in the sixteenth century, for a blank leaf is inserted in its place. But except this, and a slight injury to another leaf (chapters 155, 156), the copy is in fine preservation.

In a prefatory letter addressed to Prince Ferdinand of Portugal, — son, I think, of the first Duke of Braganza, — John Martorell says that the work was begun on the 11th of January, 1460; but this must have been the work of translation, and not that of printing it. As to the book itself, he says that it was originally written in English, and that after translating it into Portuguese, at the earnest request of Prince Ferdinand, he now translates it into Valencian, in order to give his countrymen the pleasure of reading it. His words are: "E com la dita historia e actes d'l dit Tirant sian en lengua Anglesa: e al vostra ilustre Senyoria n' a stat grat voler me pregar la girar en lengua Portuguesa: opinant per yo esser stat algun temps en la ysla de Anglaterra degues millor saber aquella lengua que altri. Le quals pregaries son stades a mo molt acceptables manaments." And further on he adds: "Me atreviré expondre no solament d' lengua Anglesa en Portuguesa, mas encora de Portuguesa en vulgar Valenciana. Perçoque la nacio don yo so natural seu puxa alegrar." But he did not live to finish it. The colophon sets forth again that it was translated from English into Portuguese, and afterwards en vulgar lengua Valenciana per lo magnific e virtuos cavaller mosse Johannot Martorell. Lo qual per mort sua non pogue acabar de traduir sino los tres parts. La quarta part que es la fi del libre e stata traducida a pregaries de la noble scnyora Dōā Isabel de Loriç: per lo magnifich Cavaller Marti Johann d' Galba, etc. As there is no reason to suppose that the Tirante was written originally in English, we must, I presume, conclude that, following the fashion of the time, Martorell only claimed this as a somewhat transparent mode of admitting that he wrote it first in Portuguese, and afterwards from 1460 began to translate it into the Valencian. What is certain is that the Valencian was published in 1490, and that many of its adventures, though mingled with moral discussions, as in chapters 194–

ever, who most illustrated it, deserve a more particular notice.

The first of them is Ausias or Augustin March. His family, originally Catalan, went to Valencia at the time of the conquest, in 1238, and was distinguished, in successive generations, for the love of letters. He himself was of noble rank, possessed the seigniory of the town of Beniarjó and its neighboring villages, and served in the Cortes of Valencia in 1446. But, beyond these few facts, we know little of his life, except that he was an intimate personal friend of the accomplished and unhappy Prince Carlos of Viana, and that he died, probably in 1460, — certainly before 1462, — well deserving the record made by his contemporary, the Marquis of Santillana, that "he was a great Troubadour and a man of a very lofty spirit."[13]

Ausias March.

So much of his poetry as has been preserved is dedi-

200, and once with a sermon (chap. 276), are not unlike those of other books of chivalry. Its pretended history shows only what subjects, like the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, filled the minds of men at the time, just as we see what was their reading by the allusions to King Arthur and Amadis de Gaula. Another edition of this Valencian version, noticed by Mendez (Typographia, 1796, pp. 72, etc. and 115), and by Salvá (Repertorio Americano, 1827, Tom. IV. 58), is believed to have been printed at Barcelona in 1497. But probably this edition has wholly disappeared.

A similar remark is true of the Spanish translation of it, printed by Diego de Gudiel at Valladolid in 1511, folio. Few persons have ever seen it. I have, however, seen a translation of it into Italian by Lelio Manfredi, printed at Venice in three volumes, in 1621, and of which, I believe, the first edition appeared in 1538. On comparing it with the Valencian of 1490, I found it was such a translation as was commonly made of such works at the time when it appeared. Sometimes, as in the case of chapter 469, containing the will of the dying Tirante, it is close in its version; but the first chapter is entirely left out, others are much abridged, and the divisions of the whole are changed.

Nothing of the Tirante has any real value, I think, except the Valencian translation, which is a curious contribution to our knowledge of the dialect in which it is written. Beuter (Crusca Provenzale, 1725, p. 56) calls Martorell "uno dei più chiari lumi della nostra lengua." Notices of him, or rather of his Tirante, may be found in the books already referred to, and in Diosdado Caballero, de primâ typographiæ Hispanicæ ætate 1794, p. 32; — in Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 12; — in Fuster, Tom. I. p. 10; — and in Clemencin's notes to D. Quixote, Tom. I. pp. 132–134.

Diosdado Cavallero, it may be added, was one of the exiled Spanish Jesuits, and died at Rome in extreme old age, about 1820–21, as I was told in the Collegio Romano, where he found his final refuge.

[13] The Life of Ausias March is found in Ximeno, "Escritores de Valencia" (Tom. I. p. 41), and Fuster's continuation of it (Tom. I. pp. 12, 15, 24), and in the ample notes of Cerdá y Rico to the "Diana" of Gil Polo (1802, pp. 290, 293, 486). For his connection with the Prince of Viana, — "Mozo," as Mariana beautifully says of him, "dignisimo de mejor fortuna, y de padre mas manso," — see Zurita, Anales (Lib. XVII. c. 24), and the graceful Life of the unfortunate prince by Quintana, in the first volume of his "Españoles Célebres" (Madrid, Tom. I. 1807, 12mo).

cated to the honor of a lady, whom he loved and served in life and in death, and whom, if we are literally to believe his account, he first saw on a Good Friday in church, exactly as Petrarch first saw Laura. But this is probably only an imitation of the great Italian master, whose fame then overshadowed whatever there was of literature in the world. At any rate, the poems of March leave no doubt that he was a follower of Petrarch. They are in form what he calls *cants;* each of which generally consists of from five to ten stanzas. The whole collection, amounting to one hundred and sixteen of these short poems, is divided into four parts, and comprises ninety-three *cants* or *canzones* of Love, in which he complains much of the falsehood of his mistress, fourteen moral and didactic *canzones,* a single spiritual one, and eight on Death. But though March in the framework of his poetry is an imitator of Petrarch, his manner is his own. It is grave, simple, and direct, with few conceits, and much real feeling; besides which, he has a truth and freshness in his expressions, resulting partly from the dialect he uses, and partly from the tenderness of his own nature, which are very attractive. No doubt, he is the most successful of all the Valencian and Catalan poets whose works have come down to us; but what distinguishes him from all of them, and indeed from the Provençal school generally, is the sensibility and moral feeling that pervade so much of what he wrote. By these qualities his reputation and honors have been preserved in his own country down to the present time. His works passed through four editions in the sixteenth century, and enjoyed the honor of being read to Philip the Second, when a youth, by his tutor; they were translated into Latin and Italian, and in the proud Castilian were versified by a poet of no less consequence than Montemayor.[14]

Poems of March.

[14] There are editions of his Works of 1543, 1545, 1555, and 1560, in the original dialect, of which the last is the best; and translations of parts of them into Castilian by Romani, 1539, and Montemayor, 1562, which are united in the edition of 1579, besides one quite complete, but unpublished, by Arano y Oñate. Vicente Mariner translated March into Latin, and wrote his life. (Opera, Turnoni, 1633, 8vo, pp. 497–856.) Who was his Italian translator I do not find. See (besides Ximeno and others, cited in the last note) Rodriguez, Bib. Val., p. 68, etc. The edition of

The other poet who should be mentioned in the same relations was a contemporary of March, and, like him, a native of Valencia. His name is Jaume or James Roig, and he was physician to Mary, queen of Alfonso the Fifth of Aragon. If his own authority is not to be accounted rather poetical than historical, he was a man of much distinction in his time, and respected in other countries as well as at home. But if that be set aside, we know little of him, except that he was one of the persons who contended for a poetical prize at Valencia in 1474, and that he died there of apoplexy on the 4th of April, 1478.[15] His works are not much better known than his life. Hardly anything, indeed, remains to us of them, except the principal one, a poem of three hundred pages, sometimes called the "Book of Advice," and sometimes the "Book of the Ladies."[16] It is chiefly a satire on women, but the conclusion is devoted to the praise and glory of the Madonna, and the whole is interspersed with sketches of himself and his times, and advice to his nephew, Balthazar Bou, for whose especial benefit the poem seems to have been written.

Jaume Roig.

It is divided into four books, which are subdivided into parts, little connected with each other, and often little in harmony with the general subject of the whole. Some of it is full of learning and learned names, and some of it would seem to be devout; but its prevailing air is certainly not at all religious. It is written in short rhymed verses, consisting of from two to five syllables, — an irregular measure, which has been called *cudolada,* and one which, as here used, has been much praised for its sweetness by those who are familiar enough with the prin-

Consells of Roig.

March's Works, 1560, Barcelona, 12mo, is a neat volume, and has at the end a very short and imperfect list of obscure terms, with the corresponding Spanish, supposed to have been made by the tutor of Philip II., the Bishop of Osma, when, as we are told, he used to delight that young prince and his courtiers by reading the works of March aloud to them. I have seen none of the translations, except those of Montemayor and Mariner, — both good, but the last not entire.

[15] Ximeno, Escritores de Valencia, Tom. I. p. 50, with Fuster's continuation, Tom. I. p. 30. Rodriguez, p. 196; and Cerdá's notes to Polo's Diana, pp. 300, 302, etc.

[16] "Libre de Consells fet per lo Magnifich Mestre Jaume Roig" is the title in the edition of 1531, as given by Ximeno, and in that of 1561 (Valencia, 12mo, 149 leaves), which I use. In that of Valencia, 1735 (4to), which is also before me, it is called, according to its subject, "Lo Libre de les Dones e de Concells," etc.

ciples of its structure to make the necessary elisions and abbreviations; though to others it can hardly appear better than whimsical and spirited.[17] The following sketch of himself may be taken as a specimen of it, and shows that he had as little of the spirit of a poet as Skelton, with whom, in many respects, he may be compared. Roig represents himself to have been ill of a fever, when a boy, and to have hastened from his sick bed into the service of a Catalan freebooting gentleman, like Roque Guinart or Rocha Guinarda, an historical personage of the same Catalonia, and of nearly the same period, who figures in the Second Part of Don Quixote.

Bed I abjured,
Though hardly cured,
And then went straight
To seek my fate.
A Catalan,
A nobleman,
A highway knight,
Of ancient right,
Gave me, in grace,
A page's place.
With him I lived,
And with him thrived,
Till I came out
Man grown and stout;
For he was wise,
Taught me to prize
My time, and learn
My bread to earn,
By service hard
At watch and ward,
To hunt the game,
Wild hawks to tame,
On horse to prance,
In hall to dance,
To carve, to play,
And make my way.[18]

[17] Origenes de la Lengua Española de Mayans y Siscar, Tom. I. p. 57.

[18] Sorti del llit,
E mig guarit,
Yo men partí,
A peu anì
Seguint fortuna.
En Catalunya,
Un Cavaller,
Gran vandoler,
Dantitch llinatge,
Me près per patge.

The poem, its author tells us, was written in 1460, and we know that it continued popular long enough to pass through five editions before 1562. But portions of it were so offensive to the church, that, when, in 1735, it was thought worth while to print it anew, its editor, in order to account for the large omissions he was obliged to make, resorted to the amusing expedient of pretending he could find no copy of the old editions which was not deficient in the passages he left out of his own.[19] Of course, Roig is not much read now. His indecency and the obscurity of his idiom alike cut him off from the polished portions of Spanish society; though out of his free and spirited satire much may be gleaned to illustrate the tone of manners and the modes of living and thinking in his time.

The death of Roig brings us to the period when the literature of the eastern part of Spain, along the shores of the Mediterranean, began to decline.[20] Its decay was

Ab ell vixquì,
Fins quem ixquì,
Ja home fet.
Ab lhom discret
Temps no hi perdì,
Dell aprenguì,
De ben servir,
Armes seguir,
Fuy caçador,
Cavalcador,
De Cetreria,
Menescalia,
Sonar, ballar,
Fins à tallar
Ell men mostrà.

Libre de les Dones, Primera Part del Primer Libre, ed. 1561, 4to, f. xv. b.

The "Cavaller, gran vandoler, dantitch llinatge," whom I have called, in the translation, "a highway knight, of ancient right," was one of the successors of the marauding knights of the Middle Ages, who were not always without generosity or a sense or justice, and whose character is well set forth in the accounts of Roque Guinart or Rocha Guinarda, the personage referred to in the text, and found in the Second Part of Don Quixote (Capp. 60 and 61). He and his followers are all called by Cervantes *Bandoleros*, and are the "banished men" of "Robin Hood" and "The Nut Brown Maid." They took their name of *Bandoleros* from the shoulder-belts they wore. Calderon's "Luis Perez, el Gallego" is founded on the history of a Bandolero supposed to have lived in the time of the Armada, 1588.

19 The editor of the last edition that has appeared is Carlos Ros, a curious collection of Valencian proverbs by whom (in 12mo, Valencia, 1733) I have seen, and who published several other works, some in Valencian and some in Castilian; some legal and connected with his profession as an apostolical notary, some literary and connected with his native dialect. He died in 1773. (Ximeno, Tom. II. p. 291. Fuster, Tom. II. p. 69.)

A poetical satire on woman, recalling to us that of Roig, was composed, apparently about the same period, by Francesch de Lavia, and is entitled "Libre de Fra Bernat." It is without date or place of publication, and makes a small volume of forty-one leaves, even more indecent, it should seem, than that of Roig. See Gayangos in Hist. de la Lit. Española, 1851, Tom. I. pp. 539, 540.

20 Pere Miguel Carbonell, who was born about 1437 and died in 1517, wrote between 1495 and 1513, in Catalan, the "Chroniques de Espanya," which were published in 1546, and are often cited for the history of Catalonia and Aragon. But his poetry,

the natural, but melancholy, result of the character of the literature itself, and of the circumstances in which it was accidentally placed. It was originally Provençal in its spirit and elements, and had therefore been of quick rather than of firm growth; — a gay vegetation, which sprang forth spontaneously with the first warmth of the spring, and which could hardly thrive in any other season than the gentle one that gave it birth. As it gradually advanced, carried, by the removal of the seat of political power, from Aix to Barcelona, and from Barcelona to Saragossa, it was constantly approaching the literature that had first appeared in the mountains of the North-west, whose more vigorous and grave character it was ill fitted to resist. When, therefore, the two came in contact, there was but a short struggle for the supremacy. The victory was almost immediately decided in favor of that which, springing from the elements of a strong and proud character, destined to vindicate for itself the political sway of the whole country, was armed with a power to which its more gay and gracious rival could offer no effective opposition.

Contest of Catalan poetry with Castilian.

The period when these two literatures, advancing from opposite corners of the Peninsula, finally met, cannot, from its nature, be determined with much precision. But, like the progress of each, it was the result of political causes and tendencies which are obvious and easily traced. The family that ruled in Aragon had, from the time of James the Conqueror, been connected with that established in Castile and the North; and Ferdinand the Just, who was crowned in Saragossa in 1412, was a Castilian prince; so that, from this period, both thrones were absolutely filled by members of the same royal house; and Valencia and Burgos, as far as their courts touched and controlled the literature of either, were, to a great degree, under the same influences. And this control was neither slight nor inefficient. Poetry in that age everywhere sought shelter under courtly favor,

Progress of the Castilian.

which, with other miscellaneous works by him of less value, is still in MS., is partly in Castilian. An account of the whole may be found in the Spanish translation of this History, Tom. I. 1851, pp. 535–537.

and in Spain easily found it. John the Second was a professed and successful patron of letters; and, when Ferdinand came to assume the crown of Aragon, he was accompanied by Don Enrique de Villena, a nobleman whose great fiefs lay on the borders of Valencia, but who, notwithstanding his interest in the Southern literature, and in the Consistory of Barcelona, yet spoke the Castilian as his native language, and wrote in no other. We may, therefore, well believe that, in the reigns of Ferdinand the Just and Alfonso the Fifth, between 1412 and 1458, the influence of the North began to make inroads on the poetry of the South, though it does not appear that either March or Roig, or any one of their immediate school, proved habitually unfaithful to his native dialect.

Poetical contest at Valencia.

At length, forty years after the death of Villena, we find a decided proof that the Castilian was beginning to be known and cultivated on the shores of the Mediterranean. In 1474 a poetical contest was publicly held at Valencia, in honor of the Madonna; — a sort of literary jousting, like those so common afterwards in the time of Cervantes and Lope de Vega. Forty poets contended for the prize. The Viceroy was present. It was a solemn and showy occasion; and all the poems offered were printed the same year by Bernardo Fenollar, Secretary of the meeting, in a volume which is valued as the second book known to have been printed in Spain, and the first of any note.[21] Four of these poems are

[21] Fuster, Tom. I. p. 52, and Mendez, Typographia Española, p. 56. Roig is one of the competitors. The best account of this curious and important book — of which only one copy is known to exist, and which, like most other *incunabula*, has no title-page — is to be found in the "Disertacion sobre el origen del nobilisimo arte tipografico y su introduccion y uso en la Ciudad de Valencia, ec., Escribióla D. José Villaroya" (Valencia, 1796, 8vo, pp 55–66); — a well-considered treatise, so far as the early printing in Valencia is concerned.

That city, however, can no longer claim the honor which Villaroya and others till 1833 gave it of having introduced the art of printing into Spain; for it has been ascertained that a small, poor grammar, or grammatical treatise, was printed earlier in Barcelona. This treatise consists of fifty leaves, without numeration, and the only copy of it known to exist, which is in the Trinitarios Descalzos of Vich, is luckily quite perfect. It professes to be taken from a work of Bartolomeus Mates by Johannes Matoses; — both of them personages quite unknown to me. A tract, setting forth the discovery of this unique monument of early printing, appeared at Vich in 1833, with the initials J. R. V., — understood to be Jaime Ripoll, Vich. As the work in question is distinctly declared in its colophon to be "mira arte impressum per Jo-

in Castilian. This leaves no doubt that Castilian verse was now deemed a suitable entertainment for a popular audience at Valencia. Fenollar, too, who wrote, besides what appears in this contest, a small volume of poetry on the Passion of our Saviour, has left us at least one *cancion* in Castilian, though his works were otherwise in his native dialect, and were composed apparently for the amusement of his friends in Valencia, where he was a person of consideration, and in whose University, founded in 1499, he was a professor.[22]

Valencian poetry still written.

Probably Castilian poetry was rarely written in Valencia during the fifteenth century, while, on the other hand, Valencian was written constantly. "The Suit of the Olives," for instance, wholly in that dialect, was composed by Jaume Gazull, Fenollar, and Juan Moreno, who seem to have been personal friends, and who united their poetical resources to produce this satire, in which, under the allegory of olive-trees, and in language not always so modest as good taste requires, they discuss together the dangers to which the young and the old are respectively exposed from the solicitations of worldly pleasure.[23] Another dialogue, by the same three poets, in the same dialect, soon followed, dated in 1497, which is supposed to have occurred in the bed-chamber

hannem Gherling, Alamannum;" adding, further on, "finitur Barcynone nonis Octobris, anni a Nativitate Christi, MCCCCLXVIII.," there can be no doubt about the matter, and none I believe has been raised. Earlier, however, Capmany, in his "Memorias" (1779, 4to, Tom. I. p. 256), had, without giving any grounds for it, peremptorily claimed for Barcelona the honor of introducing printing into Spain; but Mendez, in his "Typografia" (1796, pp. iii., 56, and 59), had on such good grounds assigned it to Valencia, that, as Capmany, who was not averse from controversy, had never replied, it was generally admitted that he had fallen into an error, until this tract of Ripoll appeared, and settled the fact that the oldest book now known to have been printed in Spain was finished at Barcelona, on the 5th of October, 1468. I have a manuscript copy of Ripoll's tract. Isabella, it should be remembered to her honor, favored the introduction of printing and of foreign books into Spain. (Mem. de la Acad. de Historia, Tom. VI. 1821, pp. 244 and 430, note.)

22 Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 59; Fuster, Tom. I. p. 61; and the Diana of Polo, ed. Cerdá y Rico, p. 317. His poems are in the "Cancionero General," 1573 (leaves 240, 251, 307), in the "Obres de Ausias March" (1560, f. 134), and in the "Process de les Olives," mentioned in the next note. The "Historia de la Passio de Nostre Senyor" was printed at Valencia, in 1493 and 1564.

23 "Lo Process de les Olives è Disputa del Jovens hi del Vels" was first printed in Barcelona, 1532. But the copy I use is of Valencia, printed by Joan de Arcos, 1561 (18mo, forty leaves). One or two other poets took part in the discussion; and the whole seems to have grown under their hands, by successive additions, to its present state and size.

of a lady just recovering from the birth of a child, in which is examined the question whether young men or old make the best husbands; an inquiry decided by Venus in favor of the young, and ended, most inappropriately, by a religious hymn.[24] Other poets were equally faithful to their vernacular; among whom were Juan Escriva, ambassador of the Catholic sovereigns to the Pope, in 1497, who was perhaps the last person of high rank that wrote in it;[25] and Vincente Ferrandis, concerned in a poetical contest in honor of Saint Catherine of Siena, at Valencia, in 1511, whose poems seem, on other occasions, to have carried off public honors, and to have been, from their sweetness and power, worthy of the distinction they won.[26]

Meantime, Valencian poets are not wanting who wrote more or less in Castilian. Francisco Castelví, a friend of Fenollar, is one of them.[27] Another is Narcis Viñoles, who flourished in 1500, who wrote in Tuscan as well as in Castilian and Valencian, and who evidently thought his native dialect somewhat barbarous.[28] A third is Juan Tallante, whose religious poems

Castilian poetry in Valencia.

[24] There is an edition of 1497 (Mendez, p. 88); but I use one with this title: "Comença lo Somni de Joan Ioan ordenat per lo Magnifich Mossen Jaume Gaçull, Caváller, Natural de Valencia, en Valencia, 1561" (18mo). At the end is a humorous poem by Gaçull, in reply to Fenollar, who had spoken slightingly of many words used in Valencian, which Gaçull defends. It is called "La Brama dels Llauradors del Orto de Valencia." Gaçull also occurs in the "Process de les Olives," and in the poetical contest of 1474. See his life in Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 59, and Fuster, Tom. I. p. 37.

[25] Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 64.

[26] The poems of Ferrandis are in the Cancionero General of Seville, 1535, ff. 17, 18, and in the Cancionero of Antwerp, 1573, ff. 31-34. The notice of the *certamen* of 1511 is in Fuster, Tom. I. pp. 56-58; but he has committed mistakes in his account of it, as explained by Don P. de Gayangos.

Some other poets in the ancient Valencian have been mentioned, as Juan Roiz de Corella (Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 62), a friend of the unhappy Prince Cárlos de Viana; two or three, by no means without merit, who remain anonymous (Fuster, Tom. I. pp. 284-293); and several who joined in a *certamen* at Valencia, in 1498, in honor of St. Christopher (Ibid., pp. 296, 297). But the attempt to press into the service and to place in the thirteenth century the manuscript in the Escurial containing the poems of Sta. Maria Egypciaca and King Apollonius, already referred to (*ante*, p. 24) among the earliest Castilian poems, is necessarily a failure. (Ibid., p. 284.)

[27] Cancionero General, 1573, f. 251, and elsewhere.

[28] Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 61. Fuster, Tom. I. p. 54. Cancionero General, 1573, ff. 241, 251, 316, 318. Cerdá's notes to Polo's Diana, 1802, p. 304. Viñoles, in the Prólogo to the translation of the Latin Chronicle, noticed on p. 195, says, "He has ventured to stretch out his rash hand and put it into the pure, elegant, and gracious Castilian, which, without falsehood or flattery, may, among the many barbarous and savage dialects of our own Spain, be called Latin-sounding and most elegant." (Suma

are found at the opening of the old General Cancionero.[29] A fourth is Luis Crespi, member of the ancient family of Valdaura, and in 1506 head of the University of Valencia.[30] And among the latest, if not the very last, was Fernandez de Heredia, who died in 1549, of whom we have hardly anything in Valencian, but much in Castilian.[31] Indeed, that the Castilian, in the early part of the century, had obtained a real supremacy in whatever there was of poetry and elegant literature along the Mediterranean, cannot be doubted; for, before the death of Heredia, Boscan had already deserted his native Catalonian, and begun to form a school in Spanish literature that has never since disappeared; and, shortly afterwards, Timoneda and his followers showed, by their successful representation of Castilian farces in the public squares of Valencia, that the ancient dialect had ceased to be insisted upon in its own capital. The language of the court of Castile had, for such purposes, become the prevailing language of all the South.

Castilian prevails.

This, in fact, was the circumstance that determined the fate of all that remained in Spain on the foundations of the Provençal refinement. The crowns of Aragon and Castile had been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella; the court had been removed from Saragossa, though that city still claimed the dignity of being regarded as an independent capital; and with the tide of empire that of cultivation gradually flowed down from the West and the North. Some of the poets of the South have, it is true, in later times, ventured to write in their native dialects. The most remarkable of them is Vicent Garcia, who was a friend of Lope de Vega, and died in 1623.[32] But his

Political power of the Castilian.

de Todas las Crónicas, Valencia, 1510, folio, f. 2.)

[29] The religious poems of Tallante begin, I believe, all the Cancioneros Generales, from 1511 to 1573.

[30] Cancionero General, 1573, ff. 238, 248, 300, 301. Fuster, Tom. I. p. 65; and Cerdá's notes to Gil Polo's Diana, p. 306.

[31] Ximeno, Tom. I. p. 102. Fuster, Tom. I. p. 87. Diana de Polo, ed. Cerdá, 326. Cancionero General, 1573, ff. 185, 222, 225, 228, 230, 305–307.

[32] His Works were first printed with the following title: "La Armonia del Parnas mes numerosa en las Poesias varias del Atlant del Cel Poétic, lo Dr. Vicent Garcia" (Barcelona, 1700, 4to, 201 pp.). There has been some question about the proper date

poetry, in all its various phases, is a mixture of several dialects, and shows, notwithstanding its provincial air, the influence of the court of Philip the Fourth, where its author for a time lived; while the poetry printed later, or heard in our own days on the popular theatres of Barcelona and Valencia, is in a dialect so grossly corrupted, that it is no longer easy to acknowledge it as that of the descendants of Muntaner and March.[33]

of this edition, and therefore I give it as it is in my copy. (See Torres Amat, Memorias, pp. 271–274.) It consists chiefly of lyrical poetry, sonnets, *décimas*, *redondillas*, ballads, etc.; but at the end is a drama called "Santa Barbara," in three short *jornadas*, with forty or fifty personages, some allegorical and some supernatural, and the whole as fantastic as anything of the age that produced it. Another edition of Garcia's Works was printed at Barcelona in 1840, and a notice of him occurs in the Semanario Pintoresco, 1843, p. 84.

[33] The Valencian has always remained a sweet dialect. Cervantes praises it for its "honeyed grace" more than once. See the second act of the "Gran Sultana," and the opening of the twelfth chapter in the third book of "Persiles and Sigismunda." Mayans y Siscar loses no occasion of honoring it; but he was a native of Valencia, and full of Valencian prejudices.

The literary history of the kingdom of Valencia — both that of the period when its native dialect prevailed, and that of the more recent period during which the Castilian has enjoyed the supremacy — has been illustrated with remarkable diligence and success. The first person who devoted himself to it was Josef Rodriguez, a learned ecclesiastic, who was born in its capital in 1630, and died there in 1703, just at the moment when his "Biblioteca Valentina" was about to be issued from the press, and when, in fact, all but a few pages of it had been printed. But though it was so near to publication, a long time elapsed before it finally appeared; for his friend, Ignacio Savalls, to whom the duty of completing it was intrusted, and who at once busied himself with his task, died, at last, in 1746, without having quite accomplished it.

Meanwhile, however, copies of the imperfect work had got abroad, and one of them came into the hands of Vicente Ximeno, a Valencian as well as Rodriguez, and, like him, interested in the literary history of his native kingdom. At first, Ximeno conceived the project of completing the work of his predecessor; but soon determined rather to use its materials in preparing on the same subject another and a larger one of his own, whose notices should come down to his own time. This he soon completed, and published it at Valencia, in 1747–49, in two volumes, folio, with the title of "Escritores de Valencia," — not, however, so quickly that the Biblioteca of Rodriguez had not been fairly launched into the world, in the same city, in 1747, a few months before the first volume of Ximeno's appeared, and not always with the care and exactness shown by his learned predecessor, whose work he used somewhat too freely.

The dictionary of Ximeno, who died in 1764, brings down the literary history of Valencia to 1748, from which date to 1829, it is continued by the "Biblioteca Valenciana" of Justo Pastor Fuster (Valencia, 1827–30, 2 tom., folio), a valuable work, containing a great number of new articles for the earlier period embraced by the labors of Rodriguez and Ximeno, and making additions to many which they had left imperfect.

In the five volumes, folio, of which the whole series consists, there are 2841 articles. How many of those in Ximeno relate to authors noticed by Rodriguez, and how many of those in Fuster relate to authors noticed by either or both of his predecessors, I have not examined; but the number is, I think, smaller than might be anticipated; while, on the other hand, the new articles and the additions to the old ones are more considerable and important. Perhaps, taking the whole together, no portion of Europe equally large has had its intellectual history more carefully investi-

The degradation of the two more refined dialects in the southern and eastern parts of Spain, which was begun in the time of the Catholic sovereigns, may be considered as completed when the seat of the national government was settled, first in Old and afterwards in New Castile; since, by this circumstance, the prevalent authority of the Castilian was finally recognized and insured. The change was certainly neither unreasonable nor ill-timed. The language of the North was already more ample, more vigorous, and more rich in idiomatic constructions; indeed, in almost every respect, better fitted to become national than that of the South. And yet we can hardly follow and witness the results of such a revolution but with feelings of a natural regret; for the slow decay and final disappearance of any language bring with them melancholy thoughts, which are, in some sort, peculiar to the occasion. We feel as if a portion of the world's intelligence were extinguished; as if we were ourselves cut off from a part of the intellectual inheritance to which we had in many respects an equal right with those who destroyed it, and which they were bound to pass down to us unimpaired as they themselves had received it. The same feeling pursues us even when, as in the case of the Greek or Latin, the people that spoke it had risen to the full height of their refinement, and left behind them monuments by which all future times can measure and share their glory. But our regret is deeper when the language of a people is cut off in its youth, before its character is fully developed; when its poetical attributes are just beginning to appear, and when all is bright with promise and hope.[34]

Final decay of the Provençal and its dialects.

gated than the kingdom of Valencia; — a circumstance the more remarkable, if we bear in mind that Rodriguez, the first person who undertook the work, was, as he says, the first who attempted such a labor in any modern language, and that Fuster, the last of them, though evidently a man of curious learning, was by occupation a book-binder, and was led to his investigations, in a considerable degree, by his interest in the rare books that were, from time to time, intrusted to his mechanical skill.

[34] The Catalans have always felt this regret, and have never reconciled themselves heartily to the use of the Castilian; holding their own dialect to have been, in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, more abundant and harmonious than the prouder one that has so far displaced it. (Villanueva, Viage á las Iglesias, Valencia, 1821, 8vo, Tom. VII. p. 202.)

This was singularly the misfortune and the fate of the Provençal and of the two principal dialects into which it was modified and moulded. For the Provençal started forth in the darkest period Europe had seen since Grecian civilization had first dawned on the world. It kindled, at once, all the South of France with its brightness, and spread its influence, not only into the neighboring countries, but even to the courts of the cold and unfriendly North. It flourished long, with a tropical rapidity and luxuriance, and gave token, from the first, of a light-hearted spirit, that promised, in the fulness of its strength, to produce a poetry, different, no doubt, from that of antiquity, with which it had no real connection, but yet a poetry as fresh as the soil from which it sprang, and as genial as the climate by which it was quickened. But the cruel and shameful war of the Albigenses drove the Troubadours over the Pyrenees, and the revolutions of political power and the prevalence of the spirit of the North crushed them on the Spanish shores of the Mediterranean. We follow, therefore, with a natural and inevitable regret, their long and wearisome retreat, marked as it is everywhere with the wrecks and fragments of their peculiar poetry and cultivation, from Aix to Barcelona, and from Barcelona to Saragossa and Valencia, where, oppressed by the prouder and more powerful Castilian, what remained of the language that gave the first impulse to poetical feeling in modern times sinks into a neglected dialect, and, without having attained the refinement that would preserve its name and its glory to future times, becomes as much a dead language as the Greek or the Latin.[35]

[35] One of the most valuable monuments of the old dialects of Spain is a translation of the Bible into Valencian made by Bonifacio Ferrer, who died in 1477, and was the brother of St. Vincent Ferrer. It was printed at Valencia, in 1478 (folio), but the Inquisition came so soon to suppress it that it never exercised much influence on the literature or language of the country; every copy of it having been destroyed so effectually that only one leaf — the very last one, containing from verse 9, of chap. xx., to the end of the Book of Revelations and the colophon — is now known to exist. (Ocios de Españoles emigrados, 8vo, Londres, 1824, Tom. I. pp. 36–40. Ximeno, Bib. Tom. I. p. 20. Fuster, Bib. Tom. I. p. 15.) It seems probable that MS copies of this version were made which escaped the Inquisition, and that one of them is now in the National Library at Paris; a fact which could easily be settled by a comparison of the remaining printed leaf, which may be found in Castro, Bib.

Española (Tom. I. pp. 444–448), Villaroya, Arte tipog. en Valencia, ec. (pp. 89, sqq.), and McCrie's "Reformation in Spain" (Edinburgh, 1829, 8vo, pp. 191 and 414). Sismondi, at the end of his examination of the Provençal literature, in his "Littérature du Midi de l'Europe," has some remarks on its decay, which in their tone are not entirely unlike those in the last pages of this chapter, and to which I would refer both to illustrate and to justify my own.

Some investigations on the subject of the Provençal dialects may be found in the Crusca Provenzale of Antonio Bastero (Roma 1724. Fol. pp. 20, sqq.), which have the more value because Bastero was a Catalan and a passionate lover of his native dialect. "La lingua Provenzale," he says, p. 5, "e la stessa appunto che la mia materna Catalana;" and his object in this work was to make a dictionary which should do for it what the dictionary of the Della Cruscans had done for the Tuscan. He, however, published only one volume, which consists entirely of introductory matter; and as he lived long in Italy, — nearly twenty years, I believe, — it was written in Italian and published at Rome. It is a very remarkable book to have been composed by a Spaniard in the reign of Philip V., full of learning and of original research from MS. sources, but not always judicious or reliable. He died at Barcelona in 1737, sixty-two years old, and there is a notice of him in the Diario de los Literatos, 1738, Tom. IV. p. 379.

A pleasant and philosophical discussion on the early Catalan literature, and its connection with the Provençal, may be found in the introductory portion of a small work by Adolf Helfferich, published at Berlin, in 1858, and entitled "Raymond Lull und die Anfänge der Catalonischen Literatur."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PROVENÇAL AND COURTLY SCHOOL IN CASTILIAN LITERATURE. — PARTLY INFLUENCED BY THE LITERATURE OF ITALY. — CONNECTION OF SPAIN WITH ITALY, RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND POLITICAL. — SIMILARITY OF LANGUAGE IN THE TWO COUNTRIES. — TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ITALIAN. — REIGN OF JOHN THE SECOND. — TROUBADOURS AND MINNESINGERS THROUGHOUT EUROPE. — COURT OF CASTILE. — THE KING. — DON ENRIQUE DE VILLENA. — HIS ART OF CARVING. — HIS ART OF POETRY. — HIS LABORS OF HERCULES.

THE Provençal literature, which appeared so early in Spain, and which, during the greater part of the period when it prevailed there, was in advance of the poetical culture of nearly all the rest of Europe, could not fail to exercise an influence on the Castilian, springing up and flourishing at its side. But, as we proceed, we must notice the influence of another literature over the Spanish, less visible and important at first than that of the Provençal, but destined subsequently to become much wider and more lasting; — I mean, of course, the Italian. Italian influence on Spanish Literature.

The origin of this influence is to be traced far back in the history of the Spanish character and civilization. Long, indeed, before a poetical spirit had been reawakened anywhere in the South of Europe, the Spanish Christians, through the wearisome centuries of their contest with the Moors, had been accustomed to look towards Italy as to the seat of a power whose foundations were laid in faith and hopes extending far beyond the mortal struggle in which they were engaged; not because the Papal See, in its political capacity, had then obtained any wide authority in Spain, but because, from the peculiar exigences and trials of their condition, the religion of the Romish Church had nowhere found such implicit Its origin.

and faithful followers as the body of the Spanish Christians.[1]

In truth, from the time of the great Arab invasion down to the fall of Granada, this devoted people had rarely come into political relations with the rest of Europe. Engrossed and exhausted by their wars at home, they had, on the one hand, hardly been at all the subjects of foreign cupidity or ambition; and, on the other, they had been little able, even when they most desired it, to connect themselves with the stirring interests of the world beyond their mountains, or to attract the sympathy of those more favored countries which, with Italy at their head, were coming up to constitute the civilized power of Christendom. But the Spaniards always felt their warfare to be peculiarly that of soldiers of the Cross; they always felt themselves, beyond everything else and above everything else, to be Christian men contending against misbelief. Their religious sympathies were, therefore, constantly apparent, and often predominated over all others; so that, while they were little connected with the Church of Rome by those political ties that were bringing half Europe into bondage, they were more connected with its religious spirit than any other people of modern times; more even than the armies of the Crusaders whom that same church had summoned out of all Christendom, and to whom it had given whatever of its own resources and character it was able to impart.

Its connection with the religion of the Church of Rome.

To these religious influences of Italy upon Spain were early added those of a higher intellectual culture. Before the year 1300, Italy possessed at least five universities; some of them famous throughout Europe, and attracting

[1] A learned pamphlet, designed to show the entire independence of the Spanish church on the See of Rome till after the capture of Toledo in 1085, and the continued independence of the Spanish government since, — even in the time of Philip II., who never permitted any papal interference with his royal prerogatives, — was published at Darmstadt in 1843, by J. Ellendorf, entitled, "Die Stellung der Spanischen Kirche zum Römischen Stuhle." Dr. Ellendorf might have have added to his goodly array of facts the extraordinary threat of Ferdinand the Catholic, in 1508, to deny all obedience to the Pope, if the Pope should persist in certain measures infringing the rights of the Spanish crown. The strong language of Ferdinand to his ambassador at Rome was, "Estamos muy determinados si su Santidad *no revoca luego* el Breve y los Autos por virtud del fechos *de le quitar la obediencia de todos los reynos de las coronas de Castilla y Aragon.*" Quevedo, Obras, 1794. Tom. XI. p. 4.

students from its most distant countries. Spain, at the same period, possessed not one, except that of Salamanca, which was in a very unsettled state.[2] Even during the next century, those established at Huesca and Valladolid produced comparatively little effect. The whole Peninsula was still in too disturbed a state for any proper encouragement of letters; and those persons, therefore, who wished to be taught, resorted, some of them, to Paris, but more to Italy. At Bologna, which was probably the oldest, and for a long time the most distinguished of the Italian universities, we know Spaniards were received and honored, during the thirteenth century, both as students and as professors.[3] At Padua, the next in rank, a Spaniard, in 1260, was made the rector, or presiding officer.[4] And, no doubt, in all the great Italian places of education, which were easily accessible, especially in those of Rome and Naples, Spaniards early sought the culture that was either not then to be obtained in their own country, or to be had only with difficulty or by accident.

The connection with Italian universities.

In the next century, the instruction of Spaniards in Italy was put upon a more permanent foundation by Cardinal Carillo de Albornoz; a prelate, a statesman, and a soldier, who, as Archbishop of Toledo, was head of the Spanish Church in the reign of Alfonso the Eleventh, and who afterwards, as regent for the Pope, conquered and governed a large part of the Roman States, which, in the time of Rienzi, had fallen off from their allegiance. This distinguished personage, during his residence in Italy, felt the necessity of better means for the education of his countrymen, and founded, for their especial benefit, at Bologna, in 1364, the College of St. Clement, — a munificent institution,

Cardinal Albornoz and the College of St. Clement.

[2] The University of Salamanca owes its first endowment to Alfonso X., 1254; but in 1310 it had already fallen into great decay, and did not become an efficient and frequented university till some time afterwards. Hist. de la Universidad de Salamanca, por Pedro Chacon. Semanario Erudito, Madrid, 1789, 4to. Tom. XVIII. pp. 13, 21, etc.

[3] Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, Roma, 1782, 4to, Tom. IV. Lib. I. c. 3; and Fuster, Biblioteca Valenciana, Tom. I. pp. 2, 9.)

[4] Tiraboschi, ut sup.

which has subsisted down to our own age.[5] From the middle of the fourteenth century, therefore, it cannot be doubted that the most direct means existed for the transmission of culture from Italy to Spain; one of the most striking proofs of which is to be found in the case of Antonio de Lebrixa, commonly called Nebrissensis, who was educated at this college in the century following its first foundation, and who, on his return home, did more to advance the cause of letters in Spain than any other scholar of his time.[6]

Commercial influence of Italy.

Commercial and political relations still further promoted a free communication of the manners and literature of Italy to Spain. Barcelona, long the seat of a cultivated court, — a city whose liberal institutions gave birth to the first bank of exchange, and demanded the first commercial code of modern times, — had, from the days of James the Conqueror, exercised a sensible influence round the shores of the Mediterranean, and come into successful competition with the enterprise of Pisa and Genoa, even in the ports of Italy. The knowledge and refinement brought back by its ships, joined to the spirit of commercial adventure that sent them forth, rendered Barcelona, therefore, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, one of the most magnificent cities in Europe, and carried its influence not only quite through the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, of which it was, in many respects, the capital, but into the neighboring kingdom of Castile, with which that of Aragon was, during much of this period, intimately connected.[7]

[5] Tiraboschi, Tom. IV. Lib. I. c. 3, sect. 8. Antonio, Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. pp. 169, 170. Gibbon (chap. LXX.) calls him "a consummate statesman," and adds, in a note, "he restored by his arms and counsels the temporal dominion of the Popes." His college was certainly a monument of his wisdom, and long did good service to the cause of learning. I visited it in 1856, and obtained there a slight pamphlet on its fortunes, entitled "Cenni storici dell' almo collegio maggiore di San Clemente della nazione Spagnola in Bologna," 1855, pp. 16. The venerable *Collegio* was nearly extinguished in the time of the first Napoleon; but, though it was revived in 1819, under the auspices of Spain, it seemed to be in a sleepy state when I went through its large halls and pleasant gardens.

[6] Antonio, Bib. Nova, Tom. I. pp. 132–138.

[7] Prescott's Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella, Introd., Section 2; to which add the account of the residence in Barcelona of Carlos de Viana, in Quintana's Life of that unhappy prince (Vidas de Españoles Célebres, Tom. I.), and the very curious notice

The political relations between Spain and Sicily were, however, earlier and more close than those between Spain and Italy, and tended to the same results. Giovanni da Procida, after long preparing his beautiful island to shake off the hated yoke of the French, hastened, in 1282, as soon as the horrors of the Sicilian Vespers were fulfilled, to lay the allegiance of Sicily at the feet of Peter the Third of Aragon, who, in right of his wife, claimed Sicily to be a part of his inheritance, as heir of Conradin, the last male descendant of the imperial family of the Hohenstauffen.[8] The revolution thus begun by a fiery patriotism was successful; but from that time Sicily was either a fief of the Aragonese crown, or was possessed, as a separate kingdom, by a branch of the Aragonese family, down to the period when, with the other possessions of Ferdinand the Catholic, it became a part of the consolidated monarchy of Spain.

Connection of Spain and Sicily.

The connection with Naples, which was of the same sort, followed later, but was no less intimate. Alfonso the Fifth of Aragon, a prince of rare wisdom, and much literary cultivation, acquired Naples by conquest in 1441, after a long struggle;[9] but the crown he had thus won was passed down separately in an indirect line through four of his descendants, till 1503, when, by

Spain and Naples.

of Barcelona in Leo Von Rözmital's Ritter-Hof-und-Pilger-Reise, 1465–67, Stuttgard, 1844, 8vo, p. 111. The first book with a date known to have been printed in Spain appeared at Barcelona, 1468. (See *ante*, Chap. XVII. note 21.) But a press does not seem to have been regularly established there till later.

[8] Zurita, Anales de Aragon, Zaragoza, 1604, folio, Lib. IV. c. 13, etc.; Mariana, Historia, Lib. XIV. c. 6; — both important, but especially the first, as giving the Spanish view of a case which we are more in the habit of considering either in its Italian or its French relations.

[9] Schmidt, Geschichte Aragoniens im Mittelalter, pp. 337–354. Heeren, Geschichte des Studiums der Classischen Litteratur, Göttingen, 1797, 8vo, Tom. II. pp. 109–111. One who knew Alfonso well, and was a competent judge, declared him to be "unicus doctorum hominum cultor suæ tempestatis" (Bart. Facius de Rebus Gestis ab Alphonso, etc., Lugduni, 1560, Fol., p. 181). The conquest of Naples is described by Fazio in the same work; and Bayle (Ed. 1740, Tom. III. p. 461) has an interesting life of Alfonso, who was really a great man, and a man of cultivation beyond his age. Mariana (Lib. XXII. c. 18, Ed. 1780, Tom. II. p. 419) is profuse in his admiration of him, but is mistaken in supposing his death to have been accelerated by grief for that of Fazio, because Fazio survived Alfonso several years. Alfonso V. was the seventh in descent from Alfonso el Sabio, and had all his great ancestor's love of letters. One odd proof of it is mentioned by Cabrera, who says that when the Paduans claimed to have found the remains of Livy, Alfonso sent for one of the bones, and obtained it at a great price. (De Historia para entenderla y para escrivirla, 1611, f. 8.)

a shameful treaty with France, and, by the genius and arms of Gonzalvo of Córdova, it was again conquered and made a direct dependence of the Spanish throne.[10] In this condition, as fiefs of the crown of Spain, both Sicily and Naples continued subject kingdoms until after the Bourbon accession; both affording, from the very nature of their relations to the thrones of Castile and Aragon, constant means and opportunities for the transmission of Italian cultivation and Italian literature to Spain itself.

Italian and Spanish languages.

But the language of Italy, from its affinity to the Spanish, constituted a medium of communication perhaps more important and effectual than any or all of the others. The Latin was the mother of both; and the resemblance between them was such that neither could claim to have features entirely its own: *Facies non una, nec diversa tamen; qualem decet esse sororum.* It cost little labor to a Spaniard to make himself master of the Italian. Translations, therefore, were less common, from the few Italian authors that then existed worth translating, than they would otherwise have been; but enough are found, and early enough, to show that Italian authors and Italian literature were not neglected in Spain. Ayala, the chronicler, who died in 1407, was, as we have already observed, acquainted with the works of Boccaccio.[11] A little later we are struck by the fact that the "Divina Commedia" of Dante was twice translated in the same year, 1428; once by Febrer into the Catalan dialect, and once by Don Enrique de Villena into the Castilian. Twenty years afterwards, the Marquis of Santillana is complimented as a person capable of correcting or surpassing that great poet, and speaks himself of Dante, of Petrarch, and of Boccaccio, as if he were familiar with them all.[12] But the name of this great nobleman brings us at once to the times of John the Second,

[10] Prescott's Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella, Vol. III.

[11] See *ante*, p. 162.

[12] "Con vos que emendays las Obras del Dante," says Gomez Manrique, in a poem addressed to his uncle, the great Marquis, and found in the "Cancionero General," 1573, f. 76, b.; — words which, however we may interpret them, imply a familiar knowledge of Dante, which the Marquis himself yet more directly announces in his well-known letter to the Constable of Portugal. (Sanchez, Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. p. liv.)

when the influences of Italian literature and the attempt to form an Italian school in Spain are not to be mistaken. To this period, therefore, we now turn.

John the Second, and Alvaro de Luna.

The long reign of John the Second, extending from 1407 to 1454, unhappy as it was for himself and for his country, was not unfavorable to the progress of some of the forms of elegant literature. During nearly the whole of it, the weak king himself was subjected to the commanding genius of the Constable Alvaro de Luna, whose control, though he sometimes felt it to be oppressive, he always regretted, when any accident in the troubles of the times threw it off, and left him to bear alone the burden which belonged to his position in the state. It seems, indeed, to have been a part of the Constable's policy to give up the king to his natural indolence, and encourage his effeminacy by filling his time with amusements that would make business more unwelcome to him than the hard tyranny of the minister who relieved him from it.[13]

Among these amusements, none better suited the humor of the idle king than letters. He was by no means without talent. He sometimes wrote verses. He kept the poets of the time much about his person, and more in his confidence and favor than was wise. He had, perhaps, even a partial perception of the advantage of intellectual refinement to his country, or at least to his court. One of his secretaries or scribes, to please his master and those nearest to the royal influence, made, about the year 1449, an ample collection of the Spanish poetry then most in favor, comprising the works of above fifty authors.[14] Juan de Mena, the most distinguished poet of the time, was his official chronicler, and the king sent him documents and directions, with great minuteness and an amusing personal vanity, respecting the manner in which the history of his reign should be written; while Juan de Mena,

[13] Mariana, Historia, Madrid, 1780, fol., Tom. II. pp. 236–407. See also the very remarkable details given by Fernan Perez de Guzman, in his "Generaciones y Semblanzas," c. 33.

[14] Cancionero de Baena, con notas y Comentarios. Madrid, 1851, 8vo. See *post*, Chap. XXIII.

on his part, like a true courtier, sent his verses to the king to be corrected.[15] His physician, too, who seems to have been always in attendance on his person, was the gay and good-humored Ferdinand Gomez, who has left us, if we are to believe them genuine, a pleasing and characteristic collection of letters; and who, after having served and followed his royal master above forty years, sleeping, as he tells us, at his feet, and eating at his table, mourned his death as that of one whose kindness to him had been constant and generous.[16]

Surrounded by persons such as these, in continual intercourse with others like them, and often given up to letters to avoid the solicitation of state affairs, and to gratify his constitutional indolence, John the Second made his reign, though discreditable to himself as a prince, and disastrous to Castile as an independent state, still interesting by a sort of poetical court which he gathered about him, and important, as it gave an impulse to refinement perceptible afterwards through several generations.

There has been a period like this in the history of nearly all the modern European nations, — one in which a taste for poetical composition was common at court, and among those higher classes of society within whose limits intellectual cultivation was then much confined. In Germany such a period is found as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the unhappy young Conradin, who perished in 1268, and is commemorated by Dante, being one of the last of the princely company that illustrates it. For Italy, it begins at about the same time, in the Sicilian court; and, though discountenanced both by the spirit of the Church and by the spirit of such commercial republics as Pisa, Genoa, and Florence, — no one of which had then the chivalrous tone that animated, and, indeed, gave birth to this early refinement throughout Europe, — it can still be traced down as far as the age of Petrarch.

Troubadours and Minnesingers.

[15] See the amusing letters in the "Centon Epistolario" of Fern. Gomez de Cibdareal, Nos. 47, 49, 56, and 76; — a work, however, whose authority will hereafter be called in question.

[16] Ibid., Epistola 105.

Of the appearance of such a taste in the South of France, in Catalonia, and in Aragon, and of its spread to Castile under the patronage of Alfonso the Wise, notice has already been taken. But now we find it in the heart and in the North of the country, extending, too, into Andalusia and Portugal, full of love and knighthood; and though not without the conceits that distinguished it wherever it appeared, yet sometimes showing touches of nature, and still oftener a graceful ingenuity of art, that have not lost their interest down to our own times. Under its influence was formed that school of poetry which, marked by its most prominent attribute, has been sometimes called the school of the *Minnesingers*, or the poets of love and gallantry;[17] a school which either owed its existence everywhere to the Troubadours of Provence, or took, as it advanced, much of their character. In the latter part of the thirteenth century its spirit is already perceptible in the Castilian; and, from that time, we have occasionally caught glimpses of it, down to the point at which we are now arrived, — the first years of the reign of John the Second, — when we find it beginning to be colored by an infusion of the Italian, and spreading out into such importance as to require a separate examination.

And the first person in the group to whom our notice is attracted, as its proper central figure, is King John himself. Of him his chronicler said, with much truth, though not quite without flattery, that "he drew all men to him, was very free and gracious, very devout and very bold, and gave himself much to the reading of philosophy and poetry. He was skilled in matters of the Church, tolerably learned in Latin, and a great respecter of such men as had knowledge. He had many

Character of John II.

[17] *Minne* is the word for *love* in the "Nibelungenlied," and in the oldest German poetry generally, and is applied occasionally to spiritual and religious affections, but almost always to the love connected with gallantry. There has been a great deal of discussion about its etymology and primitive meanings in the Lexicons of Wachter, Ménage, Adelung, etc.; but it is enough for our purpose to know that the word itself is peculiarly appropriate to the fanciful and more or less conceited school of poetry that everywhere appeared under the influences of chivalry. It is the word that gave birth to the French *mignon*, the English *minion*, etc.

natural gifts. He was a lover of music; he played, sung, and made verses; and he danced well."[18] One who knew him better describes him more skilfully. "He was," says Fernan Perez de Guzman, "a man who talked with judgment and discretion. He knew other men, and understood who conversed well, wisely, and graciously; and he loved to listen to men of sense, and noted what they said. He spoke and understood Latin. He read well, and liked books and histories, and loved to hear witty rhymes, and knew when they were not well made. He took great solace in gay and shrewd conversation, and could bear his part in it. He loved the chase, and hunting of fierce animals, and was well skilled in all the arts of it. Music, too, he understood, and sung and played; was good in jousting, and bore himself well in tilting with reeds."[19]

His verses.

How much poetry he wrote we do not know. His physician says, "The king recreates himself with writing verses;"[20] and others repeat the fact. But the best proof of his skill that has come down to our times is to be found in the following lines, in the Provençal manner, on the falsehood of his lady.[21]

[18] Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año, 1454, c. 2.

[19] Generaciones y Semblanzas, Cap. 33. Diego de Valera, who, like Guzmán, just cited, had much personal intercourse with the king, gives a similar account of him, in a style no less natural and striking. "He was," says that chronicler, "devout and humane; liberal and gentle; tolerably well taught in the Latin tongue; bold, gracious, and of winning ways. He was tall of stature, and his bearing was regal, with much natural ease. Moreover, he was a good musician; sang, played, and danced, and wrote good verses [*trobaua muy bien*]. Hunting pleased him much; he read gladly books of philosophy and poetry, and was learned in matters belonging to the Church." Crónica de Hyspaña, Salamanca, 1495, folio, f. 89.

John, too, seems to have had a taste for painting. At least he had Dello, a Florentine artist, at his court, and patronized and knighted him. See Stirling's Annals of the Artists of Spain (London, 3, 8vo, 1848, Vol. I. p. 97); — a book remarkable for its careful learning, good sense, and good taste on the subject to which it is mainly devoted, and for its curious notices on the kindred subjects that naturally present themselves in such a work. I had not received it when the first edition of this History was published; but I shall often have occasion to refer to it in the present one.

[20] Fernan Gomez de Cibdareal, Centon, Epistolario, Ep. 20.

[21] They are commonly printed with the Works of Juan de Mena, as in the edition of Seville, 1534, folio, f. 104, but are often found elsewhere.

Amor, yo nunca pensé,
Que tan poderoso eras,
Que podrias tener maneras
Para trastornar la fé,
Fasta agora que lo sé.

Pensaba que conocido
Te debiera yo tener,
Mas no pudiera creer
Que fueras tan mal sabido.

O Love, I never, never thought
  Thy power had been so great,
  That thou couldst change my fate,
By changes in another wrought,
Till now, alas! I know it.

I thought I knew thee well,
  For I had known thee long;
  But though I felt thee strong,
I felt not all thy spell.

Nor ever, ever had I thought
  Thy power had been so great,
  That thou couldst change my fate,
By changes in another wrought,
Till now, alas! I know it.

Among those who most interested themselves in the progress of poetry in Spain, and labored most directly to introduce it at the court of Castile, was Don Enrique de Aragon, or Don Enrique de Villena, often, but inappropriately, called the Marquis of Villena. He was born in 1384, and was descended in the paternal line from the royal house of Aragon, and in the maternal from that of Castile.[22] "In early youth," says one who knew him well, "he was inclined to the sciences and the arts, rather than to knightly exercises, or even to affairs, whether of the state or the Church; for, without any master, and none constraining him to learn, but rather hindered by his grandfather, who would have had him for

Don Enrique de Villena.

Ni jamas no lo pensé,
  Aunque poderoso eras,
  Que podrias tener maneras
  Para trastornar la fé.
  Fasta agora que lo sé.

Three other trifles claimed as the King's may be found in the Appendix to Pidal's Essay prefixed to Baena's Cancionero, 1851, pp. LXXXI.–II.

[22] His family originally possessed the only marquisate in the kingdom (Salazar de Mendoza, Origen de las Dignidades Seglares de Castilla y Leon, Toledo, 1618, folio, Lib. III. c. xii.), and he is called "Marquis of Villena" on the title-page to his "Arte Cisoria," published in 1766 by the Library of the Escorial; a designation often given to him since. But, in strictness of law, he was not a Marquis; for his grandfather, Don Alonso de Aragon, who died in 1412, sold the Marquisate to Henry III. of Castile; so that, before Don Enrique came to his inheritance, the title was already vested in the crown. (Gudiel, Familia de los Girones, 1577, f. 86, b. Salazar de Mendoza, Monarquia de España, 1770, Lib. III. Tit. vii. cap. 3, 4.) His proper appellation, therefore, is Don Enrique de Aragon, or Don Enrique de Villena. Quevedo tried to correct the mistake, which was common in his time, and has been ever since; for in his Visita de los Chistes he introduces Don Enrique saying pointedly, "mi nombre no fue del titulo aunque tuve muchos."

a knight, he did, in childhood, when others are wont to be carried to their schools by force, turn himself to learning against the good-will of all; and so high and so subtile a wit had he, that he learned any science or art to which he addicted himself, in such wise, that it seemed as if it were done by force of nature."[23]

But his rank and position brought him into the affairs of the world and the troubles of the times, however little he might be fitted to play a part in them. He was made Master of the great military and monastic Order of Calatrava, but, owing to irregularities in his election, was ultimately ejected from his place, and left in a worse condition than if he had never received it.[24] In the mean time, he resided chiefly at the court of Castile; but from 1412 to 1414 he was at that of his kinsman, Ferdinand the Just, of Aragon, in honor of whose coronation at Saragossa he composed an allegorical drama, which is unhappily lost. Afterwards, he accompanied that monarch to Barcelona, where, as we have seen, he did much to restore and sustain the poetical school called the Consistory of the Gaya Sciencia. When, however, he lost his place as Master of the Order of Calatrava, he sunk into obscurity. The Regency of Castile, willing to make him some amends for his losses, gave him the poor lordship of Iniesta in the bishopric of Cuenca; and there he spent the last twenty years of his life in comparative poverty, earnestly devoted to such studies as were known and fashionable in his time. He died while on a visit at Madrid, in 1434, the last of his great family.[25]

[23] Fernan Perez de Guzman, Gen. y Semblanzas, Cap. 28.

[24] Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1407, Cap. 4, and 1434, Cap. 8, where his character is pithily given in the following words: "Este caballero fue muy grande letrado é supo muy poco en lo que le cumplia." In the "Comedias Escogidas" (Madrid, 4to, Tom. IX., 1657) is a poor play entitled "El Rey Enrique el Enfermo, de seis Ingenios," in which that unhappy king appears to even less advantage than he does in his Chronicle or in the History of Mariana.

[25] Zurita, Anales de Aragon, Lib. XIV. c. 22. The best notice of Don Enrique de Villena is in Juan Antonio Pellicer, "Biblioteca de Traductores Españoles" (Madrid, 1778, 8vo, Tom. II. pp. 58–76), to which, however, the accounts in Antonio (Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Lib. X. c. 3) and Mariana (Hist., Lib. XX. c. 6) should be added. The character of a bold, unscrupulous, ambitious man, given to Don Enrique by Larra, in his novel entitled "El Doncel de Don Enrique el Doliente," published at Madrid, about 1835, has no proper foundation in history.

Among his favorite studies, besides poetry, history, and elegant literature, were philosophy and the mathematics, astrology, and alchemy. But, in an age of great ignorance and superstition, such pursuits were not indulged in without rebuke. Don Enrique, therefore, like others, was accounted a necromancer; and so deeply did this belief strike its roots, that a popular tradition of his guilt has survived in Spain quite down to our own age.[26] The effects, at the time, were yet more unhappy and absurd. A large and rare collection of books that he left behind him excited alarm, immediately after his death. "Two cart-loads of them," says one who claims to have been his contemporary and friend, "were carried to the king, and because it was said they related to magic and unlawful arts, the king sent them to Friar Lope de Barrientos;[27] and Friar Lope, who cares more to be about the Prince than to examine matters of necromancy, burnt above a hundred volumes, of which he saw no more than the King of Morocco did, and knew no more than the Dean of Ciudad Rodrigo; for many men now-a-days make themselves the name of learned by calling others ignorant; but it is worse yet when men make themselves holy by calling others necromancers."[28] Juan de Mena, to whom the letter containing this statement was addressed, offered

Don Enrique's studies.

[26] Pellicer speaks of the traditions of Don Enrique's necromancy (loc. cit. p. 65). How absurd some of them were may be seen in a note of Pellicer to his edition of Don Quixote (Parte I. c. 49), and in the Dissertation of Feyjoó, "Teatro Critico" (Madrid, 1751, 8vo, Tom. VI. Disc. ii. sect. 9). Mariana evidently regarded Don Enrique as a dealer in the black art (Hist., Lib. XIX. c. 8), or, at least, chose to have it thought he did; and the vulgar belief to that effect continues still, for I have the "Historia ec. del celebre Hechicero Don Enrique de Villena" (4to, Madrid, 1848, pp. 24). — Roxas used it in his "Lo que queria ver el Marques de Villena." Comedias, 1680, Tom. II.

[27] Lope de Barrientos was confessor to John II., and perhaps his knowledge of these very books led him to compose a treatise against Divination, which has never been printed (Antonio, Bib. Vetus, Lib. X. c. 11), but of which I have ample extracts, through the kindness of D. Pascual de Gayangos, and in which the author says that among the books burned was the one called "Raziel," from the name of one of the angels who guarded the entrance to Paradise, and taught the art of divination to a son of Adam, from whose traditions the book in question was compiled. It may be worth while to add that this Barrientos was a Dominican, one of the order of monks to whom, thirty years afterwards, Spain was chiefly indebted for the Inquisition, which soon bettered his example by burning, not only books, but men. He died in 1469, aged eighty-seven, having filled, at different times, some of the principal offices in the kingdom.

[28] Cibdareal, Centon Epistolario, Epist. lxvi.

a not ungraceful tribute to the memory of Don Enrique in three of his three hundred *coplas*;[29] and the Marquis of Santillana, distinguished for his love of letters, wrote a separate poem on the occasion of his noble friend's death, placing him, after the fashion of his age and country, above all Greek, above all Roman fame.[30]

But though the unhappy Don Enrique de Villena may have been in advance of his age, so far as his studies and knowledge were concerned, still the few of his works now known to us are far from justifying the whole of the reputation his contemporaries gave him. His "Arte Cisoria," or Art of Carving, is proof of this. It was written in 1423, at the request of his friend, the chief carver of John the Second, and begins, in the most formal and pedantic manner, with the creation of the world and the invention of all the arts, among which the art of carving is made early to assume a high place. Then follows an account of what is necessary to make a good carver; after which we have, in detail, the whole mystery of the art, as it ought to be practised at the royal table. It is obvious, from sundry passages of the work, that Don Enrique himself was by no means without a love for the good cheer he so carefully explains,— a circumstance, perhaps, to which he owed the gout that we are told severely tormented his latter years. But in its style and composition this specimen of the didactic prose of the age has little value, and can be really curious only to those who are interested in the history of manners.[31]

His Arte Cisoria.

Somewhat similar remarks might be made about his treatise on the "Arte de Trobar," or the "Gaya Sciencia;" a sort of Art of Poetry, addressed to the Marquis of Santillana, in order to carry into his native

His Arte de Trobar.

[29] Coplas 126-128.

[30] It is found in the "Cancionero General," 1573 (ff. 34-37), and is a vision in imitation of Dante's.

[31] The "Arte Cisoria ó Tratado del Arte de cortar del Cuchillo" was first printed under the auspices of the Library of the Escurial (Madrid, 1766, 4to), from a manuscript in that precious collection marked with the fire of 1671. It is not likely soon to come to a second edition. If I were to compare it with any contemporary work, it would be with the old English "Treatyse on Fyshynge with an Angle," sometimes attributed to Dame Juliana Berners, but it lacks the few literary merits found in that little work.

Castile some of the poetical skill possessed by the Troubadours of the South. But we have only an imperfect abstract of it, accompanied, indeed, with portions of the original work, which are important as being the oldest on its subject in the language.[32] More interesting, however, than either would be his translations of the Rhetorica of Cicero, the Divina Commedia of Dante, and the Æneid of Virgil. But of the first we have lost all trace. Of the second we know only that it was in prose, and addressed to his friend and kinsman, the Marquis of Santillana. And of the Æneid there remain but nine books, with a commentary to three of them, from which a few extracts are all that has been published.[33]

Don Enrique's reputation, therefore, must rest chiefly on his "Trabajos de Hercules," or The Labors of Hercules, written to please one of his Catalonian friends, Pero Pardo, who asked to have an explanation of the virtues and achievements of Hercules; always a great national hero in Spain. The work seems to have been much admired and read in manuscript, and, after printing was introduced into Spain, it went through two editions before the year 1500; but all knowledge of it was so completely lost soon afterwards, that the most intelligent authors of Spanish literary history down to our own times have generally spoken of it as a poem. It is, however, in fact, a short prose treatise, filling, in the first edition, — that of 1483, — thirty large leaves. It is divided into twelve chapters, each devoted to one of the twelve great labors of Hercules, and each subdivided into four parts: the first part containing the common mythological

His Trabajos de Hercules.

[32] All we have of this "Arte de Trobar" is in Mayans y Siscar, "Origenes de la Lengua Española" (Madrid, 1737, 12mo, Tom. II. pp. 321–342). It seems to have been written in 1433.

[33] The best account of them is in Pellicer, Bib. de Traductores, loc. cit. I am sorry to add, that the specimen given of the translation from Virgil, though short, affords some reason to doubt whether Don Enrique was a good Latin scholar. It is in prose, and the Preface sets forth that it was written at the earnest request of John, King of Navarre, whose curiosity about Virgil had been excited by the reverential notices of him in Dante's "Divina Commedia." See, also, Memorias de la Academia de Historia, Tom. VI. p. 455, note. In the King's Library at Paris is a prose translation of the last nine books of Virgil's Æneid, made, in 1430, by a *Juan* de Villena, who qualifies himself as a "*servant* of Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza." (Ochoa, Catálogo de Manuscritos, Paris, 1844, 4to, p. 375.) But this is a mistake. They are, in fact, the last nine books of Don Enrique's translation.

story of the labor under consideration; the second, an explanation of this story as if it were an allegory; the third, the historical facts upon which it is conjectured to have been founded; and the fourth, a moral application of the whole to some one of twelve conditions, into which the author very arbitrarily divides the human race, beginning with princes and ending with women.

Thus, in the fourth chapter, after telling the commonly received tale, or, as he calls it, "the naked story," of the Garden of the Hesperides, he gives us an allegory of it, showing that Libya, where the fair garden is placed, is human nature, dry and sandy; that Atlas, its lord, is the wise man, who knows how to cultivate his poor desert; that the garden is the garden of knowledge, divided according to the sciences; that the tree in the midst is philosophy; that the dragon watching the tree is the difficulty of study; and that the three Hesperides are Intelligence, Memory, and Eloquence. All this and more he explains under the third head, by giving the facts which he would have us suppose constituted the foundation of the first two; telling us that King Atlas was a wise king of the olden time, who first arranged and divided all the sciences; and that Hercules went to him and acquired them, after which he returned and imparted his acquisitions to King Eurystheus. And, finally, in the fourth part of the chapter, he applies it all to the Christian priesthood, and the duty of this priesthood to become learned and explain the Scriptures to the ignorant laity; as if there were any possible analogy between them and Hercules and his fables.[34]

[34] The "Trabajos de Hercules" is one of the rarest books in the world, though there are editions of it of 1483 and 1499, and perhaps one of 1502. The copy which I use is of the first edition, and belongs to Don Pascual de Gayangos. It was printed at Çamora, by Centenera, having been completed, as the colophon tells us, on the 15th of January, 1483. It fills thirty leaves in folio, double columns, and is illustrated by eleven curious wood-cuts, well done for the period and country. The mistakes made about it are remarkable, and render the details I have given of some consequence. Antonio (Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. p. 222), Velasquez (Origines de la Poesía Castellana, 4to, Málaga, 1754, p. 49), L. F. Moratin (Obras, ed. de la Academia, Madrid, 1830, 8vo, Tom. I. Parte I. p. 114), and even Torres Amat, in his "Memorias" (Barcelona, 1836, 8vo, p. 669), all speak of it *as a poem*. Of the edition printed at Burgos, in 1499, and mentioned in Mendez, Typog. Esp. (p. 289), I have never seen a copy, and, except the above-mentioned copy of the first edition and an imperfect one in

The book, however, is worth the trouble of reading. It is, no doubt, full of the faults peculiar to its age, and abounds in awkward citations from Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, and other Latin authors, then so rarely found and so little known in Spain, that extracts from them added materially to the interest and value of the treatise.[35] But the allegory is sometimes amusing; the language is almost always good, and occasionally striking by fine archaisms; and the whole has a dignity about it which is not without its appropriate power and grace.[36]

From Don Enrique de Villena himself, it is natural for us to turn to one of his followers, known only as "Macias el Enamorado," or Macias the Lover; a name which constantly recurs in Spanish literature with a peculiar meaning, given by the tragical history of the poet who bore it. He was a Galician gentleman, who served Don Enrique as one of his esquires, and became enamored of a maiden attached to the same princely household with himself. But the lady, though he won her love, was married, under the authority that controlled both of them, to a knight of Porcuna. Still Macias in no degree restrained his passion, but continued to express it to her in his verses, as he had done before. The husband was naturally offended, and complained to Don Enrique, who, after in vain rebuking his follower, used his full power, as Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava, and cast Macias into prison. But there he only devoted himself more passionately to the thoughts of his lady, and, by his persevering love, still more provoked her husband, who, secretly following him to his prison at Arjonilla, and watching him

Macias el Enamorado.

the Royal Library at Paris, I know of none of any edition; — so rare is it become.

[35] See Heeren, Geschichte der Class. Litteratur im Mittelalter, Göttingen, 8vo, Tom. II., 1801, pp. 126–131. From the Advertencia to Don Enrique's translation of Virgil, it would seem that even Virgil was hardly known in Spain in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

[36] Another work of Don Enrique de Villena is mentioned in Sempere y Guarinos, "Historia del Luxo de España" (Madrid, 1788, 8vo, Tom. I. pp. 176–179), called "El Triunfo de las Donas," and is said to have been found by him in a manuscript of the fifteenth century, "with other works of the same wise author." The extract given by Sempere is on the fops of the time, and is written with spirit. Gayangos says that one of them was the "Cadira del honor," which is attributed by N. Antonio (Bib.Vet. Lib. X. cap. vi.) to Rodriguez del Padron, and that there are two others — one on "Vestiduras y Paredes," and the other entitled "Consolatoria."

Ferdinand of Aragon;[3] and at the age of eighteen, we are told, he boldly reclaimed his possessions, which, partly through the forms of law and partly by force of arms, he recovered.[4] From this period we find him, during the reign of John the Second, busy in the affairs of the kingdom, both civil and military; always a personage of great consideration, and apparently one who, in difficult circumstances and wild times, acted from manly motives. When only thirty years old, he was distinguished at court as one of the persons concerned in arranging the marriage of the Infanta of Aragon;[5] and, soon afterwards, had a separate command against the Navarrese, in which, though he suffered a defeat from greatly superior numbers, he acquired lasting honor by his personal bravery and firmness.[6] Against the Moors he commanded long, and was often successful; and after the battle of Olmedo, in 1445, he was raised to the very high rank of Marquis; none in Castile having preceded him in that title except the family of Villena, already extinct.[7]

He was early but not violently opposed to the great favorite, the Constable Alvaro de Luna. In 1432, some of his friends and kinsmen, the good Count Haro and the Bishop of Palencia, with their adherents, having been seized by order of the Constable, Mendoza shut himself up in his strongholds till he was fully assured of his own safety.[8] From this time, therefore, the relations between two such personages could not be considered friendly; but still appearances were kept up, and the next year, at a grand jousting before the king in Madrid,

His political position.

[3] Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1414, Cap. 2.

[4] It is Perez de Guzman, uncle of the Marquis, who declares (Generaciones y Semblanzas, Cap. 9) that the father of the Marquis had larger estates than any other Castilian knight; to which may be added what Oviedo says so characteristically of the young nobleman, that, "as he grew up, he recovered his estates, partly by law and partly by force of arms, and *so began forthwith to be accounted much of a man*." Batalla I. Quinquagena I. Diálogo 8, MS.

[5] Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1428, Cap. 7.

[6] Sanches, Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. pp. v., etc.

[7] Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1438, Cap. 2; 1445, Cap. 17; and Salazar de Mendoza, Dignidades de Castilla, Lib. III. c. 14.

[8] Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1432, Capp. 4 and 5.

where Mendoza offered himself against all comers, the Constable was one of his opponents; and, after the encounter, they feasted together merrily and in all honor.[9] Indeed, the troubles between them were inconsiderable till 1448 and 1449, when the hard proceedings of the Constable against others of the friends and relations of Mendoza led him into a more formal opposition,[10] which in 1452 brought on a regular conspiracy between himself and two more of the leading nobles of the kingdom. The next year the favorite was sacrificed.[11] In the last scenes, however, of this extraordinary tragedy, the Marquis of Santillana seems to have had little share.

The king, disheartened by the loss of the minister on whose commanding genius he had so long leaned for support, died in 1454. But Henry the Fourth, who followed on the throne of Castile, seemed even more willing to favor the great family of the Mendozas than his father had been. The Marquis, however, was little disposed to take advantage of his position. His wife died in 1455, and the pilgrimage he made on that occasion to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and the religious poetry he wrote the same year, show the direction his thoughts had now taken.[12] In this state of mind he seems to have continued; and though he once afterwards joined effectively with others to urge upon the king's notice the disordered and ruinous state of the kingdom, yet, from the fall of the Constable to the time of his own death, which happened in 1458, the Marquis was chiefly busied with letters, and with such other occupations and thoughts as were consistent with a retired life.[13]

[9] Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1433, Cap. 2.

[10] Ibid., Año 1449, Cap. 11. To these dark years (1450–1454) we may probably refer the "Lamentacion en profecia de la segunda Destruycion de España," which, by its force and eloquence, reminds us of the "Perdida de España," in the Chronica General.

[11] Ibid., Año 1452, Capp. 1, etc.

[12] He was very devout in his service to the Madonna, in reference to whom he used for a motto, "Dios y vos."

[13] The principal facts in the life of the Marquis of Santillana are to be gathered — as, from his rank and consideration in the state, might be expected — out of the Chronicle of John II., in which he constantly appears after the year 1414; but a very lively and successful sketch of him is to be found in the fourth chapter of Pulgar's "Claros Varones," and an ill-digested biography in the first volume of Sanchez, "Poesias Anteriores," together with a long and elaborate one by Amador de los Rios, making above an hundred pages in his

It is remarkable that one who, from his birth and position, was so much involved in the affairs of state at a period of great confusion and violence, should yet have cultivated elegant literature with earnestness. But the Marquis of Santillana, as he wrote to a friend, and repeated to Prince Henry, believed that knowledge neither blunts the point of the lance, nor weakens the arm that wields a knightly sword.[14] He therefore gave himself freely to poetry and other graceful accomplishments; encouraged, perhaps, by the thought that he was thus on the road to please the wayward monarch he served, if not to conciliate the stern favorite who governed them all. One who was bred at the court, of which the Marquis was so distinguished an ornament, says, "He had great store of books, and gave himself to study, especially the study of moral philosophy, and of things foreign and old. And he had always in his house doctors and masters, with whom he discoursed concerning the knowledge and the books he studied. Likewise, he himself made other books in verse and in prose, profitable to provoke to virtue and to restrain from vice. And in such wise did he pass the greater part of his leisure. Much fame and renown, also, he had in many kingdoms out of Spain; but he thought it a greater matter to have esteem among the wise, than name and fame with the many."[15]

His love of letters.

The works of the Marquis of Santillana show, with sufficient distinctness, the relations in which he stood to his times, and the direction he was disposed to take. From his social position, he could easily gratify any reasonable literary curiosity or taste he might possess; for the resources of the kingdom were open to him, and he could, therefore, not only obtain for his private study the poetry then abroad in the world, but could often

His works.

careful and valuable edition of Santillana's works, 1852. Moreover, the glories of the Marquis, and of the house of Mendoza, both before and after him, are amply set forth in the History of Guadalaxara, by Alonso Nuñez de Castro, the chronicler (Fol. 1653). Indeed, his name and position were so great, that all who discuss his times must notice the important part he bore in them.

[14] In the "Introduction (sic) del Marques á los Proverbios," Anvers, 1552, 18mo, f. 150. "Fago de este trabajo reposo de los otros," he says neatly in his letter or "Question" to the Bishop of Burgos.

[15] Pulgar, Claros Várones, ut supra.

command to his presence the poets themselves. He was born in the Asturias, where his great family fiefs lay, and was educated in Castile; so that, on this side, he belonged to the genuinely indigenous school of Spanish poetry. But then he was also intimate with Don Enrique de Villena, the head of the poetical Consistory of Barcelona, who, to encourage his poetical studies, addressed to him, in 1433, his curious letter on the art of the Troubadours, which Don Enrique thus proposed to introduce into Castile.[16] And, after all, he lived chiefly at the court of John the Second, and was the friend and patron of the poets there, through whom and through his love of foreign letters it was natural he should come in contact with the great Italian masters, now exercising a wide sway within their own peninsula, and already known in Spain. We must not be surprised, therefore, to find that his own works belong more or less to each of these schools, and define his position as that of one who stands connected with the Provençal literature in Spain, which we have just examined; with the Italian, whose influences were now beginning to appear; and with the genuinely Spanish, which, though it often bears traces of each of the others, is destined to prevail at last over both of them.

His works in the Provençal manner.

Of his familiarity with the Provençal poetry, abundant proof may be found in the Preface to his Proverbs, which he wrote when young, and in his letter to the Constable of Portugal, which belongs to the latter period of his life. In both he treats the rules of that poetry as well founded, explaining them much as his friend and kinsman, Don Enrique de Villena, did; and of some of the principal of its votaries in Spain, such as Bergedan, and Pedro and Ausias March, he speaks with great respect.[17] To Jordi, his contemporary, he elsewhere devotes an allegorical poem of some length and merit, intended to do him the highest honor as a Troubadour.[18]

But, besides this, he directly imitated the Provençal

[16] See the preceding notice of Villena.

[17] In the Introduction to his Proverbs he boasts of his familiarity with the Provençal rules of versifying.

[18] It is in the oldest Cancionero General, and copied from that into Faber's "Floresta," No. 87.

poets. By far the most beautiful of his works, and one which may well be compared with the most graceful of the smaller poems in the Spanish language, is entirely in the Provençal manner. It is called "Una Serranilla," or A Little Mountain Song, and was composed on a little girl, whom, when following his military duty, he found tending her father's herds on the hills. Many such short songs occur in the later Provençal poets, under the name of "Pastoretas," and "Vaqueiras," one of which, by Giraud Riquier, — the same person who wrote verses on the death of Alfonso the Wise, — might have served as the very prototype of the present one, so strong is the resemblance between them. But none of them, either in the Provençal or in the Spanish, has ever equalled this "Serranilla" of the manly soldier; which, besides its inherent simplicity and liquid sweetness, has such grace and lightness in its movement that it bears no marks of an unbecoming imitation, but, on the contrary, is rather to be regarded as a model of the natural old Castilian song, never to be transferred to another language, and hardly to be imitated with success in its own.[19]

The traces of Italian culture in the poetry of the Marquis of Santillana are no less obvious and important. Besides praising Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio,[20] he

[19] The *Serranas* of the Arcipreste de Hita were noticed when speaking of his works; but the ten by the Marquis of Santillana approach nearer to the Provençal model, and have a higher poetical merit. For their form and structure, see Diez, Troubadours, p. 114. The one specially referred to in the text is so beautiful that I add a part of it, with the corresponding portion of the one by Riquier.

Moza tan fermosa
Non vi en la frontera,
Como una vaquera
De la Finojosa.
. . . .
En un verde prado
De rosas é flores,
Guardando ganado
Con otros pastores,
La vi tan fermosa,
Que apenas creyera,
Que fuese vaquera
De la Finojosa.

Sanchez, Poesías Anteriores, Tom. I. p. xliv.

The following is the opening of that by Riquier:

Gaya pastorelha
Trobey l'autre dia
En una ribeira,
Que per caut la belha
Sos anhels tenia
Desotz un ombreira;
Un capelh fazia
De flors e sezia,
Sus en la fresqueria, etc.

Raynouard, Troubadours, Tom. III. p. 470.

Serranilla and *serrana* are derived from *sierra*, "a mountain range" which looks, at a distance, like a *sierra*, — "a saw." None of the Provençal poets, I think, wrote so beautiful *Pastoretas* as Riquier; so that the Marquis chose a good model.

[20] See the Letter to the Constable of Portugal.

imitates the opening of the "Inferno" in a long poem, in octave stanzas, on the death of Don Enrique de Villena;[21] while, in the "Coronation of Jordi," he shows that he was sensible to the power of more than one passage in the "Purgatorio."[22] Moreover, he has the merit — if it be one — of introducing the peculiarly Italian form of the Sonnet into Spain; and with the different specimens of it that still remain among his works begins the ample series which, since the time of Boscan, has won for itself so large a space in Spanish literature. Forty-two sonnets of the Marquis of Santillana have been published, which he himself declares to be written in "the Italian fashion," and appeals to Cavalcante, Guido d' Ascoli, Dante, and especially Petrarch, as his predecessors and models; an appeal hardly necessary to one who has read them, so plain is his desire to imitate the greatest of his masters. The sonnets of the Marquis of Santillana, however, have little merit, except in their careful versification, and were soon forgotten.[23]

His works in the Italian manner.

But his principal works were more in the manner then prevalent at the Spanish court. Most of them are in verse, and, like a short poem to the queen, several riddles, and a few religious compositions, are full of conceits and affectation, and have little value of any sort.[24] Two or three, however, are of consequence. One called "The Complaint of Love," and referring appar-

His works in the courtly manner of his time.

[21] Cancionero General, 1573, f. 34. It was, of course, written after 1434, that being the year Villena died.

[22] Faber, Floresta ut sup.

[23] Sanchez, Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. pp. xx., xxi., xl. Quintana, Poesias Castellanas, Madrid, 1807, 12mo, Tom. I. p. 13. There are imperfect discussions about the introduction of sonnets into Spanish poetry in Argote de Molina's "Discurso," at the end of the "Conde Lucanor" (1575, f. 97), and in Herrera's edition of Garcilasso (Sevilla, 1580, 8vo. p. 75). But all doubts are put at rest, and all questions answered, in the edition of the "Rimas Ineditas de Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza," published at Paris, by Ochoa (1844, 8vo), and in the more ample and better edition of them by Don Amador de los Rios (Madrid, 1852); where, in a letter by the Marquis, dated May 4, 1444, and addressed, with his Poems, to Doña Violante de Pradas, he tells her expressly that he imitated the Italian masters in the composition of his poems.

[24] They are found in the Cancionero General of 1573, ff. 24, 27, 37, 40, and 234.

The Marquis had little regard for popular poetry. Dividing *all* poetry into three classes, — *Sublime*, like that of the Greeks and Romans; *Middling*, like that of the Italians and Provençals; and *Low*,— he describes the latter thus: "*infimos* son aquellos que sin ningunt orden, regla, ni cuento facen estos *romances* è cantares de que la gente baxa è de servil condicion se alegra." Proemio al Condestable, in Sanchez, Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. p. LIV.

ently to the story of Macias, is written with fluency and sweetness, and is curious as containing lines in Galician, which, with other similar verses and his letter to the Constable of Portugal, show that he extended his thoughts to this ancient dialect, where are found some of the earliest intimations of Spanish literature.[25] Another poem attributed to him, which has been called "The Ages of the World," is a compendium of universal history, beginning at the creation and coming down to the time of John the Second, with a gross compliment to whom it ends. It was written in 1426, and fills three hundred and thirty-two stanzas of double *redondillas*, dull and prosaic throughout.[26] The third is a moral poem, thrown into the shape of a dialogue between Bias and Fortune, setting forth the Stoical doctrine of the worthlessness of all outward good. It consists of a hundred and eighty octave stanzas in the short Spanish measure, and was written for the consolation of a cousin and much-loved friend of the Toledo family, whose imprisonment in 1448, by order of the Constable, caused great troubles in the kingdom, and contributed to the final alienation of the Marquis from the favorite.[27] The fourth is on the kindred subject of the fall and death of the Constable himself, in 1453; a poem in fifty-three octave stanzas, each of two *redondillas*, containing a confession supposed to have been made by the victim on the scaffold, partly to the multitude and partly to his priest.[28] In both of the last two poems, and especially in the dialogue between Bias and Fortune, passages of merit are found, which are not only fluent, but strong; not only terse and pointed, but graceful.[29]

[25] Sanchez, Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. pp. 143–147.

[26] It received its name from Ochoa, who first printed it in his edition of the Marquis's Poems (pp. 97–240); but Amador de los Rios, in his "Estudios sobre los Judios de España" (Madrid, 1848, 8vo, p. 342), gives reasons which induce him to believe it to be the work of Pablo de Sta. Maria, who will be noticed hereafter. The Señor Amador, therefore, has not included it in his edition of the works of the Marquis of Santillana; but has renewed and reinforced his objections to it in his Preface (pp. CLXXII. sqq.).

[27] Faber, Floresta, No. 743. Sanchez, Tom. I. p. xli. Claros Varones de Pulgar, ed. 1775, p. 224. Crónica de D. Juan II°., Año 1448, Cap. 4.

[28] Cancionero General, 1573, f. 37.

[29] Two or three other poems are given by Ochoa: the "Pregunta de Nobles," a sort of moral lament of the poet, that he cannot see and know the great men of all times; the "Doze Trabajos de Ercoles," which has sometimes been confounded with the prose

His Comedieta de Ponza.

But the most important of the poetical works of the Marquis of Santillana is one approaching the form of a drama, and called the "Comedieta de Ponza," or The Little Comedy of Ponza. It is founded on the story of a great sea-fight on the coast of Naples, near the island of Ponza, in 1435, where the Kings of Aragon and Navarre, and the Infante Don Henry of Castile, with many noblemen and knights, were taken prisoners by the Genoese, — a disaster to Spain, which fills a large space in the old national chronicles.[30] The poem of Santillana, written immediately after the occurrence of the calamity it commemorates, is called a Comedy, because its conclusion is happy, and Dante is cited as authority for this use of the word.[31] But in fact it is a dream or vision; and one of the early passages in the "Inferno," imitated at the very opening, leaves no doubt as to what was in the author's mind when he wrote it.[32] The Queens of Navarre and Aragon, and the Infante Doña Catalina, as the persons most interested in the unhappy battle, are the chief speakers. But Boccaccio is also a principal personage, though seemingly for no better reason than that he wrote the treatise on the Disasters of Princes; and, after being addressed very solemnly in this capacity by the three royal ladies and by the Marquis of Santillana himself, he answers no less solemnly in his native Italian. Queen Leonora then gives him an account of the glories and grandeur of her house, accompanied with auguries of misfortune, which are hardly uttered before a letter comes announcing their fulfilment in the calamities of the battle of Ponza. The queen mother, after hearing the contents of this letter quite through, falls as one dead. Fortune, in a female form, richly attired, enters, and con-

work of Villena bearing the same title; and the "Infierno de los Enamorados," which was afterwards imitated by Garci Sanchez de Badajoz. All three are short, and of little value.

[30] For example, Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1435, Cap. 9. But, perhaps, the best account to illustrate the Comedieta is in Bart. Facius de Rebus Gestis ab Alfonso, etc., Lib. IV. Lugduni, 1560, Fol.

[31] In the letter to Doña Violante de Pradas, where he says he began it immediately after the battle.

[32] Speaking of the dialogue he heard about the battle, the Marquis says, using almost the very words of Dante, —

Tan pauroso,
Que solo en pensarlo me vence piedad.

soles them all; first showing a magnificent perspective of past times, with promises of still greater glory to their descendants, and then fairly presenting to them in person the very princes whose captivity had just filled them with such fear and grief. And this ends the Comedieta.

It fills a hundred and twenty of the old Italian octave stanzas, — such stanzas as are used in the "Filostrato" of Boccaccio, — and much of it is written in easy verse. There is a great deal of ancient learning introduced into it awkwardly and in bad taste; but there is one passage in which a description of Fortune is skilfully borrowed from the seventh canto of the "Inferno," and another in which is a pleasing paraphrase of the *Beatus ille* of Horace.[33] The machinery and management of the story, it is obvious, could hardly be worse; and yet when it was written, and perhaps still more when it was declaimed, as it may have been, before some of the sufferers in the disaster it records, it may well have been felt as an effective description of a very grave passage in the history of the time. On this account, too, it is still interesting.

The Comedieta, however, was not the most popular, if it was the most important, of the works of Santillana. That distinction belongs to a collection of Proverbs, which he made at the request of John the Second, for the education of his son Henry, afterwards Henry the Fourth. It consists of a hundred rhymed sentences, each generally containing one proverb, and so sometimes passes under the name of the "Centiloquio." The proverbs themselves are no doubt often taken from that unwritten wisdom of the common people, for which, in this form, Spain has always been more famous than any other country; but, in the general tone he has

His Proverbios.

33 As a specimen of the best parts of the Comedieta, I copy the paraphrase from a manuscript, better, I think, than that used by Ochoa:

ST. XVI.

Benditos aquellos, que, con el açada,
Sustentan sus vidas y biven contentos,
Y de quando en quando conoscen morada,
Y sufren placientes las lluvias y vientos.
Ca estos no temen los sus movimientos,
Nin saben las cosas del tiempo pasado,
Nin de las presentes se hacen cuidado,
Nin las venideras do an nascimientos.

ST. XVII.

Benditos aquellos que siguen las fieras
Con las gruesas redes y canes ardidos,
Y saben las troxas y las delanteras,
Y fieren de arcos en tiempos devidos.
Ca estos por saña no son comovidos,
Nin vana cobdicia los tiene subjetos,
Nin quieren tesoros, ni sienten defetos,
Nin turba fortuna sus libres sentidos.

adopted, and in many of his separate instructions, the Marquis is rather indebted to King Solomon and the New Testament. Such as they are, however, they had — perhaps from their connection with the service of the heir-apparent — a remarkable success, to which many old manuscripts, still extant, bear witness. They were printed, too, as early as 1496; and, in the course of the next century, nine or ten editions of them may be reckoned, generally encumbered with a learned commentary by Doctor Pedro Diaz of Toledo. They have, however, no poetical value, and interest us only from the circumstances attending their composition, and from the fact that they form the oldest collection of proverbs made in modern times.[34]

In the latter part of his life, the fame of the Marquis of Santillana was spread very widely. Juan de Mena says that men came from foreign countries merely to see him;[35] and the young Constable of Portugal — the same prince who afterwards entered into the Catalonian troubles, and claimed to be King of Aragon — form-

His wide-spread fame.

[34] There is another collection of proverbs made by the Marquis of Santillana, first printed in 1508, that is to be found in Mayans y Siscar, "Origenes de la Lengua Castellana" (Tom. II. pp. 179, etc.). They are, however, neither rhymed nor glossed; but simply arranged in alphabetical order, as they were gathered from the lips of the common people, or, as the collector says, "from the old women in their chimney-corners." For an account of the printed editions of the *rhymed* proverbs prepared for Prince Henry, see Mendez, Typog. Esp., p. 196, and Sanchez, Tom. I. p. xxxiv. The seventeenth proverb, or that on Prudence, may be taken as a fair specimen of the whole, all being in the same measure and manner. It is as follows:

Si fueres gran eloquente
Bien sera,
Pero mas te converrá
Ser prudente.
Que *el prudente es obediente*
Todavia
A moral filosofía
Y sirviente.

Twenty of the hundred proverbs have a prose commentary by the Marquis himself; but neither have these the good fortune to escape the learned discussions of the Toledan Doctor, who was the chaplain and religious friend of the Marquis. A commentary in the same verse, employed by the Marquis on fifty-five of the Proverbs, omitting the eighth, by Luis de Aranda (see *post*, Chap. XXI.), first printed at Granada in 1575, may be found in Nipho's Cajon de Sastre (1781, Tom. V. pp. 211–255); but it is tedious and unprofitable.

The same Pero Diaz, who burdened the Proverbs of the Marquis of Santillana with a commentary, prepared, at the request of John II., a collection of proverbs from Seneca, which were first printed in 1482, and afterwards went through several editions. (Mendez, Typog., pp. 266 and 197.) I have one of Seville, 1500 (fol., sixty-six leaves). They are about one hundred and fifty in number, and the gloss with which each is accompanied seems in better taste and more becoming its position than it does in the case of the rhymed proverbs of the Marquis.

[35] In the Preface to the "Coronacion," Obras, Alcalá, 1566, 12mo, f. 260.

ally asked him for his poems, which the Marquis sent, with a letter on the poetic art, by way of introduction, written between 1448 and 1455, and containing notices of such Spanish poets as were his predecessors or contemporaries; a letter which is, in fact, the most important single document we now possess touching the early literature of Spain. It is one, too, which contrasts favorably with the epistle he himself received on a similar subject, twenty years before, from Don Enrique de Villena, and shows how much he was in advance of his age in the spirit of criticism, and in a well-considered love of letters.[36]

His letter to the Constable of Portugal.

Indeed, in all respects we can see that he was a remarkable man; one thoroughly connected with his age, and strong in its spirit. His conduct in affairs, from his youth upwards, shows this. So does the tone of his Proverbs, that of his letter to his imprisoned cousin, and that of his poem on the death of Alvaro de Luna. He was a poet, also, though not of a high order; a man of much reading, when reading was rare;[37] and a critic, who showed judgment, when judgment and the art of criticism hardly went together. And, finally, he was the founder of an Italian and courtly school in Spanish poetry; one, on the whole, adverse to the national spirit, and finally overcome by it, and yet one that long exercised a considerable sway, and at last contributed something to the materials which, in the sixteenth century, went to build up and constitute the proper literature of the country.

His character.

[36] This important letter — which, from the notice of it by Argote de Molina (Nobleza, 1588, f. 335), was a sort of acknowledged introduction to the Cancionero of the Marquis — is found, with learned notes to it, in the first volume of Sanchez. The Constable of Portugal, to whom it was addressed, died in 1466.

[37] I do not account him learned, because he had not the accomplishment common to all learned men of his time, — that of speaking Latin. This appears from the very quaint and rare treatise of the "Vita Beata," by Juan de Lucena, his contemporary and friend, where (ed. 1483, fol., f. ii. b) the Marquis is made to say, "Me veo defetuoso de letras Latinas," and adds that the Bishop of Burgos and Juan de Mena would have carried on in Latin the discussion recorded in that treatise, instead of carrying it on in Spanish, if he had been able to join them in that learned language. That the Marquis could *read* Latin, however, is probable from his works, which are full of allusions to Latin authors, and sometimes contain imitations of them. He himself alludes to his ignorance of Latin in a letter to his son studying at the University of Salamanca. Obras, 1852, p. 482.

There lived, however, during the reign of John the Second, and in the midst of his court, another poet, whose general influence at the time was less felt than that of his patron, the Marquis de Santillana, but who has since been oftener mentioned and remembered, — Juan de Mena, sometimes, but inappropriately, called the Ennius of Spanish poetry. He was born in Córdova, about the year 1411, the child of parents respected, but not noble.[38] He was early left an orphan, and, from the age of three-and-twenty, of his own free choice, devoted himself wholly to letters; going through a regular course of studies, first at Salamanca, and afterwards at Rome. On his return home he became a *Veintequatro* of Córdova, or one of the twenty-four persons who constituted the government of the city; but we early find him at court on a footing of familiarity as a poet, and we know he was soon afterwards Latin secretary to John the Second, and historiographer of Castile.[39] This brought him into relations with the king and the Constable; relations important in themselves, and of which we have by accident a few singular intimations. The king, if we can trust the witness, was desirous to be well regarded in history; and, to make sure of it, directed his confidential physician to instruct his historiographer, from time to time, how he ought to treat different parts of his subject. In one letter, for instance, he is told, with much gravity, "The king is very desirous of praise;" and then follows a statement of facts, as they ought to be represented, in a somewhat delicate case of the neglect of the Count de Castro to obey the royal commands.[40] In another letter he is told, "The king expects much glory from you;" a remark which is followed by another narrative of facts as they should be set forth.[41] But, though Juan de Mena was employed on this important

Juan de Mena.

His position at court.

[38] The chief materials for the life of Juan de Mena are to be found in some poor verses by Francisco Romero, in his "Epicedio en la Muerte del Maestro Hernan Nuñez" (Salamanca, 1578, 12mo, pp. 485, etc.), at the end of the "Refranes de Hernan Nuñez." Concerning the place of his birth there is no doubt. He alludes to it himself (Trescientas, Copla 124) in a way that does him honor.

[39] Cibdareal, Epist. XX., XXIII.

[40] Ibid., Epist. XLVII.

[41] Ibid., Epist. XLIX.

work as late as 1445, and apparently was favored in it both by the king and the Constable, still there is no reason to suppose that any part of what he did is preserved in the Chronicle of John the Second exactly as it came from his hands.

The chronicler, however, who seems to have been happy in possessing a temperament proper for courtly success, has left proofs enough of the means by which he reached it. He was a sort of poet-laureate without the title, writing verses on the battle of Olmedo in 1445, on the pacification between the king and his son in 1446, on the affair of Peñafiel in 1449, and on the slight wound the Constable received at Palencia in 1452; in all which, as well as in other and larger poems, he shows a great devotion to the reigning powers of the state.[42]

He stood well, too, in Portugal. The Infante Don Pedro — a verse-writer of some name, who travelled much in different parts of the world — became personally acquainted with Juan de Mena in Spain, and, on his return to Lisbon, addressed a few verses to him, better than the answer they called forth; besides which, he imitated, with no mean skill, Mena's "Labyrinth," in a Spanish poem of a hundred and twenty-five stanzas.[43] With such connections and habits, with a wit that made him agreeable in personal intercourse,[44] and with an even good-humor which rendered him welcome to the opposite parties in the kingdom,[45] he seems to have led a contented life; and at his death, which happened suddenly in 1456, in consequence of a fall from his mule, the Marquis of Santillana, always his friend and patron, wrote his epitaph, and erected a

[42] For the first verses, see Liciniano Saez, Valor de las Monedas de Enrique IV., Madrid, 4to, 1805, pp. 547–552; and for those on the Constable, see his Chronicle, Milano, 1546, fol., f. 60. b, Tit. 95.

[43] The verses inscribed "Do Ifante Dom Pedro, Fylho del Rey Dom Joam, em Loor de Joam de Mena," with Juan de Mena's answer, a short rejoinder by the Infante, and a conclusion, are in the Cancioneiro de Bresende (Lisboa, 1516, folio, f. 72. b.). See, also, Die Alten Liederbücher der Portugiesen, von C. F. Bellermann (Berlin, 1840, 4to, pp. 27, 64), and Mendez, Typographia (p. 137, note). This Infante Don Pedro is, I suppose, the one alluded to as a great traveller in Don Quixote (Part II., end of Chap. 23); but Pellicer and Clemencin give us no light on the matter.

[44] See the Dialogue of Juan de Lucena, "La Vita Beata," *passim*, in which Juan de Mena is one of the principal speakers.

[45] He stood well with the king and the Infantes, with the Constable, with the Marquis of Santillana, etc.

monument to his memory in Torrelaguna, both of which are still to be seen.[46]

The works of Juan de Mena evidently enjoyed the sunshine of courtly favor from their first appearance. While still young, if we can trust the simple-hearted letters that pass under the name of the royal physician, they were already the subject of gossip at the palace;[47] and the collection of poetry by Baena, made for the amusement of the king and the court, about 1450, and the one that passes under the name of Estuñiga, contain abundant proofs that his favor was great during his life; for as many of his verses as could be found seem to have been put into each of them. But though this circumstance, and that of their appearance before the end of the century in two or three of the very earliest printed collections of poetry, leave no doubt that they enjoyed, from the first, a sort of fashionable success, still it can hardly be said they were at any time really popular. Two or three of his shorter effusions, indeed, like the verses addressed to his lady to show her how formidable she is in every way, and those on a vicious mule he had bought from a friar, have a spirit that would make them amusing anywhere.[48] But most of his minor poems, of which about twenty may be found scattered in rare books,[49] belong only to the style of the society in which he lived, and, from their affectation, conceits, and obscure allusions, can have had little value, even when they were first circulated, except to the persons to whom they were addressed, or the narrow circle in which those persons moved.

His works.

His minor poems.

[46] Ant. Ponz, Viage de España, Madrid, 1787, 12mo, Tom. X. p. 38. Clemencin, note to Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 44, Tom. V. p. 379.

[47] Cibdareal, Epist. XX. No less than twelve of the hundred and five letters of the courtly leech are addressed to the poet, showing, if they are genuine, how much favor Juan de Mena enjoyed.

[48] The last, which is not without humor, is twice alluded to in Cibdareal, namely, Epist. XXXIII. and XXXVI., and should seem to have been liked at court and by the king.

[49] The minor poems of Juan de Mena are to be found chiefly in the old Cancioneros Generales; but some must be sought in the old editions of his own works. For example, in the valuable folio one of 1534,—in which the "Trescientas" and the "Coronacion" form separate publications, with separate titles, pagings, and colophons,—each is followed by a few of the author's short poems.

His poem on the Seven Deadly Sins, in nearly eight hundred short verses, divided into double *redondillas*, is a work of graver pretensions. But it is a dull allegory, full of pedantry and metaphysical fancies on the subject of a war between Reason and the Will of Man. Notwithstanding its length, however, it was left unfinished; and a certain knight, named Gerónimo de Olivares, added four hundred more verses to it, in order to bring the discussion to what he conceived a suitable conclusion. Both parts, however, are as tedious as the theology of the age could make them.[50]

His Siete Pecados mortales.

His "Coronation" is better, and fills about five hundred lines, arranged in double *quintillas*. Its name comes from its subject, which is an imaginary journey of Juan de Mena to Mount Parnassus, in order to witness the coronation of the Marquis of Santillana, both as a poet and a hero, by the Muses and the Virtues. It is, therefore, strictly a poem in honor of his great patron; and being such, it is somewhat singular that it should be written in a light and almost satirical vein. At the opening, as well as in other parts, it has the appearance of a parody on the "Divina Commedia;" for it begins with the wanderings of the author in an obscure wood, after which he passes through regions of misery, where he beholds the punishments of the dead; visits the abodes of the blessed, where he sees the great of former ages; and, at last, comes to Mount Parnassus, where he is present at a sort of apotheosis of the yet living object of his reverence and admiration. The versification of the poem is easy, and some passages in it are amusing; but, in general, it is rendered dull by unprofitable learning. The best portions are those merely descriptive.

His coronation.

But whether Juan de Mena, in his "Coronation," intended deliberately to be the parodist of Dante or not, it

[50] The addition of Olivares is to be found in the edition of 1552, and in several other editions of Juan de Mena's works. Another addition, about three times longer and no better, by Gomez Manrique, is in the edition of 1566; and there is yet a third — very short — by a disciple, as he calls himself, of Juan de Mena and the Marquis of Santillana, — one Pedro Guillen, — a considerable amount of whose poetry, in the fashion of the time, is still to be found in MS. at Seville, as I learn from a note to the Spanish translation of this work, Tom. I. pp. 551–553.

is quite plain that in his principal work, called "The Labyrinth," he became Dante's serious imitator. This long poem — which he seems to have begun very early, and which, though he occupied himself much with its composition, he left unfinished at the time of his sudden death — consists of about twenty-five hundred lines, divided into stanzas; each stanza being composed of two *redondillas* in those long lines which were then called "versos de arte mayor," or verses of higher art, because they were supposed to demand a greater degree of skill than the shorter verses used in the old national measures. The poem itself is sometimes called "The Labyrinth," probably from the intricacy of its plan, and sometimes "The Three Hundred," because that was originally the number of its *coplas* or stanzas. Its purpose is nothing less than to teach, by vision and allegory, whatever relates to the duties or the destiny of man; and the rules by which its author was governed in its composition are evidently gathered from the example of Dante in his "Divina Commedia," and from Dante's precepts in his treatise "De Vulgari Eloquentiâ."

His Labyrinto or Trecientas.

After the dedication of the Labyrinth to John the Second, and some other preparatory and formal parts, the poem opens with the author's wanderings in a wood, like Dante, exposed to beasts of prey. While there, he is met by Providence, who comes to him in the form of a beautiful woman, and offers to lead him, by a sure path, through the dangers that beset him, and to explain, "as far as they are palpable to human understanding," the dark mysteries of life that oppress his spirit. This promise she fulfils by carrying him to what she calls the spherical centre of the five zones; or, in other words, to a point where the poet is supposed to see at once all the countries and nations of the earth. There she shows him three vast mystical wheels, — the wheels of Destiny, — two representing the past and the future, in constant rest, and the third representing the present, in constant motion. Each contains its appropriate portion of the human race, and through each are extended the seven circles of the seven planetary influences that

Its story.

govern the fates of mortal men; the characters of the most distinguished of whom are explained to the poet by his divine guide, as their shadows rise before him in these mysterious circles.

From this point, therefore, the poem becomes a confused gallery of mythological and historical portraits, arranged, as in the "Paradiso" of Dante, according to the order of the seven planets.[51] They have generally little merit, and are often shadowed forth very indistinctly. The best sketches are those of personages who lived in the poet's own time or country; some drawn with courtly flattery, like the king's and the Constable's; others with more truth, as well as more skill, like those of Don Enrique de Villena, Juan de Merlo, and the young Dávalos, whose premature fate is recorded in a few lines of unwonted power and tenderness.[52]

Its character.

The story told most in detail is that of the Count de Niebla, who, in 1436, at the siege of Gibraltar, sacrificed his own life in a noble attempt to save that of one of his dependants; the boat in which the Count might have been rescued being too small to save the whole of the party, who thus all perished together in a flood-tide. This disastrous event, and especially the self-devotion of Niebla, who was one of the principal nobles of the kingdom, and at that moment employed on a daring expedition against the Moors, are recorded in the

Its episode on Niebla.

[51] The author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas" (Mayans y Siscar, Origenes, Tom. II. p. 148) complained of the frequent obscurities in Juan de Mena's poetry, three centuries ago, — a fault made abundantly apparent in the elaborate explanations of his dark passages by the two oldest and most learned of his commentators.

[52] Juan de Mena has always stood well with his countrymen, if he has not been absolutely popular. Verses by him appeared, during his lifetime, in the Cancionero of Baena, and immediately afterwards in the Chronicle of the Constable. Others are in the collection of poems already noticed, printed at Saragossa in 1492, and in another collection of the same period, but without date. They are in all the old Cancioneros Generales, and in a succession of separate editions, from 1496 to our own times. And, besides all this, the learned Hernan Nuñez de Guzman printed such a commentary on them in 1499 as could hardly have been expected from a laborer on the Complutensian Polyglott, and the still more learned Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas, commonly called El Brocense, printed another shorter and better, in a very neat and small volume, in 1582; one or the other of which accompanies the poems for their elucidation in nearly every edition since.

chronicles of the age, and introduced by Juan de Mena in the following characteristic stanzas:[53]

And he who seems to sit upon that bark,
Invested by the cruel waves, that wait
And welter round him to prepare his fate, —
His and his bold companions', in their dark
And watery abyss; — that stately form
Is Count Niebla's, he whose honored name,
More brave than fortunate, has given to fame
The very tide that drank his life-blood warm.

And they that eagerly around him press,
Though men of noble mark and bold emprise,
Grow pale and dim as his full glories rise,
Showing their own peculiar honors less.
Thus Carrion or Arlanza, sole and free,
Bears, like Pisuerga, each its several name,
And triumphs in its undivided fame,
As a fair, graceful stream. But when the three

Are joined in one, each yields its separate right,
And their accumulated headlong course
We call Duero. Thus might these enforce
Each his own claim to stand the noblest knight,
If brave Niebla came not with his blaze
Of glory to eclipse their humbler praise.

Too much honor is not to be claimed for such poetry; but there is little in Juan de Mena's works equal to this specimen, which has at least the merit of being free from the pedantry and conceits that disfigure most of his writings.

Such as it was, however, the Labyrinth received great admiration from the court of John the Second, and, above all, from the king himself, whose physician, we are told,

[53] Crónica de D. Juan el Segundo, Año 1436, c. 3. Mena, Trescientas, Cop. 160–162.

Aquel que en la barca parece sentado,
Vestido, en engaño de las bravas ondas,
En aguas crueles, ya mas que no hondas,
Con mucha gran gente en la mar anegado,
Es el valiente, no bien fortunado,
Muy virtuoso, perínclito Cónde
De Niebla, que todos sabeis bien adonde
Dió fin al dia del curso hadado.

Y los que lo cercan por el derredor,
Puesto que fuessen magníficos hombres,
Los títulos todos de todos sus nombres,
El nombre les cubre de aquel su señor;
Que todos los hechos que son de valor
Para se mostrar por sí cada uno,
Quando se juntan y van de consuno,
Pierden el nombre delante el mayor.

Arlanza, Pisuerga, y aun Carrion,
Gozan de nombre de rios; empero
Despues de juntados llamamos los Duero;
Hacemos de muchos una relacion.

wrote to the poet: "Your polished and erudite work, called 'The Second Order of Mercury,' hath much pleased his Majesty, who carries it with him when he journeys about, or goes a-hunting."[54] And again: "The end of the 'third circle' pleased the king much. I read it to his Majesty, who keeps it on his table with his prayer-book, and takes it up often."[55] Indeed, the whole poem was, it seems, submitted to the king, piece by piece, as it was composed; and we are told that, in one instance, at least, it received a royal correction, which still stands unaltered.[56] His Majesty even advised that it should be extended from three hundred stanzas to three hundred and sixty-five, though for no better reason than to make their number correspond exactly with that of the days in the year; and the twenty-four stanzas commonly printed at the end of it are supposed to have been an attempt to fulfil the monarch's command. But, whether this be so or not, nobody now wishes the poem to be longer than it is.[57]

Its courtly success.

[54] Cibdareal, Epist. XX.

[55] Ibid., Epist. XLIX.

[56] Ibid., Epist. XX.

[57] They first appeared in 1517, and are printed separately in the Cancionero General of 1573; but do not appear at all in the edition of the Works of the poet in 1566, and were not commented upon by Hernan Nuñez. It is, indeed, doubtful whether they were really written by Juan de Mena. If they were, they must probably have been produced after the king's death, for they are far from being flattering to him. On this account I am disposed to think they are not genuine; for the poet seems to have permitted his great eulogies of the king and of the Constable to stand after the death of both of them.

Juan de Mena also translated into affected prose, full of Latinisms, a paraphrase, by Ausonius, of the IVth century, of a part of the Iliad, which was published in 4to, at Valladolid, 1519, in about ff. 47. Gayangos, Spanish translation of this History, Tom. I. p. 547.

As Don Pascual de Gayangos has well observed, in the translation just referred to (Tom. II. p. 458), traces of the school of Juan de Mena can be found as low as the sixteenth century. Some of these I shall notice hereafter, such as the second and third parts of Lebrixa's "Triaca del Alma," 1515; Juan de Padilla's "Retablo and Triunfos," 1518, and, the most extravagant of them all, Tanco de Frexenal's poems on Charles V. in 1547. But two or three, suggested by Don Pascual, rather belong here. They are (1) Hernan Vazquez de Tapia, who, in 1497, published, in an hundred and fifty-two coplas, like Juan de Mena's, an account of the *Fiestas* that were held at Santander and elsewhere, on the arrival of Margaret of Flanders, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian. (2.) Diego Guillen de Avila, whose *Panegirico* of Queen Isabella, and a somewhat similar poem on the well-known Alonso Carillo, Archbishop of Toledo, were published at Rome, in 1500, where their author lived. And (3) Alfonso Fernandez, who wrote a long chronicling poem in honor of Gonzalvo of Cordova, and the conquest of Naples, entitled *Partenopea*, published at Rome in 1516, after the death of its author, who spent there the last years of his life. But neither of these poems has any value, I think, except to mark the struggle that was going on to maintain the old style of poetry in *coplas de arte mayor* after the manner of Juan de Mena.

CHAPTER XX.

PROGRESS OF THE CASTILIAN LANGUAGE. — POETS OF THE TIME OF JOHN THE SECOND. — VILLASANDINO. — FRANCISCO IMPERIAL. — BAENA. — RODRIGUEZ DEL PADRON. — PROSE WRITERS. — CIBDAREAL AND FERNAN PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

IN one point of view, all the works of Juan de Mena are of consequence. They mark the progress of the Castilian language, which, in his hands, advanced more than it had for a long period before. From the time of Alfonso the Wise, nearly two centuries had elapsed, in which, though this fortunate dialect had almost completely asserted its supremacy over its rivals, and by the force of political circumstances had been spread through a large part of Spain, still, little had been done to enrich, and nothing to raise or purify it. The grave and stately tone of the "Partidas" and the "General Chronicle" had not again been reached; the lighter air of the "Conde Lucanor" had not been attempted. Indeed, such wild and troubled times as those of Peter the Cruel and the three monarchs who had followed him on the throne permitted men to think of little except their personal safety and their immediate well-being.

Progress of the Castilian language.

But now, in the reign of John the Second, though the affairs of the country were hardly more composed, they had taken the character rather of feuds between the great nobles than of wars with the throne; while, at the same time, knowledge and literary culture, from accidental circumstances, were not only held in honor, but had become a courtly fashion. Style, therefore, began to be regarded as a matter of consequence, and the choice of words, as the first step towards elevating and improving it, was attempted by those who wished to enjoy the favor of the

highest class, that then gave its tone alike to letters and to manners. But a serious obstacle was at once found to such a choice of phraseology as was demanded. The language of Castile had, from the first, been dignified and picturesque, but it had never been rich. Juan de Mena, therefore, looked round to see how he could enlarge his poetical vocabulary; and if he had adopted means more discreet, or shown more judgment in the use of those to which he resorted, he might almost have modelled the Spanish into such forms as he chose.

Juan de Mena's enlargement of the language.

As it was, he rendered it good service. He took boldly such words as he thought suitable to his purpose, wherever he found them; chiefly from the Latin, but sometimes from other languages.[1] Unhappily, he exercised no proper skill in the selection. Some of the many he adopted were low and trivial, and his example failed to give them dignity; others were not better than those for which they were substituted, and so were not afterwards used; and yet others were quite too foreign in their structure and sound to strike root where they should never have been transplanted. Much, therefore, of what Juan de Mena did in this respect was unsuccessful. But there is no doubt that the language of Spanish poetry was strengthened and its versification ennobled by his efforts, and that the example he set, followed, as it was, by Lucena, Diego de San Pedro, Garci Sanchez de Badajos, the Manriques, and others, laid the true founda-

[1] Thus *fi*, Valencian or Provençal for *hijo*, in the "Trescientas," Copla 37, and *trinquete* for *foresail*, in Copla 165, may serve as specimens. Lope de Vega (Obras Sueltas, Tom. IV. p. 474) complains of Juan de Mena's Latinisms, which are indeed very awkward and abundant, and cites the following line:

El amor es ficto, vaniloco, pigro.

I do not remember it; but it is as bad as some of the worst verses of the same sort for which Ronsard has been ridiculed. It should be observed, however, that, in the earliest periods of the Castilian language, there was a greater connection with the French than there was in the time of Juan de Mena. Thus, in the "Poem of the Cid," we have *cuer* for *heart*, *tiesta* for *head*, etc.; in Berceo, we have *asemblar*, *to meet*; *sopear*, *to sup*, etc. (See Don Quixote, ed. Clemencin, 1835, Tom. IV. p. 56.) If, therefore, we find a few French words in Juan de Mena that are no longer used, like *sage*, which he makes a dissyllable guttural to rhyme with *viage* in Copla 167, we may presume he found them already in the language, from which they have since been dropped. But Juan de Mena was, in all respects, too bold; and, as the learned Sarmiento says of him in a manuscript which I possess, "Many of his words are not at all Castilian, and were never used either before his time or after it."

tions for the greater and more judicious enlargement of the whole Castilian vocabulary in the age that followed.

Another poet, who, in the reign of John the Second, enjoyed a reputation which has faded away much more than that of Juan de Mena, is Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, sometimes called De Illescas. His earliest verses seem to have been written in the time of Henry II.; but others fall within the reigns of Henry the Third and John the Second. A few of them are addressed to this last monarch, and many more to his queen, to the Constable, to the Infante Don Ferdinand, afterwards King of Aragon, and to other distinguished personages of the time. From different parts of them, we learn that their author was a soldier and a courtier; that he was married twice, and repented heartily of his second match; and that he was generally poor, and often sent bold solicitations to everybody, from the king downwards, asking for places, for money, and even for clothes.

Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino.

As a poet, his merits are small. He speaks of Dante, but gives no proof of familiarity with Italian literature. In fact, his verses are rather in the Provençal forms, though their courtly tone and personal claims predominate to such a degree as to prevent anything else from being distinctly heard. Puns, conceits, and quibbles, to please the taste of his great friends, are intruded everywhere; yet perhaps he gained his chief favor by his versification, which is sometimes uncommonly easy and flowing, and by his rhymes, which are singularly abundant, and almost uniformly exact.[2]

Style of his poetry.

At any rate, he was much regarded by his contemporaries. The Marquis of Santillana speaks of him as one of the leading poets of his age, and says that he wrote a great number of songs and other short poems, or *decires*,

[2] Accounts of Villasandino are found in Antonio, Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. p. 341; and Sanchez, Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. pp. 200, etc. Some of his poems are in the Academy's edition of the Chronicles of Ayala, Tom. II. pp. 604, 615, 621, 626, 646; but the mass of his works is to be found in the Cancionero of Baena, 1851. Their number is, I think, two hundred and forty-three. The best account of him is in the notes to that Cancionero (pp. 640, sqq.), where are added a few more of his poems; the limits within which all his known works were written being, according to the estimate there made, 1374 and 1423.

which were well liked and widely spread.[3] It is not remarkable, therefore, when Baena, for the amusement of John the Second and his court, made the collection of poetry which now passes under his name, that he filled much of it with verses by Villasandino, who is declared by the courtly scribe to be "the light, and mirror, and crown, and monarch, of all the poets that, till that time, had lived in Spain." But the poems Baena admired are almost all of them so short and so personal, that they were soon forgotten, with the circumstances that gave them birth. Several are curious, because they were written to be used by persons of distinction in the state, such as the Adelantado Manrique, the Count de Buelna, and the Great Constable, all of whom were among Villasandino's admirers, and employed him to write verses which passed afterwards under their own names. Of one short poem, a Hymn to the Madonna, the author himself thought so well, that he often said it would surely clear him, in the other world, from the power of the Arch-enemy.[4]

His courtly success.

Francisco Imperial, born in Genoa, but in fact a Spaniard, whose home was at Seville, is also among the poets who were favored at this period, and who belonged to the same artificial school with Villasandino. The principal of his longer poems is on the birth of King John, in 1405, and most of the others are on subjects connected, like this, with transient interests. One, however, from its tone and singular subject, is still interesting. It is on the fate of a lady, who, having been taken among the spoils of a great victory in the far East, by Tamer-

Francisco Imperial.

[3] Sanchez, Tom. I. p. lx.

[4] The Hymn in question is in Castro, Tom. I. p. 269; but, as a specimen of Villasandino's easiest manner, I prefer the following verses, which he wrote for Count Pero Niño, to be given to the Lady Beatrice, of whom, as was noticed when speaking of his Chronicle, the Count was enamored:

La que siempre obedecí,
E obedezco todavia,
Mal pecado, solo un dia
Non se le membra de mí.
Perdí
Meu tempo en servir
A la que me fas vevir
Coidoso desque la ví, etc.

But, as the editor of the Chronicle says (Madrid, 1782, 4to, p. 223), "They are verses that might be attributed to any other gallant or any other lady, so that it seems as if Villasandino prepared such couplets to be given to the first person that should ask for them;" — words cited here, because they apply to a great deal of the poetry of the time of John II., which deals often in the coldest commonplaces, and some of which was used, no doubt, as this was.

lane, was sent by him as a present to Henry the Third of Castile; and it must be admitted that the Genoese touches the peculiar misfortune of her condition with poetical tenderness.[5]

Of the remaining poets who were more or less valued in Spain, in the middle of the fifteenth century, it is not necessary to speak at all. Most of them are now known only to antiquarian curiosity. Of by far the greater part very little remains; and in most cases it is uncertain whether the persons whose names the poems bear were their real authors or not. Juan Alfonso de Baena, the editor of the collection in which most of them are found, wrote a good deal,[6] and so did Ferrant Manuel de Lando,[7] Juan Rodriguez del Padron,[8] Pedro Velez de Guevara, and Gerena and Calavera.[9] Probably, however, nothing remains of the infe-

Poets of the time of John II.

5 The notices of Francisco Imperial are in Sanchez (Tom. I. pp. ix., 205, etc.); in Argote de Molina's "Nobleza del Andaluzia" (1588, ff. 244, 260); and in his Discourse prefixed to the "Vida del Gran Tamorlan" (Madrid, 1782, 4to; p. 3). His poems are in Castro, Tom. I. pp. 296, 301, etc., and in the Cancionero of Baena, 1851. He speaks of Dante, and gives other indications of his knowledge of Italian, such as might be expected from a native of Genoa; but not one of his poems is in the Italian manner, nor does he show any disposition to introduce that manner into Spanish poetry. His allegorical poem on the Seven Virtues (No. 250) is the nearest approach to it; but, though he refers to Dante in it, and even cites him, the manner — the form — is not Italian.

6 Castro, Tom. I. pp. 319–330, etc.

7 Ferrant Manuel de Lando is noted as a page of John II. in Argote de Molina's "Sucesion de los Manueles," prefixed to the "Conde Lucanor," 1575; and his poems are said to have been "agradables para aquel siglo." Thirty-one of them are in the Cancionero of Baena, 1851. When he died is uncertain, but he seems to have been an old man in 1414. Baena, p. 651.

8 That is, if the Juan Rodriguez del Padron, whose poems occur in Baena (Cancionero, p. 506), and in the manuscript Cancionero called Estuñiga's (f. 18), be the same, as he is commonly supposed to be, with the Juan Rodriguez del Padron of the "Cancionero General," 1573 (ff. 121–124 and elsewhere). But of this I entertain doubts. The Marquis Pidal, however, considers them to be one and the same person; and a pleasant mystification, first published by him in 1839, of the supposed love adventures of Rodriguez del Padron, then represented by him as an Aragonese nobleman, with the Queen of Henry IV., may be found in Note CCLIII. to the Cancionero of Baena. But he admits, in the same note, 1851, that Rodriguez del Padron, or Rodriguez de la Camara, as he was often called, was not a nobleman of Aragon, attached to the court of Henry IV., but a Galician, attached to the person of Don Pedro de Cervantes, Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, in the time of John II., with no proof that he lived into the reign of Henry IV. The queen of Henry IV. referred to is the same of whom Mariana, with a true Castilian feeling, thinks it becoming to record (Lib. XXIII. c. 5) that, having danced with the French ambassador in 1463, on his arrival at court, that personage gallantly vowed he would never dance again. She was very attractive, and Mariana, a little further on (cap. 11), tells as bad a story of her as the one the Marquis Pidal invented.

9 Sanchez, Tom. I. pp. 199, 207, 208.

rior authors more interesting than a Vision composed by Diego de Castillo, the chronicler, on the death of Alfonso the Fifth of Aragon,[10] and a sketch of the life and character of Henry the Third of Castile, given in the person of the monarch himself, by Pero Ferrus;[11] — poems which remind us strongly of the similar sketches found in the old English "Mirror for Magistrates."

But, while verse was so much cultivated, prose, though less regarded and not coming properly into the fashionable literature of the age, made some progress. We turn, therefore, now to two writers who flourished in the reign of John the Second, and who seem to furnish, with the contemporary chronicles and other similar works already noticed, the true character of the better prose literature of their time.

Prose writers of the time of John II.

The first of them is Fernan Gomez de Cibdareal, who, if there ever were such a person, was the king's physician, and, in some respects, his confidential and familiar friend. He was born, according to the Letters that pass under his name, about 1386,[12] and, though not of a distinguished family, had for his godfather Pedro Lopez de Ayala, the great chronicler and chancellor of Castile. When he was not yet four-and-twenty years old, John the Second being still a child, Cibdareal entered the royal service, and remained attached to the king's person till the death of his master, when we lose sight of him altogether. During this long period of above forty years, he maintained a correspondence, to which we have already alluded more than once, with many of the principal persons in the state: with the king

Fernan Gomez de Cibdareal.

10 It is published by Ochoa, in the same volume with the inedited poems of the Marquis of Santillana, where it is followed by poems of Suero de Ribera (who occurs also in Baena's Cancionero, and that of Estuñiga), Juan de Dueñas (who occurs in Estuñiga's), and one or two others of no value, — all of the age of John II.

11 Castro, Tom. I. pp. 310–312.

12 The best life of Cibdareal is prefixed to his Letters (Madrid, ed. 1775, 4to). But his birth is there placed about 1388, though he himself (Ep. 105) says he was sixty-eight years old in 1454, which gives 1386 as the true date. But we know absolutely nothing of him beyond what we find in the letters that pass under his name. The Noticia prefixed to the edition referred to was — as we are told in the Preface to the Chronicle of Alvaro de Luna (Madrid 1784, 4to) — prepared by Llaguno Amirola.

himself, with several of the archbishops and bishops, and with a considerable number of noblemen and men of letters, among the last of whom were Alfonso de Cartagena and Juan de Mena. A part of this correspondence, amounting to one hundred and five letters, written between 1425 and 1454, has been published, in two editions; the first claiming to be of 1499, and the last prepared in 1775, with some care, by Amirola, the Secretary of the Spanish Academy of History. Most of the subjects discussed by the honest physician and courtier in these letters are still interesting; and some of them, like the death of the Constable, which he describes minutely to the Archbishop of Toledo, are important, if they can be trusted as genuine. In almost all he wrote, he shows the good-nature and good sense which preserved for him the favor of leading persons in the opposite factions of the time, and which, though he belonged to the party of the Constable, yet prevented him from being blind to that great man's faults, or becoming involved in his fate. The tone of the correspondence is simple and natural, always quite Castilian, and sometimes very amusing; as, for instance, when he is repeating court gossip to the Grand Justiciary of Castile, or telling stories to Juan de Mena. But a very interesting letter to the Bishop of Orense, containing an account of John the Second's death, will perhaps give a better idea of its author's general spirit and manner, and, at the same time, exhibit somewhat of his personal character.

His correspondence.

"I foresee very plainly," he says to the Bishop, "that you will read with tears this letter, which I write to you in anguish. We are both become orphans; and so has all Spain. For the good and noble and just King John, our sovereign lord, is dead. And I, miserable man that I am, — who was not yet twenty-four years old when I entered his service with the Bachelor Arrevalo, and have, till I am now sixty-eight, lived in his palace, or, I might almost say, in his bedchamber and next his bed, always in his confidence, and yet never thinking of myself, — I should now have but a poor pension of thirty thousand maravedís for my long

His account of the death of John II.

service, if, just at his death, he had not ordered the government of Cibdareal to be given to my son, who I pray may be happier than his father has been. But, in truth, I had always thought to die before his Highness; whereas he died in my presence, on the eve of Saint Mary Magdalen, a blessed saint, whom he greatly resembled in sorrowing over his sins. It was a sharp fever that destroyed him. He was much wearied with travelling about hither and thither; and he had always the death of Don Alvaro de Luna before him, grieving about it secretly, and seeing that the nobles were never the more quiet for it, but, on the contrary, that the King of Navarre had persuaded the King of Portugal to think he had grounds of complaint concerning the wars in Barbary, and that the king had answered him with a crafty letter. All this wore his heart out. And so, travelling along from Avila to Medina, a paroxysm came upon him with a sharp fever, that seemed at first as if it would kill him straightway. And the Prior of Guadalupe sent directly for Prince Henry; for he was afraid some of the nobles would gather for the Infante Don Alfonso; but it pleased God that the king recovered his faculties by means of a medicine I gave him. And so he went on to Valladolid; but, as soon as he entered the city, he was struck with death, as I said before the Bachelor Frias, who held it to be a small matter, and before the Bachelor Beteta, who held what I said to be an idle tale. . . . . . The consolation that remains to me is that he died like a Christian king, faithful and loyal to his Maker. Three hours before he gave up the ghost, he said to me: 'Bachelor Cibdareal, I ought to have been born the son of a tradesman, and then I should have been a friar of Abrojo, and not a King of Castile.' And then he asked pardon of all about him, if he had done them any wrong; and bade me ask it for him of those of whom he could not ask it himself. I followed him to his grave in Saint Paul's, and then came to this lonely room in the suburbs; for I am now so weary of life that I do not think it will be a difficult matter to loosen me from it, much as men commonly fear death. Two days ago I went to see the queen; but I

found the palace from the top to the bottom so empty, that the house of the Admiral and that of Count Benevente are better served. King Henry keeps all King John's servants; but I am too old to begin to follow another master about, and, if God so pleases, I shall go to Cibdareal with my son, where I hope the king will give me enough to die upon." This is the last we hear of the sorrowing old man, who probably died soon after the date of this letter, which seems to have been written in July, 1454.[13]

The other person who was most successful as a prose writer in the age of John the Second was Fernan Perez de Guzman, — like many distinguished Spaniards, a soldier and a man of letters, belonging to the high aristocracy of the country, and occupied in its affairs. His mother was sister to the great Chancellor Ayala, and his father was a brother of the Marquis of Santillana, so that his connections were as proud and noble as the monarchy could afford; while, on the other hand, Garcilasso de la Vega being one of his lineal descendants, we may add that his honors were reflected back from succeeding generations as brightly as he received them.

Fernan Perez de Guzman.

He was born about the year 1400, and was bred a knight. At the battle of the Higueruela, near Granada, in 1431, led on by the Bishop of Palencia, — who, as the honest Cibdareal says, "fought that day like an armed Joshua," — he was so unwise in his courage, that, after the fight was over, the king, who had been an eye-witness of his indiscretion, caused him to be put under arrest, and released him only at the intercession of one of his powerful friends.[14] In general, Perez de Guzman was among the opponents of the Constable, as were most of his family; but he does not seem to have shown a factious or violent spirit, and, after being once unreasonably thrown into prison, found his position so false and disagreeable, that he retired from affairs altogether.

[13] It is the last letter in the collection. See Appendix (C), on the genuineness of the whole.

[14] Cibdareal, Epist. 51. Alcantara, Hist. de Granada, Tom. III. 1845, pp. 233–239.

Among his more cultivated and intellectual friends was the family of Santa María, two of whom, having been Bishops of Cartagena, are better known by the name of the see they filled than they are by their own. The oldest of them all was a Jew by birth, — Selomo Halevi, — who, in 1390, when he was forty years old, was baptized as Pablo de Santa María, and rose, subsequently, by his great learning and force of character, to some of the highest places in the Spanish Church, of which he continued a distinguished ornament till his death, in 1435. His brother, Alvar Garcia de Santa María, and his three sons, Gonzalo, Alonso, and Pedro, the last of whom lived as late as the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, were, like the head of the family, marked by literary accomplishments, of which the contemporary chronicles and collections afford abundant proof, and of which, it is evident, the court of John the Second was not a little proud. The connection of Perez de Guzman, however, was chiefly with Alonso, long Bishop of Cartagena, who wrote for the use of his friend a religious treatise, and who, when he died, in 1456, was mourned by Perez de Guzman, in a poem comparing the venerable Bishop to Seneca and Plato.[15]

The Cartagenas.

The occupations of Perez de Guzman, in his retirement on his estates at Batras, where he passed the latter part

[15] The longest extracts from the works of this remarkable family of Jews, and the best accounts of them, are to be found in Castro, "Biblioteca Española" (Tom. I. 235, etc.), and Amador de los Rios, "Estudios sobre los Judios de España" (Madrid, 1848, 8vo, pp. 339–398, 458, etc.). Much of their poetry, which is found in the Cancioneros Generales, is amatory, and is as good as the poetry of those old collections generally is. Two of the treatises of Alonso were printed; — the "Oracional," or Book of Devotion, mentioned in the text as written for Perez de Guzman, which appeared at Murcia, in 1487, and the "Doctrinal de Cavalleros," which appeared the same year at Burgos. (Diosdado, De Prima Typographiæ Hispan. Ætate, Romæ, 1793, 4to, pp. 22, 26, 64.) Both are curious; but much of the last is taken from the "Partidas" of Alfonso the Wise. His "Anacephalæosis," or summary of the reigns of the Kings of Spain, published by Antonio de Nebrija, in 1545, may be found in Andreæ Schotti Hispania Illustrata, Tom. III. Francofurti, 1603, pp. 246–291. A letter on the Duties of Knights, from the Bishop to the Marquis of Santillana, published in the works of the Marquis, and dated in 1444, is well worth reading for its dignity, boldness, and force. The poetry that passes under the name of Cartagena in the Cancioneros Generales seems to have been written chiefly or wholly by Pedro, who lived as late as 1480. But it is not easy to settle such questions as often arise about authors in these Cancioneros. See the Spanish translation of this History Tom. I. pp. 554–558.

of his life, and where he died, about 1470, were suited to his own character, and to the spirit of his age.[16] He wrote a good deal of poetry, such as was then fashionable among persons of the class to which he belonged, and his uncle, the Marquis of Santillana, admired what he wrote. Some of it may be found in the collection of Baena, showing that it was in favor at the court of John the Second. Yet more was printed in 1492, and in the Cancioneros that began to appear a few years later; so that it seems to have been still valued by the limited public interested in letters in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Poetry of Perez de Guzman.

But the longest poem he wrote, and perhaps the most important, is his "Praise of the Great Men of Spain," a kind of chronicle, filling four hundred and nine octave stanzas; to which should be added a hundred and two rhymed Proverbs, mentioned by the Marquis of Santillana, but probably prepared later than the collection made by the Marquis himself, for the education of Prince Henry. After these, the two poems of Perez de Guzman that make most pretensions from their length are an allegory on the Four Cardinal Virtues, in sixty-three stanzas, and another on the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Works of Mercy, in a hundred. The best verses he wrote are in his short hymns. But all are forgotten, and deserve to be so.[17]

His prose is much better. Of the part he bore in the Chronicle of John the Second notice has already been taken. But, at different times, both before he was engaged in that work, and afterwards, he was employed on another, more original in its character, and of higher

[16] It was probably in the latter part of his life that Gonzalo de Ocaña translated for him — and translated into rich Castilian — the Dialogues of St. Gregory. N. Antonio (Bib. Nov., Tom. I. p. 559) cites an edition printed in 1532. My copy is 1514, Toledo, Folio, lit. goth., so that there must have been two editions, at least.

[17] The manuscript I have used is a copy from one, apparently of the fifteenth century, in the magnificent collection of Sir Thomas Phillips, Middle Hill, Worcestershire, England. The printed poems are found in the "Cancionero General," 1535, ff. 28, etc.; in the "Obras de Juan de Mena," ed. 1566, at the end; in Castro, Tom. I. pp. 298, 340–342; and at the end of Ochoa's "Rimas Ineditas de Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza," Paris, 1844, 8vo, pp. 269–356. See also Mendez, Typog. Esp., p. 383; and Cancionero General, 1573, ff. 14, 15, 20–22.

literary merit. It is called "Genealogies and Portraits," and contains, under thirty-four heads, sketches, rather than connected narratives, of the lives, characters, and families, of thirty-four of the principal persons of his time, such as Henry the Third, John the Second, the Constable Alvaro de Luna, and Don Enrique de Villena.[18] A part of this genial work seems, from internal evidence, to have been written in 1430, while other portions must be dated after 1454; but none of it can have been much known till all the principal persons to whom it relates had died, and not, therefore, till the reign of Henry the Fourth, in the course of which the death of Perez de Guzman himself must have happened. It is manly in its tone, and is occasionally marked with vigorous and original thought. Some of its sketches are, indeed, brief and dry, like that of Queen Catherine, daughter of John of Gaunt. But others are long and elaborate, like that of the Infante Don Ferdinand. Sometimes he discovers a spirit in advance of his age, such as he shows when he defends the newly-converted Jews from the cruel suspicions with which they were then persecuted. But he oftener discovers a willingness to rebuke its vices, as when, discussing the character of Gonzalo Nuñez de Guzman, he turns aside from his subject, and says, solemnly, —

His prose. Generaciones y Semblanzas.

"And no doubt it is a noble thing, and worthy of praise, to preserve the memory of noble families, and of the services they have rendered to their kings and to the commonwealth; but here, in Castile, this is now held of

[18] The "Generaciones y Semblanzas" first appeared in 1512, as a part of a *rifacimento* in Spanish of Giovanni Colonna's "Mare Historiarum," which may have been the work of Perez de Guzman. They begin, in this edition, at Cap. 187, after long accounts of Trojans, Greeks, Romans, Fathers of the Church, and others, taken from Colonna. (Mem. de la Acad. de Historia, Tom. VI. pp. 452, 453, note.) The first edition of the Generaciones y Semblanzas separated from this connection occurs at the end of the Chronicle of John II., 1517. They are also found in the edition of that Chronicle of 1779, and with the "Centon Epistolario," in the edition of Llaguno Amirola, Madrid, 1775, 4to, where they are preceded by a life of Fernan Perez de Guzman, containing the little we know of him. The suggestion made in the Preface to the Chronicle of John II. (1779, p. xi.), that the two very important chapters at the end of the Generaciones y Semblanzas are not the work of Fernan Perez de Guzman, is, I think, sufficiently answered by the editor of the Chronicle of Alvaro de Luna, Madrid, 1784, 4to, Prólogo, p. xxiii.

small account. And, to say truth, it is really little necessary; for now-a-days he is noblest who is richest. Why, then, should we look into books to learn what relates to families, since we can find their nobility in their possessions? Nor is it needful to keep a record of the services they render; for kings now give rewards, not to him who serves them most faithfully, nor to him who strives for what is most worthy, but to him who most follows their will, and pleases them most." [19]

In this and other passages there is something of the tone of a disappointed statesman, perhaps of a disappointed courtier. But, more frequently, as, for instance, when he speaks of the Great Constable, there is an air of good faith and justice that does him much honor. Some of his portraits, among which we may notice those of Villena and John the Second, are drawn with skill and spirit; and everywhere he writes in that rich, grave, Castilian style, with now and then a happy and pointed phrase to relieve its dignity, of which we can find no earlier example without going quite back to Alfonso the Wise and Don Juan Manuel.

[19] Generaciones y Semblanzas, c. 10. A similar harshness is shown in Chapters 5 and 30.

CHAPTER XXI.

FAMILY OF THE MANRIQUES. — PEDRO, RODRIGO, GOMEZ, AND JORGE. — THE COPLAS OF THE LAST. — THE URREAS. — JUAN DE PADILLA.

CONTEMPORARY with all the authors we have just examined, and connected by ties of blood with several of them, was the family of the Manriques, — poets, statesmen, and soldiers, — men suited to the age in which they lived, and marked with its strong and manly characteristics. They belonged to one of the oldest and noblest races of Castile ; a race beginning with the Laras of the ballads and chronicles.[1] Pedro, the father of the first two to be noticed, was among the sturdiest opponents of the Constable Alvaro de Luna, and filled so large a space in the troubles of the time that his violent imprisonment, just before he died, shook the country to its very foundations. At his death, however, in 1440, the injustice he had suffered was so strongly felt by all parties that the whole court went into mourning for him, and the good Count Haro — the same in whose hands the honor and faith of the country had been put in pledge, a year before, at Tordesillas — came into the king's presence, and, in a solemn scene, well described by the chronicler of John the Second, obtained for the children of the deceased Manrique a confirmation of all the honors and rights of which their father had been wrongfully deprived.[2]

The Manriques.

Pedro de Manrique.

One of these children was Rodrigo Manrique, Count of Paredes, a bold captain, well known by the signal advantages he gained for his country over the Moors.

[1] Generaciones, etc., c. 11, 15, and 24.
[2] Chrónica de Don Juan el II., Año 1437, c. 4 ; 1438, c. 6 ; 1440, c. 18.

He was born in 1416, and his name occurs constantly in the history of his time; for he was much involved, not only in the wars against the common enemy in Andalusia and Granada, but in the no less absorbing contests of the factions which then rent Castile and all the North. But, notwithstanding the active life he led, we are told that he found time for poetry; and one of his songs, by no means without merit, which has been preserved to us, bears witness to it. He died in 1476.[3]

Rodrigo Manrique.

His brother, Gomez Manrique, of whose life we have less distinct accounts, but whom we know to have been both a soldier and a lover of letters, has left us more proofs of his poetical studies and talent. One of his shorter pieces belongs to the reign of John the Second, and one of more pretensions comes into the period of the Catholic sovereigns; so that he lived in three different reigns.[4] At the request of Count Benevente, he at one time collected what he had written into a volume, which may still be extant, but has never been published.[5] The longest of his works now known to exist is an allegorical poem of twelve hundred lines, on the death of his uncle, the Marquis of Santillana, in which the Seven Cardinal Virtues, together with Poetry and Gomez Manrique himself, appear, and, with cold formality, mourn over the great loss their age and country had sustained. It was written soon after 1458, and sent, with an amusingly pedantic letter, to his cousin, the Bishop of Calahorra, son of the Marquis of Santillana.[6] Another poem, addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, which is necessarily to be dated as late as the year 1474, is a little more than half as long as the last, but, like that, is allegorical, and resorts to the same poor machinery of the Seven Virtues, who come this time to give counsel to the Catholic sov-

Gomez Manrique.

[3] Pulgar, Claros Varones, Tit. 13. Cancionero General, 1573, f. 183. Mariana, Hist., Lib. XXIV. c. 14. He began to distinguish himself in 1434, and was not only the first who openly opposed the power of Alvaro de Luna, but was active in the final overthrow of that great minister and favorite. Alcántara, Hist. de Granada, Tom. III. 1845, pp. 255, sqq.

[4] The poetry of Gomez Manrique is in the Cancionero General, 1573, ff. 57–77, and 243.

[5] Adiciones á Pulgar, ed. 1775, p. 239.

[6] Ibid., p. 223.

ereigns on the art of government. It was originally preceded by a prose epistle, and was printed in 1482, so that it is among the earliest books that came from the Spanish press.[7]

These two somewhat long poems, with a few that are much shorter, — the best of which is on the bad government of a town where he lived, — fill up the list of what remain to us of their author's works. They are found in the Cancioneros printed from time to time during the sixteenth century, and thus bear witness to the continuance of the regard in which he was long held. But, except a few passages, where he speaks in a natural tone, moved by feelings of personal affection, none of his poetry can now be read with pleasure; and, in some instances, the Latinisms in which he indulges, misled probably by Juan de Mena, render the lines where they occur quite ridiculous.[8]

Jorge Manrique is the last of this chivalrous family that comes into the literary history of his country. He was the son of Rodrigo, Count of Paredes, and seems to have been a young man of an uncommonly gentle cast of character, yet not without the spirit of adventure that belonged to his ancestors, — a poet full of natural feeling, when the best of those about him were almost wholly given to metaphysical conceits, and to what was then thought a curious elegance of style. We have, indeed, a considerable number of his lighter verses, chiefly addressed to the lady of his love, which are not without the coloring of his time, and remind us of the poetry on similar subjects produced a century later in England, after the Italian taste had been introduced at the court of Henry

Jorge Manrique.

7 Mendez, Typog. Esp., p. 265. To these poems, when speaking of Gomez Manrique, should be added, 1, his poetical letter to his uncle, the Marquis of Santillana, asking for a copy of his works, with the reply of his uncle, both of which are in the Cancioneros Generales; and 2, some of his smaller trifles, which occur in a manuscript of the poems of Alvarez Gato, belonging to the Library of the Academy of History at Madrid, and numbered 114, — trifles, however, which ought to be published.

8 Such as the word *definicion* for *death*, and other similar euphuisms. For a notice of Gomez Manrique, see Antonio, Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. p. 342. The poem referred to is in the Cancionero General, 1535, and begins, "Quando Roma conquistaba," f. 40, a. His addition to Juan de Mena's "Siete Pecados" has been already noticed, *ante*, Chap. XIX.

the Eighth.[9] But the principal poem of Manrique the younger is almost entirely free from affectation. It was written on the death of his father, which occurred in 1476, and is in the genuinely old Spanish measure and manner. It fills about five hundred lines, divided into forty-two *coplas* or stanzas, and is called, with a simplicity and directness worthy of its own character, "The Coplas of Manrique," as if it needed no more distinctive name.

His Coplas.

Nor does it.. Instead of being a loud exhibition of his sorrows, or, what would have been more in the spirit of the age, a conceited exhibition of his learning, it is a simple and natural complaint of the mutability of all earthly happiness; the mere overflowing of a heart filled with despondency at being brought suddenly to feel the worthlessness of what it has most valued and pursued. His father occupies hardly half the canvas of the poem, and some of the stanzas devoted more directly to him are the only portion of it we could wish away. But we everywhere feel — before its proper subject is announced quite as much as afterwards — that its author has just sustained some loss, which has crushed his hopes, and brought him to look only on the dark and discouraging side of life. In the earlier stanzas he seems to be in the first moments of his great affliction, when he does not trust himself to speak out concerning its cause; when his mind, still brooding in solitude over his sorrows, does not even look round for consolation. He says, in his grief,

Our lives are rivers, gliding free
To that unfathomed, boundless sea,
The silent grave;
Thither all earthly pomp and boast
Roll, to be swallowed up and lost
In one dark wave.
Thither the mighty torrents stray,
Thither the brook pursues its way,
And tinkling rill.

[9] These poems, some of them too free for the notions of his Church, are in the Cancioneros Generales; for example, in that of 1535, ff. 72–76, etc., and in that of 1573, at ff. 131–139, 176, 180, 187, 189, 221, 243, 245. A few are also in the "Cancionero de Burlas," 1519.

There all are equal. Side by side
The poor man and the son of pride
Lie calm and still.

The same tone is heard, though somewhat softened, when he touches on the days of his youth and of the court of John the Second, already passed away; and it is felt the more deeply, because the festive scenes he describes come into such strong contrast with the dark and solemn thoughts to which they lead him. In this respect his verses fall upon our hearts like the sound of a heavy bell, struck by a light and gentle hand, which continues long afterwards to give forth tones that grow sadder and more solemn, till at last they come to us like a wailing for those we have ourselves loved and lost. But gradually the movement changes. After his father's death is distinctly announced, his tone becomes religious and submissive. The light of a blessed future breaks upon his reconciled spirit; and then the whole ends like a mild and radiant sunset, as the noble old warrior sinks peacefully to his rest, surrounded by his children and rejoicing in his release.[10]

[10] The lines on the court of John II. are among the most beautiful in the poem:

Where is the King, Don Juan? where
Each royal prince and noble heir
Of Aragon?
Where are the courtly gallantries?
The deeds of love and high emprise,
In battle done?
Tourney and joust, that charmed the eye,
And scarf, and gorgeous panoply,
And nodding plume, —
What were they but a pageant scene?
What but the garlands, gay and green,
That deck the tomb?

Where are the high-born dames, and where
Their gay attire, and jewelled hair,
And odors sweet?
Where are the gentle knights, that came
To kneel, and breathe love's ardent flame,
Low at their feet?
Where is the song of the Troubadour?
Where are the lute and gay tambour,
They loved of yore?
Where is the mazy dance of old,
The flowing robes inwrought with gold,
The dancers wore?

These two stanzas, as well as the one in the text, are from Mr. H. W. Longfellow's beautiful translation of the Coplas, first printed, Boston, 1833, 12mo, and often since. A similar tone is the foundation of the Marquis of Santillana's "Pregunta de nobles" (Ed. Ochoa, 1844, pp. 241–244), and may have given the hint to the passage cited from Manrique, who can hardly have been ignorant of the Marquis' poetry. The following stanza is in point:

Pregunto que fue del fijo de Aurora,
Achiles, Ulixes, Ayax Talamon,
Pirro, Diomedes, y Agamemnon?
Que fue de aquestos, ó do son agora?
O quien los rebata en poca de hora,
Que no veemos dellos sinon la su fama?
O quien es aqueste que breve los llama?
O qual es su curso que nunca mejora?

Both may be compared with a passage in the verses on Edward IV. attributed to Skelton, and found in the "Mirror for Magistrates" (London, 1815, 4to, Tom. II. p. 246), in which that prince is made to say, as if speaking from his grave, —

"Where is now my conquest and victory?
Where is my riches and royall array?
Where be my coursers and my horses hye?
Where is my myrth, my solace, and my play?"

Indeed, the three poems are not unlike in their tone, though, of course, the old English

No earlier poem in the Spanish language, if we except, perhaps, some of the early ballads, is to be compared with the Coplas of Manrique for depth and truth of feeling; and few of any subsequent period have reached the beauty or power of its best portions. Its versification, too, is excellent; free and flowing, with occasionally an antique air and turn, that are true to the character of the age that produced it, and increase its picturesqueness and effect. But its great charm is to be sought in a beautiful simplicity, which, belonging to no age, is the seal of genius in all.

The Coplas, as might be anticipated, produced a strong impression from the first. They were printed in 1492, within sixteen years after they were written, and are found in several of the old collections a little later. Separate editions followed. One, with a very dull and moralizing prose commentary by Luis de Aranda, was published in 1552. Another, with a poetical gloss in the measure of the original, by Luis Perez, appeared in 1561; yet another, by Rodrigo de Valdepeñas, in 1588; and another, by Gregorio Silvestre, in 1589; — all of which were reprinted more than once, and the first two many times. But in this way the modest Coplas became so burthened and obscured, that they almost disappeared from popular circulation in the sixteenth century. Later, however, they shook off the useless incumbrance, and, from the beginning of the seventeenth, have been reprinted separately, — often in the fashion of the old ballads, — and so have vindicated for themselves that place among the most cherished portions of the elder literature of the country to which their merit unquestionably entitles them.[11]

Commentaries on the Coplas.

laureate never heard of Manrique, and never imagined anything half so good as the Coplas. The Coplas were often imitated; — among the rest, as Lope de Vega tells us (Obras Sueltas, Madrid, 1777, 4to, Tom. XI. p. xxix.), by Camoens; but I do not know the Redondillas of Camoens to which he refers. Lope admired the Coplas very much. He says they should be written in letters of gold.

[11] For the earliest editions of the Coplas, 1492, 1494, and 1501, see Mendez, Typog. Española, p. 136. I possess ten or twelve copies of other editions, one of which was printed at Boston, 1833, with Mr. Longfellow's translation. My copies, dated 1574, 1588, 1614, 1632, and 1799, all have *Glosas* in verse. That of Aranda is in folio, 1552, black letter, and in prose. For nearly two centuries it has been published as the popular ballads are. I have seen such copies with dates as far back as 1610 and

The death of the younger Manrique was not unbecoming his ancestry and his life. In an insurrection which occurred in 1479, he served on the loyal side, and, pushing a skirmish too adventurously, was wounded and fell. In his bosom were found some verses, still unfinished, on the uncertainty of all human hopes; and more than one old ballad records his fate, and appropriately seals up, with its simple poetry, the chronicle of this portion, at least, of his time-honored race.[12]

Death of Jorge Manrique.

1632, and possess others printed within the last twenty years.

At the end of a translation of the "Inferno" of Dante, made by Pero Fernandez de Villegas, Archdeacon of Burgos, published at Burgos in 1515, folio, with an elaborate commentary, chiefly from that of Landino, — a very rare book, and one of considerable merit, — is found, in a few copies, a poem on the "Vanity of Life," by the translator, which, though not equal to the Coplas of Manrique, reminds me of them. It is called "Aversion del Mundo y Conversion á Dios," and is divided, with too much formality, into twenty stanzas on the contempt of the world, and twenty in honor of a religious life; but the verses, which are in the old national manner, are very flowing, and their style is that of the purest and richest Castilian. It opens thus:

Away, malignant, cruel world,
With sin and sorrow rife!
I seek the meeker, wiser way
That leads to heavenly life.
Your fatal poisons here we drink,
Lured by their savors sweet,
Though, lurking in our flowery path,
The serpent wounds our feet.

Away with thy deceitful snares,
Which all too late I fly! —
I, who, a coward, followed thee
Till my last years are nigh;
Till thy most strange, revolting sins
Force me to turn from thee,
And drive me forth to seek repose,
Thy service hard to flee.

Away with all thy wickedness,
And all thy heartless toil,
Where brother, to his brother false,
In treachery seeks for spoil! —
Dead is all charity in thee,
All good in thee is dead;
I seek a port where from thy storm
To hide my weary head.

I add the original, for the sake of its flowing sweetness and power:

Quedate, mundo malino,
Lleno de mal y dolor,
Que me vo tras el dulçor
Del bien eterno divino.
Tu tosigo, tu venino,
Vevemos açucarado,
Y la sierpe esta en el prado
De tu tan falso camino.

Quedate con tus engaños,
Maguera te dexo tarde,
Que te segui de cobarde
Fasta mis postreros años.
Mas ya tus males estraños
De ti me alançan forçoso,
Vome a buscar el reposo
De tus trabajosos daños.

Quedate con tu maldad,
Con tu trabajo inhumano,
Donde el hermano al hermano
No guardá fe ni verdad.
Muerta es toda caridad;
Todo bien en ti es ya muerto; —
Acojome para el puerto,
Fuyendo tu tempestad.

After the forty stanzas to which the preceding lines belong, follow two more poems, the first entitled "The Complaint of Faith," partly by Diego de Burgos and partly by Pero Fernandez de Villegas, and the second, a free translation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, by Gerónimo de Villegas, brother of Pero Fernandez, — each poem in about seventy or eighty octave stanzas, of *arte mayor*, but neither of them as good as the "Vanity of Life." Gerónimo also translated the Sixth Satire of Juvenal into *coplas de arte mayor*, and published it at Valladolid in 1519, in 4to.

12 Mariana, Hist., Lib. XXIV. c. 19, noticing his death, says, "He died in his best years," — "en lo mejor de su edad;" but we do not know how old he was. On three other occasions, at least, Don Jorge is mentioned in the great Spanish historian

Another family that flourished in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, and one that continued to be distinguished in that of Charles the Fifth, was marked with similar characteristics, serving in high places in the state and in the army, and honored for its success in letters. It was the family of the Urreas. The first of the name who rose to eminence was Lope, created Count of Aranda in 1488; the last was Gerónimo de Urrea, who must be noticed hereafter as the translator of Ariosto, and as the author of a treatise on Military Honor, which was published in 1566.

The family of the Urreas.

Both the sons of the first Count of Aranda, Miguel and Pedro, were lovers of letters; but Pedro only was imbued with a poetical spirit beyond that of his age, and emancipated from its affectations and follies. His poems, which he published in 1513, are dedicated to his widowed mother, and are partly religious and partly secular. Some of them show that he was acquainted with the Italian masters. Others are quite untouched by any but national influences; and among the latter is the following ballad, recording the first love of his youth, when a deep distrust of himself seemed to be too strong for a passion which was yet evidently one of great tenderness:

Pedro de Urrea.

In the soft and joyous summer-time,
When the days stretch out their span,
It was then my peace was ended all,
It was then my griefs began.

When the earth is clad with springing grass,
When the trees with flowers are clad;
When the birds are building up their nests,
When the nightingale sings sad;

as a personage important in the affairs of his time; but on yet a fourth,—that of the death of his father, Rodrigo,—the words of Mariana are so beautiful and apt, that I transcribe them in the original. "Su hijo D. Jorge Manrique, en unas trovas muy elegantes, en que hay virtudes poeticas y ricas esmaltes de ingenio, y sentencias graves, a manera de endecha, lloró la muerte de su padre." Lib. XXIV. c. 14. It is seldom History goes out of its bloody course to render such a tribute to Poetry, and still more seldom that it does it so gracefully. One old ballad on Jorge Manrique is in Fuentes, Libro de los Quarenta Cantos, Alcalá, 1587, 12mo, p. 374; but Wolf refers to another and a better one in the Cancionero General;—I suppose the one at f. 208 b. in the edition of 1573, and No. 963 of Duran's Romancero, 1851.

When the stormy sea is hushed and still,
  And the sailors spread their sail;
When the rose and lily lift their heads,
  And with fragrance fill the gale;

When, burthened with the coming heat,
  Men cast their cloaks aside,
And turn themselves to the cooling shade,
  From the sultry sun to hide;

When no hour like that of night is sweet,
  Save the gentle twilight hour;—
In a tempting, gracious time like this,
  I felt love's earliest power.

But the lady that then I first beheld
  Is a lady so fair to see,
That, of all who witness her blooming charms,
  None fails to bend the knee.

And her beauty, and all its glory and grace,
  By so many hearts are sought,
That as many pains and sorrows, I know,
  Must fall to my hapless lot;—

A lot that grants me the hope of death
  As my only sure relief,
And while it denies the love I seek,
  Announces the end of my grief.

Still, still, these bitterest sweets of life
  I never will ask to forget;
For the lover's truest glory is found
  When unshaken his fate is met.[13]

[13] Cancionero de las Obras de Don Pedro Manuel de Urrea, Logroño, fol., 1513, apud "Ig. de Asso, De Libris quibusdam Hispa norum Rarioribus, Cæsaraugustæ," 1794, 4to, pp. 89–92.

En el placiente verano,
Dó son los dias mayores,
Acabaron mis placeres,
Comenzaron mis dolores.

Quando la tierra da yerva
Y los arboles dan flores,
Quando aves hacen nidos
Y cantan los ruiseñores;

Quando en la mar sosegada
Entran los navegadores,
Quando los lirios y rosas
Nos dan buenos olores;

Y quando toda la gente,
Ocupados de calores,
Van aliviando las ropas,
Y buscando los frescores;

Dó son las mejores oras
Las noches y los albores;—
En este tiempo que digo,
Comenzaron mis amores.

De una dama que yo vi,
Dama de tantos primores,

The last person who wrote a poem of any considerable length, and yet is properly to be included within the old school, is one who, by his imitations of Dante, reminds us of the beginnings of that school in the days of the Marquis of Santillana. It is Juan de Padilla, commonly called "El Cartuxano," or The Carthusian, because he chose thus modestly to conceal his own name, and announce himself only as a monk of Santa María de las Cuevas in Seville.[14] Before he entered into that monastery, he wrote a poem, in a hundred and fifty *coplas*, called "The Labyrinth of the Duke of Cadiz," which was printed in 1493; but his two chief works were composed afterwards. The first of them is called "Retablo de la Vida de Christo," or A Picture of the Life of Christ; a long poem, generally in octave stanzas of *versos de arte mayor*, containing a history of the Saviour's life, as given by the Prophets and Evangelists, but interspersed with prayers, sermons, and exhortations; all very devout and very dull, and all finished, as he tells us, on Christmas eve in the year 1500.

Juan de Padilla.

The other is entitled "The Twelve Triumphs of the Twelve Apostles," which, as we are informed, with the same accuracy and in the same way, was completed on the 14th of February, 1518; again a poem formidable for

De quantos es conocida
De tantos tiene loores:

Su gracia por hermosura
Tiene tantos servidores,
Quanto yo por desdichado
Tengo penas y dolores:
Donde se me otorga muerte
Y se me niegan favores.

Mas nunca olvidaré
Estos amargos dulzores,
Porque en la mucha firmeza
Se muestran los amadores.

Pedro de Urrea, soon after the publication of this volume of poems, entered into public affairs, and seems to have turned his back on letters. In 1516 he was ambassador of Ferdinand the Catholic in Rome. Argensola, Anales de Aragon. Zaragoza, 1630, Fol., Tom. I. p. 13.

[14] The monk, however, finds it impossible to keep his secret, and fairly lets it out in a sort of acrostic at the end of the "Retablo." He was born in 1468, and died after 1518.

The convent of Sta. Maria de las Cuevas is that establishment of the Carthusians in which the remains of Columbus rested from 1513 to 1536. (Irving's Columbus, London, 1828, 8vo. Vol. IV. p. 46.) Notwithstanding the severity of their order, however, the monks of this monastery lived in great luxury. Navagiero, who visited it in 1526, while the bones of Columbus were still there, and while Juan de Padilla was probably alive, says, after a more ample description of it than, in his brief notes, he commonly gives of anything: Par che non li manca cosa alcuna a quella compita bellezza che puo avere un loco. Bon grado hanno i frati che vivono lì á montar di lì al Paradiso" (Viaggio, 1563, f. 14); — remarkable words for a grave old statesman, and one, too, who came from among the luxurious palaces of Venice.

its length, since it fills above a thousand stanzas of nine lines each. It is partly an allegory, but wholly religious in its character, and is composed with more care than anything else its author wrote. The action passes in the twelve signs of the zodiac, through which the poet is successively carried by Saint Paul, who shows him, in each of them, first, the marvels of one of the twelve Apostles; next, an opening of one of the twelve mouths of the infernal regions; and, lastly, a glimpse of the corresponding division of Purgatory. Dante is evidently the model of the good monk, however unsuccessful he may be as a follower. Indeed, he begins with a direct imitation of the opening of the "Divina Commedia," from which, in other parts of the poem, phrases and lines are not unfrequently borrowed. But he has thrown together what relates to earth and heaven, to the infernal regions and to Purgatory, in such an unhappy confusion, and he so mingles allegory, mythology, astrology, and known history, that his work turns out, at last, a mere succession of wild inconsistencies, and vague, unmeaning descriptions. Of poetry there is rarely a trace; but the language, which has a decided air of yet elder times about it, is free and strong, and the versification, considering the period, is uncommonly rich and easy.[15]

[15] The "Doze Triumfos de los Doze Apóstolos" was printed entire in London, 1843, 4to, by Don Miguel del Riego, Canon of Oviedo, and brother of the Spanish patriot and martyr of the same name. In the volume containing the Triumfos, the Canon has given large extracts from the "Retablo de la Vida de Christo," omitting Cantos VII., VIII., IX., and X. For notices of Juan de Padilla, see Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. I. p. 751, and Tom. II. p. 332; Mendez, Typog. Esp., p. 193; and Sarmiento, Memorias, Sect. 844–847. From the last, it appears that he rose to important ecclesiastical authority under the crown, as well as in his own order. The Doze Triumfos was first printed in 1521, the Retablo in 1505. There is a contemporary Spanish book, with a title something resembling that of the Retablo de la Vida de Christo del Cartuxano; — I mean the "Vita Christi Cartuxano," which is a translation of the "Vita Christi" of Ludolphus of Saxony, a Carthusian monk who died about 1370, made into Castilian by Ambrosio Montesino, and first published at Seville, in 1502. It is, in fact, a Life of Christ, compiled out of the Evangelists, with ample commentaries and reflections from the Fathers of the Church, — the whole filling four folio volumes, — and in the version of Montesino it appears in a grave, pure Castilian prose. It was translated by him at the command, he says, of Ferdinand and Isabella.

CHAPTER XXII.

PROSE WRITERS. — JUAN DE LUCENA. — ALFONSO DE LA TORRE. — DIEGO DE ALMELA. — ALONSO ORTIZ. — FERNANDO DEL PULGAR. — DIEGO DE SAN PEDRO.

Prose writers time of Henry IV.

THE reign of Henry the Fourth was more favorable to the advancement of prose composition than that of John the Second. This we have already seen when speaking of the contemporary chronicles, and of Perez de Guzman and the author of the "Celestina." In other cases we observe its advancement in an inferior degree; but, encumbered as they are with more or less of the bad taste and pedantry of the time, they still deserve notice, because they were so much valued in their own age.

Juan de Lucena.

Regarded from this point of view, one of the most prominent prose writers of the century was Juan de Lucena; a personage distinguished both as a private counsellor of John the Second, and as that monarch's foreign ambassador. We know, however, little of his history; and of his works only one remains to us, — if, indeed, he wrote any more. It is a didactic prose dialogue "On a Happy Life," carried on between some of the most eminent persons of the age: the great Marquis of Santillana, Juan de Mena, the poet, Alonso de Cartagena, the bishop and statesman, and Lucena himself, who acts in part as an umpire in the discussion, though the Bishop at last ends it by deciding that true happiness consists in loving and serving God.

The dialogue itself is represented as having passed chiefly in a hall of the palace, and in presence of several of the nobles of the court; but it was not written till after the death of the Constable, in 1453; that event

being alluded to in it. It is plainly an imitation of the treatise of Boëthius "On the Consolation of Philosophy," then a favorite classic; but it is more spirited and effective than its model. It is frequently written in a pointed and a dignified style, and parts of it are interesting and striking. Thus, the lament of Santillana over the death of his son is beautiful and touching, and so is the final summing up of the trials and sorrows of this life by the Bishop. In the midst of their discussions, there is a pleasant description of a collation with which they were refreshed by the Marquis, and which recalls, at once, — as it was probably intended to do, — the Greek Symposia and the dialogues that record them. Indeed, the allusions to antiquity with which it abounds, and the citations of ancient authors, which are still more frequent, are almost always apt, and often free from the awkwardness and pedantry which mark most of the didactic prose of the period; so that, taken together, it may be regarded, notwithstanding the use of many strange words, and an occasional indulgence in conceits, as one of the most remarkable literary monuments of the age from which it has come down to us.[1]

To this period, also, we must refer the "Vision Deleytable," or Delectable Vision, which we are sure was written as early as 1461, and probably earlier. Its author was Alfonso de la Torre, commonly called "The

[1] My copy is of the first edition of Çamora, Centenera, 1483, folio, twenty-three leaves, double columns, black letter. It begins with these singular words, instead of a title-page: "Aqui comença un tratado en estillo breve, en sentencias no solo largo mas hondo y prolixo, el qual ha nombre Vita Beata, hecho y compuesto por el honrado y muy discreto Juan de Lucena," etc. There are also editions of 1499 and 1541, and, I believe, yet another of 1501. (Antonio, Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. p. 250; and Mendez, Typog., p. 267.) The following short passage — with an allusion to the opening of Juvenal's Tenth Satire, in better taste than is common in similar works of the same period — will well illustrate its style. It is from the remarks of the Bishop, in reply both to the poet and to the man of the world: "Resta, pues, Señor Marques y tu Juan de Mena, mi sentencia primera verdadera, que ninguno en esta vida vive beato. Desde Cadiz hasta Ganges si toda la tierra expiamos [espiamos?] a ningund mortal contenta su suerte. El caballero entre las puntas se codicia mercader; y el mercader cavallero entre las brumas del mar, si los vientos australes enpreñian las velas. Al parir de las lombardas desea hallarse el pastor en el poblado; en campo el cibdadano; fuera religion los de dentro como peçes y dentro querrian estar los de fuera," etc. (fol. xviii. a). The treatise contains many Latinisms and Latin words, after the absurd example of Juan de Mena; but it also contains many good old words that we are sorry have become obsolete.

Bachelor," who seems to have been a native of the bishopric of Burgos, and who was, from 1437 till the time of his death, a member of the College of Saint Bartholomew at Salamanca; a noble institution, founded in imitation of that established at Bologna by Cardinal Albornoz. It is an allegorical vision, in which the author supposes himself to see the Understanding of Man in the form of an infant, brought into a world full of ignorance and sin, and educated by a succession of such figures as Grammar, Logic, Music, Astrology, Truth, Reason, and Nature. He intended it, he says, to be a compendium of all human knowledge, especially of all that touches moral science and man's duty, the soul and its immortality; intimating, at the end, that it is a bold thing in him to have discussed such subjects in the vernacular, and begging the noble Juan de Beamonte, at whose request he had undertaken it, not to permit a work so slight to be seen by others.

Alfonso de la Torre.

It shows a good deal of the learning of its time, and still more of the acuteness of the scholastic metaphysics then in favor. But it is awkward and uninteresting in the general structure of its fiction, and meagre in its style and illustrations. This, however, did not prevent it from being much read and admired. There is one edition of it without date, which probably appeared about 1480, showing that the wish of its author to keep it from the public was not long respected; and there were other editions in 1489, 1526, and 1538, besides a translation into Catalan, printed as early as 1484. But the taste for such works passed away in Spain, as it did elsewhere; and the Bachiller de la Torre was soon so completely forgotten, that his Vision was not only published by Dominico Delphino in Italian, as a work of his own, but was translated back into its native Spanish, by Francisco de Caceres, a converted Jew, and printed in 1663, under the full belief of the translator that it was an original Italian work, till then quite unknown in Spain.[2]

[2] The oldest edition, which is without date, seems, from its type and paper, to have come from the press of Centenera at Camora, in which case it was printed about 1480–1483. It begins thus: "Comença el tratado llamado Vision Deleytable,

An injustice not unlike the one that occurred to Alfonso de la Torre happened to his contemporary, Diego de Almela, and for some time deprived him of the honor, to which he was entitled, of being regarded as the author of "The Valerius of Stories," — a book long popular and still interesting. He wrote it after the death of his patron, the wise Bishop of Carthagena, who had projected such a work himself, and as early as 1472 it was sent to one of the Manrique family. But, though the letter which then accompanied it is still extant, and though, in four editions, beginning with that of 1487, the book is ascribed to its true author, yet in the fifth, which appeared in 1541, it is announced to be by the well-known Fernan Perez de Guzman; — a mistake which was discovered and exposed by Tamayo de Vargas, in the time of Philip the Third, but does not seem to have been generally corrected till the work itself was edited anew by Moreno, in 1793.

Diego de Almela.

The "Valerio" is thrown into the form of a discussion on Morals, in which, after a short explanation of the different virtues and vices of men, as they were then understood, we have all the illustrations the author could collect under each head from the Scriptures and the history of Spain. It is, therefore, rather a series of stories than a regular didactic treatise, and its merit consists in the grave, yet simple and pleasing, style

His Valerio de las Historias.

compuesto por Alfonso de la Torre, bachiller, endereçado al muy noble Don Juan de Beamonte, Prior de San Juan en Navarra." It is not paged, but fills 71 leaves in folio, double columns, black letter. The little known of the different manuscripts and earlier printed editions of the Vision is to be found in Antonio, Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. pp. 328, 329, with the note; Mendez, Typog., pp. 100 and 380, with the Appendix, p. 402; and Castro, Biblioteca Española, Tom. I. pp. 630–635. But it has been reprinted in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tom. XXXVI. 1855. The Vision was written for the instruction of the Prince of Viana, who is spoken of near the end as if still alive; and since this well-known prince, the son of John, King of Navarre and Aragon, was born in 1421 and died in 1461, we know the limits between which the Vision must have been produced. Indeed, being addressed to Beamonte, the Prince's tutor, it was probably written earlier; — perhaps during the Prince's nonage. One of the old manuscripts of it says, "It was held in great esteem, and, as such, was carefully kept in the chamber of the said King of Aragon." There is a life of the author in Rezabal y Ugarte, "Biblioteca de los Autores, que han sido individuos de los seis colegios mayores" (Madrid, 1805, 4to, p. 359). The best passage in the Vision Deleytable is at the end — the address of Truth to Reason. There is a poem of Alfonso de la Torre in MS. 7826, in the National Library, Paris (Ochoa, Manuscritos, Paris, 1844, 4to, p. 479; and the poems of the Bachiller Francisco de la Torre in the Cancionero, 1573 (ff. 124–127), and elsewhere, so much talked about in connection with Quevedo, have sometimes been thought to be his, though the names differ.

in which they are told, — a style particularly fitted to most of them, which are taken from the old national chronicles. Originally, it was accompanied by "An Account of Pitched Battles;" but this, and his Chronicles of Spain, his collection of the Miracles of Santiago, and several discussions of less consequence, are long since forgotten. Almela, who enjoyed the favor of Ferdinand and Isabella, accompanied those sovereigns to the siege of Granada, in 1491, as a chaplain, carrying with him, as was not uncommon at that time among the higher ecclesiastics, a military retinue to serve in the wars.[3]

In 1493, another distinguished ecclesiastic, Alonso Ortiz, a canon of Toledo, published, in a volume of moderate size, two small works which should not be entirely overlooked. The first is a treatise, in twenty-seven chapters, addressed, through the queen, Isabella, to her daughter, the Princess of Portugal, on the death of that princess' husband, filled with such consolation as the courtly Canon deemed suitable to her bereavement and his own dignity. The other is an oration, addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, after the fall of Granada, in 1492, rejoicing in that great event, and glorying almost equally in the cruel expulsion of all Jews and heretics from Spain. Both are written in too rhetorical a style, but neither is without merit; and in the oration there are one or two beautiful and even touching passages on the tranquillity to be enjoyed in Spain, now that a foreign and hated enemy, after a contest of eight centuries, had been expelled from its borders, — passages which evidently came from the writer's heart, and no doubt found an echo where ever his words were heard by Spaniards.[4]

Alonso Ortiz.

[3] Antonio, Bib. Vetus, ed. Bayer, Tom. II. p. 325. Mendez, Typog., p. 315. It is singular that the edition of the "Valerio de las Historias" printed at Toledo, 1541, folio, as well as one at Seville, 1542–3, which bears on its title-page the name of Fern. Perez de Guzman, yet contains, at f. 2, the very letter of Almela, dated 1472, which leaves no doubt that its writer is the author of the book. Some of his minor works are still extant in MS. See Spanish Trans. of this History, Tom. I. p. 557.

[4] The volume of the learned Alonso Ortiz is a curious one, printed at Seville, 1493, folio, 100 leaves. It is noticed by Mendez (p. 194), and by Antonio (Bib. Nov., Tom. I. p. 39), who seems to have known nothing about its author, except that he bequeathed his library to the University of Salamanca. Besides the two treatises mentioned in the text, this volume contains an account of the wound received by Ferdinand the Catholic, from the hand of an assassin, at Barcelona, December 7, 1492;

Another of the prose-writers of the fifteenth century, and one that deserves to be mentioned with more respect than either of the last, is Fernando del Pulgar. He was born in Madrid, and was educated, as he himself tells us, at the court of John the Second. During the reign of Henry the Fourth, he had employments which show him to have been a person of consequence; and, during a large part of that of Ferdinand and Isabella, he was one of their counsellors of state, their secretary, and their chronicler. Of his historical writings notice has already been taken; but in the course of his inquiries after what related to the annals of Castile, he collected materials for another work, more interesting, if not more important. For he found, as he says, many famous men whose names and characters had not been so preserved and celebrated as their merits demanded; and, moved by his patriotism, and taking for his example the portraits of Perez de Guzman and the biographies of the ancients, he carefully prepared sketches of the lives of the principal persons of his own age, beginning with Henry the Fourth, and confining himself chiefly within the limits of that monarch's reign and court.[5]

Fernando del Pulgar.

Some of these sketches, to which he has given the general title of "Claros Varones de Castilla," like those of the good Count Haro[6] and of Rodrigo Manrique,[7] are important from their subjects, while others, like those of the great ecclesiastics of the kingdom, are now interesting

two letters from the city and cathedral of Toledo, praying that the name of the newly conquered Granada may not be placed before that of Toledo in the royal title; and an attack on the Prothonotary Juan de Lucena, — not the author lately mentioned, — who had ventured to assail the Inquisition, then in the freshness of its holy pretensions. The whole volume is full of bigotry, and the spirit of a triumphant priesthood. There is yet a third Lucena, whose first name is not given, but who was the son of Juan Remirez de Lucena, ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella at Rome, and who published, in 1495, a small book in ff. 51, containing (1) "Repeticion de Amores," which is a treatise on Love and its effects, with a correspondence between the Author and his Lady; verses of Torrellas, Inigo de Mendoza, etc., and (2) a treatise on chess. See Translation of this work into Spanish, Tom. I. p. 558.

[5] The notices of the life of Pulgar are from the edition of his "Claros Varones," Madrid, 1775, 4to; but there, as elsewhere, he is said to be a native of the kingdom of Toledo. This, however, is probably a mistake. Oviedo, who knew him personally, says, in his Dialogue on Mendoza, Duke of Infantado, that Pulgar was "de Madrid *natural*." Quinquagenas, MS.

[6] Claros Varones, Tit. 3.

[7] Ibid., Tit. 13.

only for the skill with which they are drawn. The style in which they are written is forcible and generally concise, showing a greater tendency to formal elegance than anything by either Cibdareal or Guzman, with whom we should most readily compare him; but we miss the confiding naturalness of the warm-hearted physician, and the severe judgments of the retired statesman. The whole series is addressed to his great patroness, Queen Isabella, to whom, no doubt, he thought a tone of composed dignity more appropriate than any other.

His Claros Varones de Castilla.

As a specimen of his best manner, we may take the following passage, in which, after having alluded to some of the most remarkable personages in Roman history, he turns, as it were, suddenly round to the queen, and thus boldly confronts the great men of antiquity with the great men of Castile, whom he had already discussed more at large:

"True, indeed, it is, that these great men, — Castilian knights and gentlemen, — of whom memory is here made for fair cause, and also those of the elder time, who, fighting for Spain, gained it from the power of its enemies, did neither slay their own sons, as did those consuls, Brutus and Torquatus; nor burn their own flesh, as did Scævola; nor commit against their own blood cruelties which nature abhors and reason forbids; but rather, with fortitude and perseverance, with wise forbearance and prudent energy, with justice and clemency, gaining the love of their own countrymen, and becoming a terror to strangers, they disciplined their armies, ordered their battles, overcame their enemies, conquered hostile lands, and protected their own. . . . . . So that, most excellent Queen, these knights and prelates, and many others born within your realm, whereof here leisure fails me to speak, did, by the praiseworthy labors they fulfilled, and by the virtues they strove to attain, achieve unto themselves the name of Famous Men, whereof their descendants should be above others emulous; while, at the same time, all the gentlemen of your kingdoms should feel themselves called to the same pureness of life, that they may at last end their days

in unspotted success, even as these great men also lived and died."[8]

This is certainly remarkable, both for its style and for the tone of its thought, when regarded as part of a work written at the conclusion of the fifteenth century. Pulgar's Chronicle, and his commentary on "Mingo Revulgo," as we have already seen, are not so good as such sketches.

The same spirit, however, reäppears in his letters. They are thirty-two in number; all written during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the earliest being dated in 1473, and the latest only ten years afterwards. Nearly all of them were addressed to persons of honorable distinction in his time, such as the queen herself, Henry the king's uncle, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Count of Tendilla. Sometimes, as in the case of one to the King of Portugal, exhorting him not to make war on Castile, they are evidently letters of state. But, in other cases, like that of a letter to his physician, complaining pleasantly of the evils of old age, and one to his daughter, who was a nun, they seem to be familiar, if not confidential.[9] On the whole, therefore, taking all his different works together, we have a very gratifying exhibition of the character of this ancient servant and counsellor of Queen Isabella, who, if he gave no considerable impulse to his age as a writer, was yet in advance of it by the dignity and elevation of his thoughts, and the careless richness of his style. He died after 1492, and probably before 1500.

His letters.

We must not, however, go beyond the limits of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, without noticing two remarkable attempts to enlarge, or at least to change, the forms of romantic fiction, as they had been thus far settled in the books of chivalry.

Works of prose fiction.

The first of these attempts was made by Diego de San Pedro, a senator of Valladolid, whose poetry is found in all the Cancioneros Generales.[10] He was evidently known

[8] Claros Varones, Tit.17.

[9] The letters are at the end of the Claros Varones (Madrid, 1775, 4to), which was first printed in 1500.

[10] The Coplas of San Pedro on the Passion of Christ and the Sorrows of the Madonna are in the Cancionero of 1492 (Mendez, p. 135), and many of his other poems

at the court of the Catholic sovereigns, and seems to have been favored there; but, if we may judge from his principal poem, entitled "Contempt of Fortune," his old age was unhappy, and filled with regrets at the follies of his youth.[11] Among these follies, however, he reckons the work of prose fiction which now constitutes his only real claim to be remembered. It is called the Prison of Love, "Carcel de Amor," and was written at the request of Diego Hernandez, a governor of the pages in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Diego de San Pedro.

It opens with an allegory. The author supposes himself to walk out on a winter's morning, and to find in a wood a fierce, savage-looking person, who drags along an unhappy prisoner, bound by a chain. This savage is Desire, and his victim is Leriano, the hero of the fiction. San Pedro, from natural sympathy, follows them to the castle or prison of Love, where, after groping through sundry mystical passages and troubles, he sees the victim fastened to a fiery seat, and enduring the most cruel torments. Leriano tells him that they are in the kingdom of Macedonia, that he is enamored of Laureola, daughter of its king, and that for his love he is thus cruelly imprisoned; all of which he illustrates and explains allegorically, and begs the author to carry a message to the lady Laureola. The request is kindly granted, and a correspondence takes place, immediately upon which Leriano is released from his prison, and the allegorical part of the work is brought to an end.

His Carcel de Amor.

From this time the story is much like an episode in one of the tales of chivalry. A rival discovers the attachment between Leriano and Laureola, and, making it appear to the king, her father, as a criminal one, the lady is cast into prison. Leriano challenges her accuser, and defeats him in the lists; but the accusation is renewed, and, being fully sustained by false witnesses, Laureola is

are in the Cancioneros Generales, 1511–1573; for example, in the last, at ff. 155–161, 176, 177, 180, etc.

11 "El Desprecio de la Fortuna" — with a curious dedication to the Count Urueña, whom he says he served twenty-nine years — is at the end of Juan de Mena's Works ed. 1566.

Both are among the few books criticized by the author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas," who praises both moderately; the Carcel for its style more than the Question de Amor. (Mayans y Siscar, Origenes, Tom. II. p. 167.) Both are in the Index Expurgatorius, 1667, pp. 323, 864; the last with a seeming ignorance, that regards it as a Portuguese book.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CANCIONEROS OF BAENA, ESTUÑIGA, AND MARTINEZ DE BURGOS. — THE CANCIONERO GENERAL OF CASTILLO. — ITS EDITIONS. — ITS DIVISIONS, CONTENTS, AND CHARACTER.

THE reigns of John the Second and of his children, Henry the Fourth and Isabella the Catholic, over which we have now passed, extend from 1407 to 1504, and therefore fill almost a complete century, though they comprise only two generations of sovereigns. Of the principal writers who flourished while they sat on the throne of Castile we have already spoken, whether they were chroniclers or dramatists, whether they were poets or prose-writers, whether they belonged to the Provençal school or to the Castilian. But, after all, a more distinct idea of the poetical culture of Spain during this century than can be readily obtained in any other way is to be gathered from the old Cancioneros; those ample magazines, filled almost entirely with the poetry of the age that preceded their formation.

The old Cancioneros.

Nothing, indeed, that belonged to the literature of the fifteenth century in Spain marks its character more plainly than these large and ill-digested collections. The oldest of them, to which we have more than once referred, was the work of Juan Alfonso de Baena, a converted Jew, and one of the secretaries or scribes and accountants of John the Second. It dates, from internal evidence, between the years 1449 and 1454, and was made, as the compiler tells us in his preface, chiefly to please the King, but also, as he adds, in the persuasion that it would not be disregarded by the Queen, the heir-apparent, and the court and nobility in general. For this purpose, he says, he had brought

The Cancionero of Baena.

together the works of all the Spanish poets who, in his own or any preceding age, had done honor to what he calls "the very gracious art of the *Gaya Ciencia.*"

On examining the Cancionero of Baena, however, we find that quite one third of the three hundred and eighty-four manuscript pages it fills are given to Villasandino,—who died about 1424, and whom Baena pronounces "the prince of all Spanish poets,"—and that almost the whole of the remaining two thirds is divided among Diego de Valencia, Francisco Imperial, Baena himself, Fernan Perez de Guzman, and Ferrant Manuel de Lando; while the names of nearly fifty other persons, some of them reaching back, as that of Villasandino does, to the reign of Henry the Second, are affixed to a multitude of short poems, of which, probably, they were not in all cases the authors. A little of it, like what is attributed to Macias, is in the Galician dialect; but by far the greater part was written by Castilians, who valued themselves upon their fashionable tone more than upon anything else, and who, in obedience to the taste of their time, generally took the light and easy forms of Provençal verse, and as much of the Italian spirit as they comprehended and knew how to appropriate. Of poetry, except in some of the shorter pieces of Ferrant Lando, Francisco Imperial, and Perez de Guzman, the Cancionero of Baena contains little.[1]

Its authors.

[1] Accounts of the Cancionero of Baena are found in Castro, "Biblioteca Española" (Madrid, 1785, folio, Tom. I. pp. 265–346); in Puybusque, "Histoire Comparée des Littératures Espagnole et Française" (Paris, 1843, 8vo, Tom. I. pp. 393–397); in Ochoa, "Manuscritos" (Paris, 1844, 4to, pp. 281–286); and in Amador de los Rios, "Estudios sobre los Judios" (Madrid, 1848, 8vo, pp. 408–419). The copy used by Castro was probably from the library of Queen Isabella (Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., Tom. VI. p. 458, note), and is now in the National Library, Paris. Its collector, Baena, is sneered at in the Cancionero of Fernan Martinez de Burgos (Memorias de Alfonso VIII. por Mondexar, Madrid, 1783, 4to, App. cxxxix.), as a Jew who wrote vulgar verses.

Since this note was thus far written and printed, the Cancionero of Baena has been published,—somewhat luxuriously and in excellent taste,—at the expense of the Marquis Pidal, from the Manuscript formerly in the Escurial, but which, in 1818, I saw in the Royal, now National Library at Madrid, and made extracts from it that are still in my possession. At this time (1852), however, it is in the National Library at Paris, numbered 1932. It is probably the very copy presented to John II., and is the only one known to exist. The edition now printed from it is entitled "Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena (Siglo xv.) ahora por primera vez dado á Luz, con notas y comentarios." (Madrid, 1851, large octavo, pp. lxxxvii. and 732.) It is excellently edited, with a learned philosophical and

Many similar collections were made about the same time, enough of which remain to show that they were among the fashionable wants of the age, and that there was little variety in their character. Among them was the Cancionero in the Limousin dialect already mentioned;[2] that called Lope de Stuñiga's or Estuñiga's, which comprises works of about forty authors;[3] that collected in 1464 by Fernan Martinez de Burgos; and no less than seven others, preserved in the National Library at Paris, all containing poetry of the middle and latter part of the fifteenth century, often the same authors, and sometimes the same poems, that are found in Baena and in Estuñiga.[4] They all belong to a

Cancioneros by Estuñiga and others.

acute preface by Don P. J. Pidal, and notes by Ochoa, Duran, Gayangos, and others; the text being preceded by two carefully prepared fac-similes of the MS.

Of its authors I have already spoken in part (*ante*, Chap. XX.). It contains two hundred and forty-four poems by Villasandino, and thirty-one by Ferrant Manuel de Lando; besides which, it should be added that there are seventy-eight by Baena himself, fourteen by Fernan Perez de Guzman, thirteen by Ruy Paez de Ribera, sixteen by Ferrant Sanchez Calavera, and forty-three by Diego de Valencia; — these being the principal authors. The whole number of poets who are represented in it is, I believe, fifty-one; and the whole number of anonymous poems, including those by "a Doctor," "a Friar," &c., is about forty. The entire number of the poems contained in it is five hundred and seventy-six. Some of them are in the more popular tone, of which there was little trace in the selections made by Castro. These are not without the spirit of poetry.

The poems in this Cancionero that are probably not by the persons whose names they bear are short and trifling, — such as might be furnished to men of distinction by humble versifiers, who sought their protection or formed a part of their courts. Thus, a poem already noticed, that bears the name of Count Pero Niño, was, as we are expressly told in a note to it, written by Villasandino, in order that the Count might present himself before the lady Beatrice more gracefully than such a rough old soldier would be likely to do, unless he were helped to a little poetical gallantry.

[2] See *ante*, Chapter XVII. note 10.

[3] The Cancionero of Lope de Estuñiga is, or was lately, in the National Library at Madrid, among the folio MSS., marked M. 48, and filling one hundred and sixty-three leaves; but it is called Estuñiga's, or, following the spelling in this MS., Stuñiga's, only because the first poem in it is by him. Its contents may be found carefully noted by Gayangos in his Spanish translation of this History (Tom. I. pp. 559–566). It is a beautiful MS., and he thinks it was compiled in the middle of the fifteenth century for Alfonso V. of Naples. (Ib., p. 509.) The original name is said to have been corrupted into Zuñiga; the founder of the family having been Sancho Iñiguez Destuñiga, in the time of Alfonso X. (Panegirico del Duque de Barcelos por D. Fernando de Alvia de Castro, 4to, Lisboa, 1628, f. 42.) The three names, D'Estuñiga, Stuñiga, and Zuñiga, are therefore the same.

In the National Library at Madrid is another collection, commonly called the Cancionero of Juan Fernandez de Ixar; — a MS. volume containing poems from the time of Henry III. to that of Charles V., — both inclusive, — written in various hands, but none apparently older than the sixteenth century. It gets its name from the circumstance that the great Aragonese family of Ixar possessed it as late as 1645; but, as it was compiled after 1520, and contains the accustomed poets, it has little value. See Gayangos *ut supra*, pp. 566–569.

[4] The fashion of making such collections

state of society in which the great nobility, imitating the king, maintained poetical courts about them, such as that of Don Enrique de Villena at Barcelona, or the more brilliant one, perhaps, of the Duke Fadrique de Castro, who had constantly in his household Puerto Carrero, Gayoso, Manuel de Lando, and others then accounted great poets. That the prevailing tone of all this was Provençal we cannot doubt; but that it was somewhat influenced by a knowledge of the Italian we know from many of the poems that have been published, and from the intimations of the Marquis of Santillana, in his letter to the Constable of Portugal.[5]

Thus far more had been done in collecting the poetry of the time than might have been anticipated from the troubled state of public affairs; but it had only been done in one direction, and even in that with little judgment. The king and the more powerful of the nobility might indulge in the luxury of such Cancioneros and such poetical courts, but a general poetical culture could not be

of poetry, generally called "Cancioneros," was very common in Spain in the fifteenth century, just before and just after the introduction of the art of printing.

One of them, compiled in 1464, with additions of a later date, by Fernan Martinez de Burgos, begins with poems by his father, and goes on with others by Villasandino, who is greatly praised, both as a soldier and a writer; by Fernan Sanchez de Talavera, some of which are dated 1408; by Pero Velez de Guevara, 1422; by Gomez Manrique; by Santillana; by Fernan Perez de Guzman; and, in short, by the authors then best known at court. Mem. de Alfonso VIII., Madrid, 1783, 4to, App. cxxxiv.–cxl.

Three MS. Cancioneros in the private Library of the Queen of Spain are particularly noticed by Pidal (Cancionero de Baena, 1851, pp. lxxxvi.–vii.), two of which seem to be of some consequence, and one of about the same age with that of Baena. (Ib., pp. xxix.–xl. note 5, p. xli. note 1.) It is very desirable to have them published.

Several other Cancioneros of the same period are in the National Library, Paris, and contain almost exclusively the known fashionable authors of that century; such as Santillana, Juan de Mena, Lopez de Çuñiga [Estuñiga?], Juan Rodriguez del Padron, Juan de Villalpando, Suero de Ribera, Fernan Perez de Guzman, Gomez Manrique, Diego del Castillo, Alvaro Garcia de Santa Maria, Alonso Alvarez de Toledo, etc. There are no less than seven such Cancioneros in all, notices of which are found in Ochoa, "Catálogo de MSS. Españoles en la Biblioteca Real de Paris," Paris, 1844, 4to, pp. 378–525.

[5] Sanchez, Poesias Anteriores, Tom. I. p. lxi., with the notes on the passage relating to the Duke Fadrique.

Some of the persons who thus attached themselves as poets to the great men of the time were — it is worth while to observe — of very humble origin. One of these was Anton de Montero, commonly called "El Ropero," a converted Jew, and a Cordovese tailor or old clothesman, who wrote quite decent verse, and was much patronized. (Pidal in Cancionero de Baena, 1851, pp. xxxiii.–xxxvi.) Another was Juan de Valladolid, or Juan Poeta, a person of still lower condition, who accompanied Alfonso V. to Naples, and was afterwards favored by Queen Isabella (ibid., p. xxxviii.). Yet others are noticed by Pidal (ib., p. xxxix.), but they are of less consequence.

expected to follow influences so partial and inadequate. A new order of things, however, soon arose. In 1474 the art of printing was fairly established in Spain; and it is a striking fact that the first book of any note ascertained to have come from the Spanish press is a collection of poems recited that year by forty different poets contending for a public prize.[6] No doubt such a volume was not compiled on the principle of the elder manuscript Cancioneros. Still, in some respects it resembles them, and in others seems to have been the result of their example. But, however this may be, a collection of poetry was printed at Saragossa, in 1492, and called a "Cancionero," containing the works of nine authors, among whom were Juan de Mena, the younger Manrique, and Fernan Perez de Guzman; the whole evidently made on the same principle and for the same purpose as the Cancioneros of Baena and Estuñiga, and dedicated to Queen Isabella, as the great patroness of whatever tended to the advancement of letters.[7]

First printing in Spain.

It was a remarkable book to appear within so short a time after the introduction of printing into Spain, when little but the most worthless Latin treatises had come from the national press; but it was far from containing all the Spanish poetry that was soon demanded. In 1511, therefore, Fernando del Castillo printed at Valencia what he called a "Cancionero General," or General Collection of Poetry; the first book to which this well-known title was ever given. It professes to contain "many and divers works of all or of the most notable Troubadours of Spain, the ancient as well as the modern, in devotion, in morality, in love, in jests, ballads, *villancicos*, songs, devices, mottoes, glosses, questions, and answers." It, in fact, contains poems attributed to an hundred and thirty-six different persons, from the time of the Marquis of Santillana down to the period in which it was made; most of the separate pieces being

Cancionero General of Castillo.

[6] Fuster, Bib. Valenciana, Tom. I. p. 52. See *ante*, Chap. XVII.

[7] Mendez, Typog., pp. 134–137. In 1818, besides the copy in the Royal Library at Madrid, there was one in the possession of Don Manuel Gamez; but I have never known of any other.

placed under the names of those who were their authors, or were assumed to be so, while the rest are collected under the respective titles or divisions just enumerated, which then constituted the favorite subjects and forms of verse at court. Of proper order or arrangement, of critical judgment, or tasteful selection, there seems to have been little thought. The whole number of pieces contained in it is eleven hundred and fifteen.

The work was successful. In 1514 a new edition of it appeared; and as early as 1540 at least five others, with some variations in their contents, had followed at Toledo and Seville, making, when taken together, seven in less than thirty years; a number which, if the peculiar nature and large size of the work are considered, can hardly find its parallel, at the same period, in any other European literature. Later, — in 1557 and 1573, — yet two other editions, somewhat altered, appeared at Antwerp, whither the inherited rights and military power of Charles the Fifth had carried a familiar knowledge of the Spanish language, and a love for its cultivation. In each of the nine editions of this remarkable book it should be borne in mind that we may look for the body of poetry most in favor at court and in the more refined society of Spain during the whole of the fifteenth century, and the early part of the sixteenth; the last of them comprising one thousand and eighty-two pieces, and the names of one hundred and thirty-six authors, some of whom go back to the beginning of the reign of John the Second, while others come down to the time of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.[8]

[8] Of the Cancioneros still in manuscript, and of Baena's, which was in manuscript when the first edition of this History was published, I have already spoken sufficiently. That their number was so great in the middle of the fifteenth century as to show that they constituted a fashion of the time, there can be no reasonable doubt; and, therefore, it was natural that, as soon as the art of printing was fairly introduced, they should, in some form or other, appear from the press. Two of these I have noticed, namely, the collection published at Valencia in 1474, which is rather an account of a poetical jousting, and the one published at Saragossa in 1492, but which is called in its title a "Cancionero," and contains fifteen different poems by nine different authors. To these should now be added the Cancionero called that of Ramon de Llabia. It is described by Mendez from a copy without date, which contains nineteen poems by ten different authors, such as Fernan Perez de Guzman, Jorge Manrique, and others, well known at the end of the fifteenth century, when this collection

Taking this Cancionero, then, as the true poetical representative of the period it embraces, the first thing we

is supposed to have been published. Amador de los Rios says, indeed, that it was printed at Zaragoza, by Juan Hurus, in 1489; but he does not indicate the copy he used, and calls it a Romancero. (See Mendez, Typographia, pp. 383–385; Pidal, Preface to Baena, p. xli., and Amador de los Rios, Judios de España, 1848, p. 378.)

But what are commonly known as the Spanish *Cancioneros*, and deserve our principal attention, are those of Castillo. They were probably indebted to one by Juan Fernandez de Constantina, whose date is not settled, and of which only two copies are known to exist; — one in the British Museum, and the other in the library at Munich. It is entitled "Cancionero llmado guirlanda esmaltada de galanes y eloquentes dezires de diversos autores," and consists of eighty-eight folios that are numbered, and four that are not numbered. The best account of it yet published is by Wolf, in the German translation of this History (Vol. II. pp. 528–534), and there seems no reason to doubt that it was published about the year 1500, or a very little later.

But the Cancionero *General* of Castillo, as noted in the text, first appeared in 1511, and is the oldest with that title. It contains many of the same authors and poems with the Cancionero of Constantina; and in its selections — especially in its selection of ballads — seems to leave no doubt that it borrowed largely from that now excessively rare volume. But, however this may be, we hear nothing more of Constantina, while, from this time, Castillo becomes famous for his Cancioneros. Duran (in his Romancero General, Tom. II. 1851, pp. 679–80) has given the best account of them, although, perhaps, as he intimates, his list may not be complete. It contains, besides the first one, Valencia, 1511, eight others, namely, Valencia, 1514; Toledo, 1517; Toledo, 1520; Toledo, 1527; Sevilla, 1535; Sevilla, 1540; Anvers, 1557; and Anvers, 1573; — nine in all. Of these I have seen seven, or perhaps — with the Dresden Cancionero, which is imperfect — eight; and I possess those of Sevilla, 1535, and of Anvers, 1557 and 1573. But these have been so often consulted and examined, that no more need be said of them.

Not so two others, for a knowledge of which we are indebted to Ferdinand Wolf.

The first was published at Saragossa in 1552 (on the title, by a misprint, MCLII.), and is from the press of Stevan G. de Najara, or Nagera, who printed the ballad book of 1550. It is entitled "*Secunda* (sic) Parte del Cancionero General," ec. But, although it is thus called a *second* part, it is really, in a large degree, taken from the proper Cancionero General of Castillo, which it assumes to be the first part. It is, therefore, of less consequence than it otherwise would be. One of its poems relates to an event that occurred in 1552, the year of its publication, and, like others that it contains, is not taken from Castillo. But it is a very rude and miscellaneous collection. (See Wolf's account of it, in the Wiener Jahrbücher CXIV. 8–9; in his Romanzen Poesie der Spanier, 1847, pp. 8–9; and in his Beitrag to Julius' translation of this History, Vol. II. 534–539.) There is but one copy of it known to exist, — that in the Library at Vienna, — and it fills one hundred and ninety-two leaves in 12mo.

The other, which is of more consequence, is also thus far a *unicum*, and it is found in the Wolfenbüttel Library. It is entitled "Cancionero General de Obras nuevas nunca hasta aora impressas. Assi por el arte Española como por la Toscana," ec., 1554. And elsewhere it appears that it was printed at Saragossa by Stevan G. de Nagera. (See Wolf's Beitrag zur Bibliographie der Cancioneros, u. s. w. Wien, 1853.) It is in 12mo, and makes two hundred and three leaves, all apparently filled with poetry of the time of Charles V., — say from 1520 to 1550, — and most of it by known authors, like Juan de Coloma, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Boscan, Puertocarrero, Urrea, and Diego de Mendoza. What is most interesting about it, however, as Wolf has well observed, is that it marks so plainly the contest between the old Spanish school and the incoming Italian, or, as this Cancionero calls it, "El Arte *Toscano*" (Beitrag, p. 28). It is of some consequence, too, because it contains the works of a few authors not before known; such as Pedro de Guzman, a loyal knight in the wars of the Comuneros (pp. 6 and 49), Sanistevan (pp. 7, 52), Luis de Narvaez

observe, on opening it, is a mass of devotional verse, evidently intended as a vestibule to conciliate favor for the more secular and free portions that follow. But it is itself very poor and gross; so poor and so gross that we can hardly understand how, at any period, it can have been deemed religious. Indeed, within a century from the time when the Cancionero was published, this part of it was already become so offensive to the Church it had originally served to propitiate, that the whole of it was cut out of such printed copies as came within the reach of the ecclesiastical powers.[9]

Its devotional poetry.

There can be no doubt, however, about the devotional purposes for which it was first destined; some of the separate compositions being by the Marquis of Santillana, Fernan Perez de Guzman, and other well-known authors of the fifteenth century, who thus intended to give an odor of sanctity to their works and lives. A few poems in this division of the Cancionero, as well as a few scattered in other parts of it, are in the Limousin dialect; a circumstance which is probably to be attributed to the fact that the whole was first collected and published in Valencia. But nothing in this portion can be accounted truly poetical, and very little of it religious. The best of its shorter poems is, perhaps, the following address of Mossen Juan Tallante to a figure of the Saviour expiring on the cross:

(pp. 18, 54), and Luis de Haro (pp. 10, 53); but the latter will be hereafter noticed as one mentioned among the most active in founding the Italian school. (See *post*, Period II. Chap. III.) The whole book, however, which, as I have intimated, seems to be a continuation or imitation of the Cancionero General of Castillo, contains, I suppose, as little real poetry as its ampler and better known predecessor. But, such as it is, though it is by no means the last in date of the old Cancioneros that were filled with miscellaneous verse, it seems fitly to fill up their series, and with peculiar distinctness to mark, as, indeed, all of them do, more or less, the transition to another state of things.

[9] A copy of the edition of 1535, ruthlessly cut to pieces, bears this memorandum:

"Este libro esta expurgado por el Expurgatorio del Santo Oficio, con licencia.
F. Baptista Martinez."

On the reverse of the title-page, in my copy of the edition of 1557, are these formidable words:

"Yo el Doctor Franco Sobrino, Catedratico de Visperas de theologia y Calificador del Sto Officio desta villa corregi y emendé este Cancionero conforme al Indice Expurgatorio del nuevo Catalogo de libros vedados por el Sto. Officio de la Inquisicion, y lleva quitadas las obras de burlas. Valladolid, á 20 de Noviembre de 1584 años.
El Dr. Sobrino."

About sixty leaves were submitted to the ecclesiastical shears in this copy, and several short poems are blotted with ink.

From both copies the religious poetry at the beginning is torn out.

O God! the infinitely great,
That didst this ample world outspread, —
The true! the high!
And, in thy grace compassionate,
Upon the tree didst bow thy head,
For us to die!

O! since it pleased thy love to bear
Such bitter suffering for our sake,
O Agnus Dei!
Save us with him whom thou didst spare,
Because that single word he spake, —
Memento mei! [10]

Next after the division of devotional poetry comes the series of authors upon whom the whole collection relied for its character and success when it was first published; a series, to form which, the editor says, in the original dedication to the Count of Oliva, he had employed himself during twenty years. Of such of them as are worthy a separate notice — the Marquis of Santillana, Juan de Mena, Fernan Perez de Guzman, and the three Manriques — we have already spoken. The rest are the Viscount of Altamira, Diego Lopez de Haro,[11] An-

Its main authors.

10 Imenso Dios, perdurable,
Que el mundo todo criaste,
Verdadero,
Y con amor entrañable
Por nosotros espiraste
En el madero:

Pues te plugo tal passion
Por nuestras culpas sufrir,
O Agnus Dei,
Llevanos do está el ladron,
Que salvaste por decir,
Memento mei.

Cancionero General, Anvers, 1573, f. 5.

Fuster, Bib. Valenciana (Tom. I. p. 81), tries to make out something concerning the author of this little poem; but does not, I think, succeed. Tallante is called *Mossen* Juan Tallante, and other persons have this prefix to their names. It is a compound of the French *Messire* or *Monsieur*, and the Limousin *En*, which is equivalent to Don. (See *ante*, 287, *n*. 36.) It is found attached chiefly to the names of eminent persons in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, etc.; in short, as far as the Provençal dia lect extended a decisive influence into Spain.

11 In the Library of the Academy of History at Madrid (Misc. Hist., MS., Tom. III. No. 2) is a poem by Diego Lopez de Haro, of about a thousand lines, in a manuscript apparently of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, of which I have a copy. It is entitled "Aviso para Cuerdos," — A Word for the Wise, — and is arranged as a dialogue, with a few verses spoken in the character of some distinguished personage, human or superhuman, allegorical, historical, or from Scripture, and then an answer to each, by the author himself. In this way above sixty persons are introduced, among whom are Adam and Eve, with the Angel that drove them from Paradise, Troy, Priam, Jerusalem, Christ, Julius Cæsar, and so on down to King Bamba and Mahomet. The whole is in the old Spanish verse, and has little poetical thought in it, as may be seen by the following words of Saul and the answer by Don Diego, which I give as a favorable specimen of the entire poem:

tonio de Velasco, Luis de Vivero, Hernan Mexia, Suarez, Cartagena, Rodriguez del Padron, Pedro Torellas, Dávalos,[12] Guivara, Alvarez Gato,[13] the Marquis of Astorga, Diego de San Pedro, and Garci Sanchez de Badajos, — the last a poet whose sweet versification is his chief merit, but who was long remembered by succeeding poets from the circumstance that he went mad for love.[14] They all belong

SAUL.

En mi pena es de mirar,
Que peligro es para vos
El glosar u el mudar
Lo que manda el alto Dios;
Porque el manda obedecelle;
No juzgalle, mas creelle.
A quien a Dios a de entender,
Lo que el sabe a de saber.

AUTOR.

Pienso yo que en tal defecto
Cae presto el coraçon
Del no sabio en rreligion,
Creyendo que a lo perfecto
Puede dar mas perficion.
Este mal tiene el glosar;
Luego a Dios quiere enmendar.

Oviedo, in his "Quinquagenas," says that Diego Lopez de Haro was "the mirror of gallantry among the youth of his time;" and he is known to history for his services in the war of Granada, and as Spanish ambassador at Rome. (See Clemencin, in Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., Tom. VI. p. 404.) He figures in the "Infierno de Amor" of Sanchez de Badajos; and his poems are found in the Cancionero General, 1573, ff. 82–90, and a few other places.

12 He founded the fortunes of the family of which the Marquis of Pescara was so distinguished a member in the time of Charles V.; his first achievement having been to kill a Portuguese in fair fight, after public challenge, and in presence of both the armies. The poet rose to be Constable of Castile. Historia de D. Hernando Dávalos, Marques de Pescara, Anvers, 1558, 12mo, Lib. I., c. 1.

13 Besides what are to be found in the Cancioneros Generales, — for example, in that of 1573, at ff. 148–152, 189, etc., — there is a MS. in possession of the Royal Academy at Madrid (Codex No. 114), which contains a large number of poems by Alvarez Gato. Their author was a person of consequence in his time, and served John II., Henry IV., and Ferdinand and Isabella, in affairs of state. With John he was on terms of friendship. One day, when the king missed him from his hunting-party and was told he was indisposed, he replied, "Let us, then, go and see him; he is my friend," — and returned to make the kindly visit. Gato died after 1495. Gerónimo Quintana, Historia de Madrid (Madrid, 1629, fólio, f. 221).

The poetry of Gato is sometimes connected with public affairs; but, in general, like the rest of that which marks the period when it was written, it is in a courtly and affected tone, and devoted to love and gallantry. Some of it is more lively and natural than most of its doubtful class. Thus, when his lady-love told him "he must talk sense," he replied that he had lost the little he ever had from the time when he first saw her, ending his poetical answer with these words:

But if, in good faith, you require
That sense should come back to me,
Show the kindness to which I aspire,
Give the freedom you know I desire,
And pay me my service-fee.

Si queres que de verdad
Torné a mi seso y sentido,
Usad agora bondad,
Tornáme mi libertad,
E pagame lo servido.

14 Memorias de la Acad. de Historia, Tom. VI. p. 404. The "Lecciones de Job," by Badajoz, were early put into the Index Expurgatorius, and kept there to the last. His "Infierno de Amor," founded on the idea of the sufferings of lovers, was suggested to him in this form, I think, by Guivara (see Cancionero General, 1573, ff. 143–4), to whom Garci Sanchez refers in his opening. It is a poem of forty three eleven-line stanzas, in which he introduces thirty-nine of the poets of his own age and of the age preceding, such as Rodriguez del Padron, Jorge Manrique, Cartagena, Lope de Sosa, etc. — all suffering the torments of Love's perdition. But this was a favorite

to the courtly school; and we know little of any of them except from hints in their own poems, nearly all of which are so wearisome, from their heavy sameness, that it is a task to read them.

Thus, the Viscount Altamira has a long, dull dialogue between Feeling and Knowledge; Diego Lopez de Haro has another between Reason and Thought; Hernan Mexia, one between Sense and Thought; and Çostana, one between Affection and Hope; all belonging to the fashionable class of poems called moralities or moral discussions, all in one measure and manner, and all counterparts to each other in grave metaphysical refinements and poor conceits. On the other hand, we have light, amatory poetry, some of which, like that of Garci Sanchez de Badajos on the Book of Job, that of Rodriguez del Padron on the Ten Commandments, and that of the younger Manrique on the forms of a monastic profession, irreverently applied to the profession of love, are, one would think, essentially irreligious, whatever they may have been deemed at the time they were written. But in all of them, and, indeed, in the whole series of works of the twenty different authors filling this important division of the Cancionero, hardly a poetical thought is to be found, except in the poems of a few who have already been noticed, and of whom the Marquis of Santillana, Juan de Mena, and the younger Manrique, are the chief.[15]

Its Canciones.

Next after the series of authors just mentioned, we have a collection of a hundred and twenty-six "Canciones," or Songs, bearing the names of a large number of the most distinguished Spanish poets and gentlemen of the fifteenth century. Nearly all of them are regularly constructed, each consisting of two stanzas, the first with four and the second with eight lines, — the

fancy with the poets of the time. The Marquis of Santillana (Rimas ineditas, 1844, pp. 249–258) has an Infierno de Enamorados in which he alludes to Dante, but in which, with the single exception, I think, of Macias, he sees only personages in ancient history and mythology. Other poems of the same fantastic class may be found in the Cancioneros Generales.

15 The Cancionero of 1535 consists of 191 leaves, in large folio, Gothic letters, and triple columns. Of these the devotional poetry fills eighteen leaves, and the series of authors mentioned above extends from f. 18 to f. 97. It is worth notice that the beautiful Coplas of Manrique do not occur in any one of these courtly Cancioneros.

first expressing the principal idea, and the second repeating and amplifying it. They remind us, in some respects, of Italian sonnets, but are more constrained in their movement, and fall into a more natural alliance with conceits. Hardly one in the large collection of the Cancionero is easy or flowing, and the following, by Cartagena, whose name occurs often, and who was one of the Jewish family that rose so high in the Church after its conversion, is above the average merit of its class.[16]

I know not why first I drew breath,
  Since living is only a strife,
Where I am rejected of Death,
  And would gladly reject my own life.

For all the days I may live
  Can only be filled with grief;
With Death I must ever strive,
  And never from Death find relief.
So that Hope must desert me at last,
  Since Death has not failed to see
  That life will revive in me
The moment his arrow is cast.[17]

This was thought to be a tender compliment to the lady whose coldness had made her lover desire a death that would not obey his summons.

Its ballads.

Thirty-seven Ballads succeed; a charming collection of wild flowers, which have already been sufficiently examined when speaking of the ballad poetry of the earliest age of Spanish literature.[18]

Its Invenciones.

After the Ballads we come to the "Invenciones," a form of verse peculiarly characteristic of the period, and of which we have here two hundred and twenty specimens. They belong to the institutions of chivalry, and especially to the arrangements for tourneys and joustings, which were the most gorgeous of the public

[16] The Canciones are found ff. 98–106.

[17] No se para que nasci,
Pues en tal estremo esto
Que el morir no quiere a mi,
Y el viuir no quiero yo.

Todo el tiempo que viviere
Terne muy justa querella
De la muerte, pues no quiere
A mi, queriendo yo a ella.

Que fin espero daqui,
Pues la muerte me negó,
Pues que claramente vió,
Quera vida para mi.
f. 98, b.

[18] These ballads, already noticed, *ante*, Chap. VI., are in the Cancionero of 1535, ff. 106–115.

amusements known in the reigns of John the Second and Henry the Fourth. Each knight, on such occasions, had a device, or drew one for himself by lot; and to this device or crest a poetical explanation was to be affixed by himself, which was called an *invencion*. Some of these posies are very ingenious; for conceits are here in their place. King John, for instance, drew a prisoner's cage for his crest, and furnished for its motto, —

> Even imprisonment still is confessed,
> Though heavy its sorrows may fall,
> To be but a righteous behest,
> When it comes from the fairest and best
> Whom the earth its mistress can call.

The well-known Count Haro drew a *noria*, or a wheel over which passes a rope, with a series of buckets attached to it, that descend empty into a well and come up full of water. He gave, for his *invencion*, —

> The full show my griefs running o'er;
> The empty, the hopes I deplore.

On another occasion, he drew, like the king, an emblem of a prisoner's cage, and answered to it by an imperfect rhyme, —

> In the jail which you here behold —
> Whence escape there is none, as you see —
> I must live. What a life must it be! [19]

Akin to the *Invenciones* were the "Motes con sus Glo-

19 "Saco el Rey nuestro señor una red de carcel, y decla la letra:

> Qualquier prision y dolor
> Que se sufra, es justa cosa,
> Pues se sufre por amor
> De la mayor y mejor
> Del mundo, y la mas hermosa.

"El conde de Haro saco una noria, y dixo:

> Los llenos, de males mios;
> D' esperança, los vazios.

"El mismo por cimera una carcel y el en ella, y dixo:

> En esta carcel que veys,
> Que no se halla salida,
> Viuire, mas ved que vida!"

The *Invenciones*, though so numerous, fill only three leaves, 115 to 117. They occur, also, constantly in the old chronicles and books of chivalry. The "Question de Amor" contains many of them.

The *mote* of the Noria is called by Ulloa (Empresas de Paulo Jovio, ec., Leon, 1561, pp. 26-27) the finest *mote* ever made; giving it in prose, — "Los llenos de dolor y los vacios de Esperanza," — and attributing it to Diego de Mendoza, son of the Cardinal. But the Cancionero is the better authority for its origin, and the rhyme adds materially to its effect.

sas;" mottoes or short apophthegms, which we find here to the number of above forty, each accompanied by a heavy rhymed gloss. The mottoes themselves are generally proverbs, and have a national and sometimes a spirited air. Thus, the lady Catalina Manrique took "Never mickle cost but little," referring to the difficulty of obtaining her regard; to which Cartagena answered, with another proverb, "Merit pays all," and then explained or mystified both with a tedious gloss. The rest are not better, and all were valued, at the time they were composed, for precisely what now seems most worthless in them.[20]

Its Motes con Glosas.

The "Villancicos" that follow — songs in the old Spanish measure, with a refrain and occasionally short verses broken in — are more agreeable, and sometimes are not without merit. They received their name from their rustic character, and were believed to have been first composed by the *villanos*, or peasants, for the Nativity and other festivals of the Church. Imitations of these rude roundelays are found, as we have seen, in Juan de la Enzina, and occur in a multitude of poets since; but the fifty-four in the Cancionero, many of which bear the names of leading poets in the preceding century, are too courtly in their tone, and approach the character of the *Canciones*.[21] In other respects, they remind us of the earliest French madrigals, or, still more, of the Provençal poems, that are nearly in the same measures.[22]

Its Villancicos.

[20] Though Lope de Vega, in his "Justa Poética de San Isidro" (Madrid, 1620, 4to, f. 76), declares the *Glosas* to be "a most ancient and peculiarly Spanish composition, never used in any other nation," they were, in fact, an invention of the Provençal poets, and, no doubt, came to Spain with their original authors. (Raynouard, Troub., Tom. II. pp. 248–254.) The rules for their composition in Spain were, as we see also from Cervantes (Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 18), very strict and rarely observed; and I cannot help agreeing with the friend of the mad knight, that the poetical results obtained were little worth the trouble they cost. The *Glosas* of the Cancionero of 1535 are at ff. 118–120.

[21] The author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas" (Mayans y Siscar, Origenes, Tom. II. p. 151) gives the *refrain* or *ritornello* of a *Villancico*, which, he says, was sung by everybody in Spain in his time, and is the happiest specimen I know of the genus, conceit and all.

Since I have seen thy blessed face,
  Lady, my love is not amiss;
But had I never known that grace,
  How could I have deserved such bliss?

[22] The *Villancicos* are in the Cancionero of 1535, at ff. 120–125. See also Covarrubias, Tesoro, in verb. *Villancico*.

The last division of this conceited kind of poetry collected into the first Cancioneros Generales is that called "Preguntas," or Questions; more properly, Questions and Answers, since it is merely a series of riddles, with their solutions in verse. Childish as such trifles may seem now, they were admired in the fifteenth century. Baena, in the Preface to his collection, mentions them among its most considerable attractions; and the series here given, consisting of fifty-five, begins with such authors as the Marquis of Santillana and Juan de Mena, and ends with Garci Sanchez de Badajoz, and other poets of note who lived in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Probably it was an easy exercise of the wits in extemporaneous verse practised at the court of John the Second, as we find it practised, above a century later, by the shepherds in the "Galatea" of Cervantes.[23] But the specimens of it in the Cancioneros are painfully constrained; the answers being required to correspond in every particular of measure, number, and the succession of rhymes, with those of the precedent question. On the other hand, the riddles themselves are sometimes very simple, and sometimes very familiar; Juan de Mena, for instance, gravely proposing that of the Sphinx of Œdipus to the Marquis of Santillana, as if it were possible the Marquis had never before heard of it.[24]

Its Preguntas.

Thus far the contents of the Cancionero General date from the fifteenth century, and chiefly from the middle and latter part of it. Subsequently, we have a series of poets who belong rather to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, such as Puerto Carrero, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Juan Manuel of Portugal, Heredià, and a few others; after which follows, in some of the early editions, a collection of what are called "Jests provoking Laughter,"—really, a number of very gross poems, which constitute part of an indecent Cancionero printed separately at Valencia, several years afterwards, and which were then excluded from the editions of the Cancionero General, where a few trifles, sometimes in the Valencian

Its later series of poets.

[23] Galatea, Lib. VI.

[24] The *Preguntas* extend from f. 126 to f. 134.

dialect, are inserted, to fill up the space they had occupied.[25] The air of this second grand division of the collection is, however, like the air of that which precedes it, and the poetical merit is less. At last, near the conclusion of the editions of 1557 and 1573, we meet with compositions belonging to the time of Charles the Fifth, among which are two by Boscan, a few in the Italian language, and still more in the Italian manner; all indicating a new state of things, and a new development of the forms of Spanish poetry.[26]

But this change belongs to another period of the literature of Castile, before entering on which we must notice a few circumstances in the Cancioneros characteristic of the one we have just gone over. And here the first thing that strikes us is the large number of persons whose verses are thus collected. In that of 1535, which may be taken as the largest of the whole series, there are not less than a hundred and thirty or forty. But out of this mul-

[25] The complete list of the authors in this part of the Cancionero is as follows: Costana, Puerto Carrero, Avila, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Count Castro, Luis de Tovar, Don Juan Manuel, Tapia, Nicolas Nuñez, Soria, Pinar, Ayllon, Badajoz el Músico, the Count of Oliva, Cardona, Frances Carroz, Heredia, Artes, Quiros, Coronel, Escriva, Vazquez, and Ludueña. Of most of them only a few trifles are given. The "Burlas provocantes a Risa," or the *Obras de Burlas*, are in the edition of 1514, beginning f. 198 b. with the "Pleyto del manto," and ending with "Desculpase de lo hecho." In some of the subsequent editions they were excluded, but they appeared again in the Antwerp edition of 1557, and were finally suppressed in that of 1573. Most of them, however, are found in the collection referred to, entitled "Cancionero de Obras de Burlas provocantes a Risa" (Valencia, 1519, 4to). It begins with one rather long poem, and ends with another, — the last being a brutal parody of the "Trescientas" of Juan de Mena. The shorter poems are often by well-known names, such as Jorge Manrique, and Diego de San Pedro, and are not always liable to objection on the score of decency. But the general tone of the work, which is attributed to ecclesiastical hands, is as coarse as possible. A small edition of it was printed at London, in 1841, marked on its title-page "Cum Privilegio, en Madrid, por Luis Sanchez." It has a curious and well-written Preface, and a short, but learned Glossary. From p. 203 to the end, p. 246, are a few poems not found in the original Cancionero de Burlas; one by Garci Sanchez de Badajoz, one by Rodrigo de Reynosa, etc.

[26] This part of the Cancionero of 1535, which is of very little value, fills ff. 134–191. Indeed, the last part of the Cancioneros, from this time to 1573, is the worst part. One of the pieces near the end of that of 1573 is a ballad on the renunciation of empire made by Charles V. at Brussels, in October, 1555; the most recent date, so far as I have observed, that can be assigned to any poem in any of the collections.

A considerable number of translations from old Spanish poetry, including the Cancioneros, but taken rather from Faber's Floresta than from any earlier source, is to be found in two publications which should not be overlooked; namely, "Bowring's Ancient Poetry of Spain" (London, 1824, 12mo), and "Spanisches Liederbuch Von E. Geibel und Paul Heise" (Berlin, 1852, 12mo), — the last a work of much merit.

titude, the number really claiming any careful notice is small. Many persons appear only as the contributors of single trifles, such as a device or a *cancion*, and sometimes, probably, never wrote even these. Others contributed only two or three short poems, which their social position, rather than their taste or talents, led them to adventure. So that the number of those appearing in the proper character of authors in the Cancionero General is only about forty, and of these not more than four or five deserve to be remembered.

The large number of its authors.

But the rank and personal consideration of those that throng it are, perhaps, more remarkable than their number, and certainly more so than their merit. John the Second is there, and Prince Henry, afterwards Henry the Fourth; the Constable Alvaro de Luna,[27] the Count Haro, and the Count of Plasencia; the Dukes of Alva, Albuquerque, and Medina Sidonia; the Count of Tendilla and Don Juan Manuel; the Marquises of Santillana, Astorga, and Villa Franca; the Viscount Altamira, and other leading personages of their time; so that, as Lope de Vega once said, "most of the poets of that age were great lords, admirals, constables, dukes, counts, and kings;"[28] or, in other words, verse-writing was a fashion at the court of Castile in the fifteenth century.

Their high rank.

This, in fact, is the character that is indelibly impressed on the collections found in the old Cancioneros Generales. Of the earliest poetry of the country, such as it is found in the legend of the Cid, in Berceo, and in the Archpriest

[27] There is a short poem by the Constable in the Commentary of Fernan Nuñez to the 265th Copla of Juan de Mena; and in the fine old Chronicle of the Constable's life we are told of him (Titulo LXVIII.), "Fue muy inventivo e mucho dado a fallar *invenciones* y sacar entremeses, o en justas o en guerra; en las quales invenciones muy agudamente significaba lo que queria." He is also the author of an unpublished prose work, dated 1446, "On Virtuous and Famous Women," to which Juan de Mena wrote a Preface; the Constable, at that time, being at the height of his power. It is not, as its title might seem to indicate, translated from a work by Boccaccio, with nearly the same name; but an original production of the great Castilian minister of state. Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., Tom. VI. p. 464, note.

About a dozen trifling poems bearing the name of the Constable — the first of them as blasphemous as it can well be — may be found in the Appendix to Pidal's Essay, prefixed to the Cancionero of Baena, 1851, pp. lxxxii.-iv.

[28] Obras Sueltas, Madrid, 1777, 4to, Tom. XI. p. 358.

of Hita, they afford not a trace; and if a few ballads are inserted, it is for the sake of the poor glosses with which they are encumbered. But the Provençal spirit of the Troubadours is everywhere present, if not everywhere strongly marked; and occasionally we find imitations of the earlier Italian school of Dante and his immediate followers, which are more apparent than successful. The mass is wearisome and monotonous. Nearly every one of the longer poems contained in it is composed in lines of eight syllables, divided into *redondillas*, almost always easy in their movement, but rarely graceful; sometimes broken by a regularly recurring verse of only four or five syllables, and hence called *quebrado*, but more frequently arranged in stanzas of eight or ten uniform lines. It is nearly all amatory, and the amatory portions are nearly all metaphysical and affected. It is of the court, courtly; overstrained, formal, and cold. What is not written by persons of rank is written for their pleasure; and though the spirit of a chivalrous age is thus sometimes brought out, yet what is best in that spirit is concealed by a prevalent desire to fall in with the superficial fashions and fantastic fancies that at last destroyed it.

Their fashionable tone and character.

But it was impossible such a wearisome state of poetical culture should become permanent in a country so full of stirring interests as Spain was in the age that followed the fall of Granada and the discovery of America. Poetry, or at least the love of poetry, made progress with the great advancement of the nation under Ferdinand and Isabella; though the taste of the court in whatever regarded Spanish literature continued low and false. Other circumstances, too, favored the great and beneficial change that was everywhere becoming apparent. The language of Castile had already asserted its supremacy, and, with the old Castilian spirit and cultivation, it was spreading into Andalusia and Aragon, and planting itself amidst the ruins of the Moorish power on the shores of the Mediterranean. Chronicle writing was become frequent, and had begun to take the forms of regular history. The drama was advanced as far

Progress of culture in Spain.

as the "Celestina" in prose, and the more strictly scenic efforts of Torres Naharro in verse. Romance writing was at the height of its success. And the old ballad spirit — the true foundation of Spanish poetry — had received a new impulse and richer materials from the contests in which all Christian Spain had borne a part amidst the mountains of Granada, and from the wild tales of the feuds and adventures of rival factions within the walls of that devoted city. Everything, indeed, announced a decided movement in the literature of the nation, and almost everything seemed to favor and facilitate it.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SPANISH INTOLERANCE. — THE INQUISITION. — PERSECUTION OF JEWS AND MOORS. — PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS FOR OPINION. — STATE OF THE PRESS IN SPAIN. — CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE WHOLE PERIOD.

THE condition of things in Spain at the end of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella seemed, as we have intimated, to announce a long period of national prosperity. But one institution, destined soon to discourage and check that intellectual freedom without which there can be no wise and generous advancement in any people, was already beginning to give token of its great and blighting power.

Spanish intolerance.

The Christian Spaniards had, from an early period, been essentially intolerant.[1] To their perpetual wars with the Moors had been added, from the end of the fourteenth century, an exasperated feeling against the Jews, which the government had vainly endeavored to control, and which had shown itself, at different times, in the plunder and murder of multitudes of that devoted race throughout the country. Both races were hated by the mass of the Spanish people with a bitter hatred: the first as their conquerors; the last for the oppressive claims their wealth had given them on great numbers of the Christian inhabitants. In relation to both it was never forgotten that they were the enemies of that cross under which all true Spaniards had for centuries

[1] One proof of this intolerance has often struck me. It is the praise, rarely forgotten when St. Ferdinand is spoken of, that he carried the wood on his shoulders to burn a poor Albigensian heretic. See *ante*, Chapter III. note 1, to which add an "Oracion Panegyrico del Santo Rey Fernando por el Rev. Padre Tomas Sanchez," 1672, and a similar panegyric by Ant. Cavallero y Gongora, 1753; — the last having been pronounced to flatter Ferdinand VI., and both showing how the cruellest intolerance was, down to a late period, reverenced as a virtue in Spain.

gone to battle; and of both it was taught by the priesthood, and willingly believed by the laity, that their opposition to the faith of Christ was an offence against God, which it was a merit in his people to punish.[2] Columbus wearing the cord of Saint Francis in the streets of Seville, and consecrating to wars against misbelief in Asia the wealth he was seeking in the New World, whose soil he earnestly desired should never be trodden by any foot save that of a Roman Catholic Christian, was but a type of the Spanish character in the age when he adopted it.[3]

[2] The bitterness of this unchristian and barbarous hatred of the Moors, that constituted not a little of the foundation on which rested the intolerance that afterwards did so much to break down the intellectual independence of the Spanish people, can hardly be credited at the present day, when stated in general terms. An instance of its operation must, therefore, be given to illustrate its intensity. When the Spaniards made one of those forays into the territories of the Moors that were so common for centuries, the Christian knights on their return often brought, dangling at their saddle-bows, the heads of the Moors they had slain, and threw them to the boys in the streets of the villages, to exasperate their young hatred against the enemies of their faith; — a practice which, we are told on good authority, was continued as late as the war of the Alpuxarras, under Don John of Austria, in the reign of Philip II. (Clemencin, in Memorias de la Acad. de Hist., Tom. VI. p. 390.) But anybody who will read the "Historia de la Rebelion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada," by Luis del Marmol Carvajal (Málaga, 1600, fol.), will be shocked to find how complacently an eye-witness, not so much disposed as most of his countrymen to look with hatred on the Moors, regarded cruelties which it is not possible now to read without shuddering. See his account of the murder, by order of the chivalrous Don John of Austria (f. 192), of four hundred women and children, his captives at Galera; — "muchos en su presencia," says the historian, who was there. Similar remarks might be made about the second volume of Hita's "Guerras de Granada," which will be noticed hereafter. Indeed, it is only by reading such books that it is possible to learn how much the Spanish character was impaired and degraded by this hatred, inculcated, during the nine centuries that elapsed between the age of Roderic the Goth and that of Philip III., not only as a part of the loyalty of which all Spaniards were so proud, but as a religious duty of every Christian in the kingdom.

The work of Marmol, referred to above, should perhaps be further noticed. Its author, who was in the service of Charles V., was in Africa twenty-two years, beginning with the affair of Tunis, 1535; and during this period travelled from Guinea to Egypt, and was several months a prisoner to the infidel. His work on the Rebellion of the Moriscos is an ample chronicle of the same war (1568–1570) of which Mendoza has given a bold sketch, to be hereafter examined; but the style of Marmol is diffuse and wearisome, while that of Mendoza is more spirited and compact, perhaps, than that of any other Castilian prose writer. Marmol wrote, also, a "Descripcion General de Africa, sus Guerras y Vicisitudes desde la Fundacion del Mahometismo hasta el año 1571." Folio, 3 Tom. 1573–1599. In both he shows a spirit somewhat more tolerant towards misbelief than was common in his time; probably because he was a native of Granada, and had passed much of his life among the Moors there and in Africa, speaking their language fluently, and familiar with their literature, character, and manners; so that he knew them better than many of those whose inherited bitterness seems to have known neither stint nor scruple.

[3] Bernaldez, Chrónica, c. 131, MS. Navarrete, Coleccion de Viages, Tom. I. p. 72; Tom. II. p. 282.

When, therefore, it was proposed to establish in Spain the Inquisition, which had been so efficiently used to exterminate the heresy of the Albigenses, and which had even followed its victims in their flight from Provence to Aragon, little serious opposition was made to the undertaking. Ferdinand, perhaps, was not unwilling to see a power grow up near his throne with which the political government of the country could hardly fail to be in alliance, while the piety of the wiser Isabella, which, as we can see from her correspondence with her confessor, was little enlightened, led her conscience so completely astray, that she finally asked for the introduction of the Holy Office into her own dominions, as a Christian benefit to her people.[4]

Origin of the Inquisition.

Inquisition established in Spain.

After a negotiation with the court of Rome, and some changes in the original project, it was therefore established in the city of Seville, in 1481; the first Grand Inquisitors being Dominicans, and their first meeting being held in a convent of their order, on the 2d of January. Its earliest victims were Jews. Six were burned within four days from the time when the tribunal first sat, and Mariana states the whole number of those who suffered during the eighteen terrible years of Torquemada's Inquisitorship at two thousand, besides seventeen thousand who underwent some form of punishment less severe than that of the stake;[5] all, it should be remem-

It persecutes the Jews.

[4] Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, Part I. c. 7. And when, in 1497, Isabella, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, was to be married to Manuel, King of Portugal, one of the conditions of the contract was that Manuel should expel from his kingdom all Spanish refugees who had been convicted by the Inquisition. (Zurita, Anales de Aragon, ed. 1610, Tom. V. ff. 124, sqq.)

In a letter dated Rome, 21 April, 1498, Garcilasso de la Vega, the Ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the father of the poet, writes to his sovereigns as if the Pope, Alexander VI., who was a Valencian, had been desirous to interfere with the power of the Inquisition, and that, by order of his sovereigns, he — Garcilasso — had prevented this interference, and reconciled the Pope to the power of the Inquisition. His words are, "Por las cosas que Vuestras Altezas me han escrito tocantes á la Santa Inquisicion, he procurado, no solo de empachar que no se otorgasen aqui cosas contra ella, mas que el Papa la favoresciese y ayudase y para esto ha Dios rodeado dispusicion en que se pudiese fazer. Carta a los Reyes," &c. (San Sebastian, 1842, 8vo.) The original of this remarkable letter is in the possession of Benjamin B. Wiffen, an English Quaker, full of knowledge of Spanish literature.

[5] Mariana, Hist., Lib. XXIV. c. 17, ed. 1780, Tom. II. p. 527. We are shocked and astonished as we read this chapter, so devout a gratitude does it express for the Inquisition as a national blessing. See also Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, Tom. I. p. 160. But C. J. Hefele, in his life of

bered, being done with the rejoicing assent of the mass of the people, whose shouts followed the exile of the whole body of the Jewish race from Spain in 1492, and whose persecution of the Hebrew blood, wherever found, and however hidden under the disguises of conversion and baptism, has hardly ceased down to our own days.[6]

The fall of Granada, which preceded by a few months this cruel expulsion of the Jews, placed the remains of the Moorish nation no less at the mercy of their conquerors. It is true that, by the treaty which surrendered the city to the Catholic sovereigns, the property of the vanquished, their religious privileges, their mosques, and their worship, were solemnly secured to them; but, in Spain, whatever portion of the soil the Christians had wrested from their ancient enemies had

It persecutes the Moors.

Cardinal Ximenes (2te. Anflage, 1851, pp. 267, 328), corrects Llorente. As to Torquemada, however, I have a volume in folio, published by authority in 1576, and entitled, "Copilacion de las Instrucciones del Officio de la Sancta Inquisicion hechas por el muy Reverendo Señor Fray Thomas de Torquemada," etc., which in its atrocious severities exceeds belief. By one order, dated 1484, even persons who have come to the Inquisitors of their own accord, and who have *voluntarily* confessed their heresy and so been reconciled to the church, shall still be held infamous [infames de derecho], and never permitted to exercise any public employment; to become lawyers, surgeons, apothecaries, or couriers, nor to wear gold, silver, or jewels, or to ride on horseback for their whole lives, under pain of being treated as relapsed heretics; — that is, condemned to the stake (f. 4). Other orders are worse in spirit, but not so distinct and exact in their phraseology. Indeed, Torquemada, although he was not the first General Inquisitor, not having come into that terrible power till about two years after the Holy Office was opened at Seville, was yet really its father and founder, inasmuch as it was he who, as the Confessor of Queen Isabella, by great urgency overcame her repugnance to it, and so caused its original establishment. Havemann, Darstellungen aus der innern Geschichte Spanien's. Göttingen, 1850, 8vo, p. 106.

[6] The eloquent Father Lacordaire, in the sixth chapter of his "Mémoire pour le Rétablissement de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs" (Paris, 1839, 8vo), endeavors to prove that the Dominicans were not in any way responsible for the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain. In this attempt I think he fails; but I think he is successful when he elsewhere maintains that the Inquisition, from an early period, was intimately connected with the political government in Spain, and always dependent on the state for a large part of its power.

After all, however, it should never be forgotten, in this connection, that St. Dominic was a true Castilian of the twelfth century, canonized for his peculiar merits as a persecutor of heretics, immediately after his death, which happened in 1221. A century later, Dante characterized his spirit and that of his order with a single touch, such as is granted only to genius like his:

> Poi con dottrina, e con volere insieme,
> Con l' uffizio apostolico si mosse,
> Quasi torrente ch' alta vene preme;
> *E negli sterpi eretici percosse*
> *L' impetu suo piu vivamente quivi*
> *Dove le resistenze eran piu grosse.*
> Di lui si fecer poi diversi rivi,
> Onde l' orto cattolico si riga
> Sì che i suoi arbuscelli stan più vivi.
>
> Paradiso, c. xii.

always been regarded only as so much territory restored to its rightful owners, and any stipulations that might accompany its recovery were rarely respected. The spirit and even the terms of the capitulation of Granada were, therefore, soon violated. The Christian laws of Spain were introduced there; the Inquisition followed; and a persecution of the descendants of the old Arab invaders was begun by their new masters, which, after being carried on above a century with constantly increasing crimes, was ended in 1609, as the persecution of the Jews had been, by the forcible expulsion of the whole race.[7]

Its effects.

Such severity brought with it, of course, a great amount of fraud and falsehood. Multitudes of the followers of Mohammed — beginning with four thousand whom Cardinal Ximenes baptized on the day when, contrary to the provisions of the capitulation of Granada, he consecrated the great mosque of the Albaycin as a Christian temple — were forced to enter the fold of the Church, without either understanding its doctrines or desiring to receive its instructions.[8] With these, as with the con-

[7] See the learned and acute "Histoire des Maures Mudejares et des Morisques, ou des Arabes d'Espagne sous la Domination des Chrétiens," par le Comte Albert de Circourt (3 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1846), Tom. II. *passim*.

The argument in favor of the Spanish right to drive out the Moors and seize their estates is as well set forth as it can be by Gregorio Lopez Madera, in his "Excelencias de España" (Folio, Valladolid, 1597, ff. 70, sqq.), and, no doubt, was entirely satisfactory to Philip II., to whom it was addressed.

This destruction of the Moriscos was, as everybody understands, partly for the plunder their large wealth brought to the coffers of the state. But it is not known, I think, that the Inquisitors were *directly interested* in the individual confiscations they ordered. The Cortes of Valladolid, 1555, in their twelfth "Peticion" to Charles V., while rendering humble homage to the Inquisition, beg the Emperor to forbid the Inquisitors from being paid out of their own confiscations. The remarkable words are; "Para que todo fuesse perfecto deve V. Magestad mandar que los Inquisidores y Ministros del dicho Officio no sean pagados de las condenaciones que hasen, ni de las penas y penitencias que echan," ec., proposing salaries instead. But all the answer they received was,— "Se proveera y dara la orden que mas convenga;" — which is about equal to the obsolete form in England, "Le Roy s'avisera." Capitulos y Leyes, Valladolid, 1558. Folio, f. xxxiv.

[8] A few years later, this cruel injustice was carried to its utmost limit, and confirmed by the highest forms of law; for, in 1525, when a large number of Moors at Valencia had been baptized only by *absolute physical violence*, it was solemnly adjudged, in a decree of Charles V., that they and their children, from the day when this solemn mockery was practised on them, were to be accounted Christians, and to be subjected to the punishments of the Inquisition if they were found to fail in Christian faith or Catholic observances. Antonio de Guevara had a hand in this shameless iniquity. Sayas, Anales de Aragon, 1667. Folio, c. 123, pp. 777, sqq.

As to Cardinal Ximenes, one circumstance renders his conduct in this matter of the earlier Moors particularly repre-

verted Jews, the Inquisition was permitted to deal unchecked by the power of the state. They were therefore, from the first, watched; soon they were imprisoned; and then they were tortured, to obtain proof that their conversion had not been sincere. But it was all done in secrecy and in darkness. From the moment when the Inquisition laid its grasp on the object of its suspicions to that of his execution, no voice was heard to issue from its cells. The very witnesses it summoned were punished with death or perpetual imprisonment, if they revealed what they had seen or heard before its dread tribunals; and often of the victim nothing was known, but that he had disappeared from his accustomed haunts in society, never again to be seen.

The effect was appalling. The imaginations of men were filled with horror at the idea of a power so vast and so noiseless; one which was constantly, but invisibly, around them; whose blow was death, but whose steps could neither be heard nor followed amidst the gloom into which it retreated further and further, as efforts were made to pursue it. From its first establishment, therefore, while the great body of the Spanish Christians rejoiced in the purity and orthodoxy of their faith, and not unwillingly saw its enemies called to expiate their unbelief by the most terrible of mortal punishments, the intellectual and cultivated portions of society felt the sense of their personal security gradually shaken, until, at last, it became an anxious object of their lives to avoid the suspicions of a tribunal which infused into their minds a terror deeper and more effectual in proportion as it was accompanied by a misgiving how far they might conscientiously oppose its authority. Many of the nobler and more enlightened, especially on the comparatively free soil of Aragon, struggled against an invasion of their rights whose consequences they partly foresaw. But

The Spanish people sustain the Inquisition.

hensible. Fernando de Talavera, first Archbishop of Granada, desired to have the Bible translated into Arabic, as the most obvious means of converting the Moors in his new ecclesiastical jurisdiction, where, of course, the population was Mohammedan. And Cardinal Ximenes prevented it from being done. Cipriano de Valera, "Exhortacion" prefixed to his Spanish Bible, 1602. Index Expurg. 1667, p. 528.

the powers of the government and the Church, united in measures which were sustained by the passions and religion of the lower classes of society, became irresistible. The fires of the Inquisition were gradually lighted over the whole country, and the people everywhere thronged to witness its sacrifices, as acts of faith and devotion.

From this moment, Spanish intolerance, which through the Moorish wars had accompanied the contest and shared its chivalrous spirit, took that air of sombre fanaticism which it never afterwards lost. Soon, its warfare was turned against the opinions and thoughts of men, even more than against their external conduct or their crimes. The Inquisition, which was its true exponent and appropriate instrument, gradually enlarged its own jurisdiction by means of crafty abuses, as well as by the regular forms of law, until none found himself too humble to escape its notice, or too high to be reached by its power. The whole land bent under its influence, and the few who comprehended the mischief that must follow bowed, like the rest, to its authority, or were subjected to its punishments.

Its immense power.

From an inquiry into the private opinions of individuals to an interference with the press and with printed books, there was but a step. It was a step, however, that was not taken at once; partly because books were still few and of little comparative importance anywhere, and partly because in Spain they had already been subjected to the censorship of the civil authority, which in this particular seemed unwilling to surrender its jurisdiction. But such scruples were quickly removed by the appearance and progress of the Reformation of Luther; a revolution which comes within the next period of the history of Spanish literature, when we shall find displayed in their broad practical results the influence of the spirit of intolerance and the power of the Church and the Inquisition on the character of the Spanish people.

Censorship of the press.

If, however, before we enter upon this new and more varied period, we cast our eyes back towards the one over which we have just passed, we shall find much that is orig-

inal and striking, and much that gives promise of further progress and success. It extends through nearly four complete centuries, from the first breathings of the poetical enthusiasm of the mass of the people, down to the decay of the courtly literature in the latter part of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella; and it is filled with materials destined, at last, to produce such a school of poetry and elegant prose as, in the sober judgment of the nation itself, still constitutes the proper body of the national literature. The old ballads, the old historical poems, the old chronicles, the old theatre, — all these, if only elements, are yet elements of a vigor and promise not to be mistaken. They constitute a mine of more various wealth than had been offered, under similar circumstances and at so early a period, to any other people. They breathe a more lofty and a more heroic temper. We feel, as we listen to their tones, that we are amidst the stir of extraordinary passions, which give the character an elevation not elsewhere to be found in the same unsettled state of society. We feel, though the grosser elements of life are strong around us, that imagination is yet stronger; imparting to them its manifold hues, and giving them a power and a grace that form a striking contrast with what is wild or rude in their original nature. In short, we feel that we are called to witness the first efforts of a generous people to emancipate themselves from the cold restraints of a merely material existence, and watch with confidence and sympathy the movement of their secret feelings and prevalent energies, as they are struggling upwards into the poetry of a native and earnest enthusiasm; persuaded that they must, at last, work out for themselves a literature bold, fervent, and original, marked with the features and impulses of the national character, and able to vindicate for itself a place among the permanent monuments of modern civilization.[9]

Character of the first four centuries of Spanish Literature.

[9] It is impossible to speak of the Inquisition as I have spoken in this chapter, without feeling desirous to know something concerning Antonio Llorente, who has done more than all other persons to expose its true history and character. The important facts in his life are few. He was born at Calahorra, in Aragon, in 1756, and entered the Church early, but devoted himself to the study of canon law and of

elegant literature. In 1789, he was made principal secretary to the Inquisition, and became much interested in its affairs; but was dismissed from his place and exiled to his parish in 1791, because he was suspected of an inclination towards the French philosophy of the period. In 1793, a more enlightened General Inquisitor than the one who had persecuted him drew Llorente again into the councils of the Holy Office, and, with the assistance of Jovellanos and other leading statesmen, he endeavored to introduce such changes into the tribunal itself as should obtain publicity for its proceedings. But this, too, failed, and Llorente was disgraced anew. In 1805, however, he was recalled to Madrid; and in 1809, when the fortunes of Joseph Bonaparte made him the nominal King of Spain, he gave Llorente charge of everything relating to the archives and the affairs of the Inquisition. Llorente used well the means thus put into his hands; and having been compelled to follow the government of Joseph to Paris, after its overthrow in Spain, he published there, from the vast and rich materials he had collected during the period when he had entire control of the secret records of the Inquisition, an ample history of its conduct and crimes; — a work which, though neither well arranged nor philosophically written, nor always fair in its spirit or its statements, is yet the great storehouse from which are to be drawn more well-authenticated facts relating to the subject it discusses than can be found in all other sources put together. But neither in Paris, where he lived in poverty, was Llorente suffered to live in peace. In December, 1822, he was required by the French government to leave France, and, being obliged to make his journey during a rigorous season, when he was already much broken by age and its infirmities, he died from fatigue and exhaustion, on the 5th of February, 1823, a few days after his arrival at Madrid. His "Histoire de l'Inquisition" (4 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1817-1818) is his great work; but we should add to it his "Noticia Biográfica" (Paris, 1818, 12mo), which is curious and interesting, not only as an autobiography, but for further notices respecting the spirit of the Inquisition. To this, however, should be added a life of Llorente prefixed to the "Compendio de la Historia Critica de la Inquisicion por Rodriguez Buron." Paris, 1823, 2 tom. 18mo.

I ought, perhaps, here to recall his "Memoria Historica sobre qual ha sido la opinion nacional de España sobre la Inquisicion," published at Madrid in 1812 (8vo, pp. 324), which is an unsuccessful and forgotten attempt to show that the Spanish people had *always* been opposed to the Inquisition. But, in truth, he does not attempt to prove any real opposition to it after the first thirty or forty years of its existence (pp. 244-247); the short period of the resistance in Aragon to which I have alluded (*ante*, p. 411). The fact, indeed, is that this work of Llorente was a very hasty and ill-considered production, thrown together to meet the wants of the revolutionary period, when, by a decree of the French Government, December 4, 1808, — to which a portion of the Spanish people was by no means reconciled, and to which it was hoped this book might reconcile them, — the Inquisition was abolished. His greater work on the whole history of the Inquisition has caused it to be much overlooked ever since.

HISTORY

OF

SPANISH LITERATURE.

SECOND PERIOD

THE LITERATURE THAT EXISTED IN SPAIN FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE AUSTRIAN FAMILY TO ITS EXTINCTION; OR FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH.

HISTORY

OF

SPANISH LITERATURE.

SECOND PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

PERIODS OF LITERARY SUCCESS AND NATIONAL GLORY. — CHARLES THE FIFTH. — HOPES OF UNIVERSAL EMPIRE. — LUTHER. — CONTEST OF THE ROMISH CHURCH WITH PROTESTANTISM. — PROTESTANT BOOKS. — THE INQUISITION. — INDEX EXPURGATORIUS. — SUPPRESSION OF PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN. — PERSECUTION. — RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS EFFECTS.

Periods of literary glory in all nations.

In every country that has yet obtained a rank among those nations whose intellectual cultivation is the highest, the period in which it has produced the permanent body of its literature has been that of its glory as a state. The reason is obvious. There is then a spirit and activity abroad among the elements that constitute the national character, which naturally express themselves in such poetry and eloquence as, being the result of the excited condition of the people and bearing its impress, become for all future exertions a model and standard that can be approached only when the popular character is again stirred by a similar enthusiasm. Thus, the age of Pericles naturally followed the great Persian war; the age of Augustus was that of a universal tranquillity produced by universal conquest; the age of Molière and La Fontaine was that in which Louis the Fourteenth was carrying the outposts of his consolidated monarchy far into Germany; and the ages of Elizabeth and Anne were the ages of the Armada and of Marlborough.

Just so it was in Spain. The central point in Spanish history is the capture of Granada. During nearly eight centuries before that decisive event, the Christians of the Peninsula were occupied with conflicts at home, that gradually developed their energies, amidst the sternest trials and struggles, till the whole land was filled to overflowing with a power which had hardly yet been felt in the rest of Europe. But no sooner was the last Moorish fortress yielded up, than this accumulated flood broke loose from the mountains behind which it had so long been hidden, and threatened, at once, to overspread the best portions of the civilized world. In less than thirty years, Charles the Fifth, who had inherited, not only Spain, but Naples, Sicily, and the Low Countries, and into whose treasury the untold wealth of the Indies was already beginning to pour, was elected Emperor of Germany, and undertook a career of foreign conquest such as had not been imagined since the days of Charlemagne. Success and glory seemed to wait for him as he advanced. In Europe, he extended his empire, till it checked the hated power of Islamism in Turkey; in Africa, he garrisoned Tunis and overawed the whole coast of Barbary; in America, Cortés and Pizarro were his bloody lieutenants, and achieved for him conquests more vast than were conceived in the dreams of Alexander; while, beyond the wastes of the Pacific, he stretched his discoveries to the Philippines, and so completed the circuit of the globe.

Central point in Spanish History.

Glory of the age of Charles V.

This was the brilliant aspect which the fortunes of his country offered to an intelligent and imaginative Spaniard in the first half of the sixteenth century.[1] For, as we well

[1] Traces of this feeling are found abundantly in Spanish literature, for above a century; but nowhere, perhaps, with more simplicity and good faith than in a sonnet of Hernando de Acuña, — a soldier and a poet greatly favored by Charles V., — in which he announces to the world, for its "great consolation," as he says, "promised by Heaven," —

Un Monarca, un Imperió, y una Espada.
(Poesias, Madrid, 1804, 12mo, p. 214.)

Christóval de Mesa, however, may be considered more simple-hearted yet; for, fifty years afterwards, he announces this catholic and universal empire as absolutely completed by Philip III. Restauracion de España, Madrid, 1607, 12mo, Canto I. st. 7.

The most remarkable development of this idea is, however, to be found in Thomas Campanella, "De Monarchia Hispanica," with the Appendix on the question whether an Universal Monarchy be desirable

know, such men then looked forward with confidence to the time when Spain would be the head of an empire more extensive than the Roman, and seem sometimes to have trusted that they themselves should live to witness and share its glory. But their forecast was imperfect. A moral power was at work, destined to divide Europe anew, and place the domestic policy and the external relations of its principal countries upon unwonted foundations. The monk Luther was already become a counterpoise to the military master of so many kingdoms; and from 1552, when Moritz of Saxony deserted the Imperial standard, and the convention of Passau asserted for the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, the clear-sighted conqueror may himself have understood that his ambitious hopes of a universal empire, whose seat should be in the South of Europe, and whose foundations should be laid in the religion of the Church of Rome, were at an end.

Spanish hopes of universal empire.

Defeated by Protestantism.

But the question, where the line should be drawn between the great contending parties, was long the subject of fierce wars. The struggle began with the enunciation of Luther's ninety-five propositions, and his burning the Pope's bulls at Wittenberg. It was ended, as far as it is yet ended, by the peace of Westphalia. During the hundred and thirty years that elapsed between these two points, Spain was indeed far removed from the fields where the most cruel battles of the religious wars were fought; but how deep was the interest the Spanish people took in the contest is plain from the bitterness of their struggle against the Protestant princes of Germany; from the vast efforts they made to crush the Protestant rebellion in the Netherlands; from the expedition of the Armada against

(Amsterdam, Elzevir, 1640). The author was a Calabrian monk, born in 1568, and educated under the Spanish viceroyalty of Naples in the time of Philip II., with whose spirit he became sincerely imbued. His life was filled with wild adventures and extraordinary studies. Twenty-seven years of it he was, at different times, in prison, and there, in fact, he wrote this strange and eloquent book, embodying and illustrating the boldest dreams of Spanish ambition. "Decennali miseriâ," he says, "detentus et ægrotus, nec relationibus instrui nec libris aut scientiis ullis adjuvari potui, quin et ipsa ss. Biblia mihi adempta fuerunt," p. 454. His last years were patronized by Cardinal Richelieu, and he died in France in 1639. His Monarchia Hispanica has been often reprinted; — the last time, I think, at Berlin, 1840.

Protestant England; and from the interference of Philip the Second in the affairs of Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth, when, during the League, Protestantism seemed to be gaining ground in France;—in short, it may be seen from the presence of Spain and her armies in every part of Europe where it was possible to reach and assail the great movement of the Reformation.

Those, however, who were so eager to check the power of Protestantism when it was afar off, would not be idle when the danger drew near to their own homes.[2] The first alarm seems to have come from Rome. In March, 1521, Papal briefs were sent to Spain, warning the Spanish government to prevent the further introduction of books written by Luther and his followers, which, it was believed, had then been secretly penetrating into the country for about a year. These briefs, it should be observed, were addressed to the civil administration, which still, in form at least, kept an entire control over such subjects. But it was more natural, and more according to the ideas then prevalent in other countries as well as in Spain, to look to the ecclesiastical power for remedies in a matter connected with religion; and the great body of the Spanish people seems willingly to have done so. In less than a month, therefore, from the date of the briefs in question, and perhaps even before they were received in Spain, the Grand Inquisitor addressed an order to the tribunals under his jurisdiction, requiring them to search for and seize all books supposed to contain the doctrines of the new heresy. It was a bold measure, but it was a successful one.[3] The government

Alarm in Spain about Protestant books.

Inquisition seizes Protestant books.

[2] The facts in the subsequent account of the progress and suppression of the Protestant Reformation in Spain are taken, in general, from the "Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne," par J. A. Llorente (Paris, 1817–1818, 4 tom. 8vo), and the "History of the Reformation in Spain," by Thos. McCrie, Edinburgh, 1829, 8vo.

[3] The Grand Inquisitors had always shown an instinctive desire to obtain jurisdiction over *books*, whether printed or manuscript. Torquemada, the fiercest, if not quite the first of them, burned at Seville, in 1490, a quantity of Hebrew Bibles and other manuscripts, on the ground that they were the work of Jews; and at Salamanca, subsequently, he destroyed, in the same way, six thousand volumes more, on the ground that they were books of magic and sorcery. But in all this he proceeded, not by virtue of his Inquisitorial office, but, as Barrientos had done forty years before (see *ante*, p. 325), by direct royal authority. Until 1521, therefore, the press remained in the hands of the *Oidores*, or judges of the higher courts, and other persons civil and ecclesiastical, who, from the first appearance of printing in the country, and

gladly countenanced it; for, in whatever form Protestantism appeared, it came with more or less of the spirit of resistance to all the favorite projects of the Emperor; and the people countenanced it because, except a few scattered individuals, all true Spaniards regarded Luther and his followers with hardly more favor than they did Mohammed or the Jews.

Meantime, the Supreme Council, as the highest body in the Inquisition was called, proceeded in their work with a firm and equal step. By successive decrees, between 1521 and 1535, it was ordained that all persons who kept in their possession books infected with the doctrines of Luther, and even all who failed to denounce such persons, should be excommunicated, and subjected to degrading punishments. This gave the Inquisition a right to inquire into the contents and character of whatever books were already printed. Next, they arrogated to themselves the power to determine what books might be sent to the press; claiming it gradually and with little noise, but effectually,[4] and if, at first, without any direct grant of authority from the Pope, or from the King of Spain, still necessarily with the implied assent of both, and generally with

Inquisition punishes those who keep Protestant books.

certainly for above twenty years after that period, had granted, by special power from the sovereigns, whatever licenses were deemed necessary for the printing and circulation of books. Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, Tom. I. pp. 281, 456. Mendez, Typographia, pp. 51, 331, 375. It may be worth noting here that Alfonso X. in his Partidas (Part II. Titulo xxxi. ley 11) provided that the booksellers — *estacionarios* — in any University should sell no books which the rector had not first examined and licensed as "buenos et legibles et verdaderos." This was two centuries before the invention of printing.

[4] I notice in a few works printed before 1550 that the Inquisition, without formal authority, began quietly to take cognizance and control of books that were about to be published. Thus, in a curious treatise on Exchange, "Tratado de Cambios," by Cristóval de Villalon, printed at Valladolid in 1541, 4to, the title-page declares that it had been "visto por los Señores Inquisidores;" and in Pero Mexia's "Silva de Varia Leccion" (Sevilla, 1543, folio), though the title gives the imperial license for printing, the colophon adds that of the Apostolical Inquisitor. There was no reason for either, except the anxiety of the author to be safe from an authority which rested on no law, but which was already recognized as formidable. Similar remarks may be made about the "Theórica de Virtudes" of Castilla, which was formally licensed, in 1536, by Alonso Manrique, the Inquisitor-General, though it was dedicated to the Empéror, and bears the Imperial authority to print. On the other hand, the "Ley de Amor Sancto," by Fr. de Ossuna, 1543, is simply said to have been "examined" by order of the *Provisor* or Coädjutor of the Bishop of Seville, not licensed, nor in any way subjected to the authority of the Inquisition; so that it was rather recommended than anything else.

means furnished by one or the other. At last a sure expedient was found, which left no doubt of the process to be used, and very little as to the results that would follow.

In 1539 Charles the Fifth obtained a Papal bull authorizing him to procure from the University of Louvain, in Flanders, where the Lutheran controversy would naturally be better understood than in Spain, a list of books dangerous to be introduced into his dominions. It was printed in 1546, and was the first "Index Expurgatorius" published under Spanish authority, and the second in the world. Subsequently it was submitted by the Emperor to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, under whose authority additions were made to it; after which it was promulgated anew in 1550, thus consummating the Inquisitorial jurisdiction over this great lever of modern progress and civilization, — a jurisdiction, it should be noted, which was confirmed and enforced by the most tremendous of all human penalties, when, in 1558, Philip the Second ordained the punishments of confiscation and death against any person who should sell, buy, or keep in his possession, any book prohibited by the Index Expurgatorius of the Inquisition.[5]

Index Expurgatorius.

[5] Peignot, Essai sur la Liberté d'Écrire, Paris, 1832, 8vo, pp. 55, 61. Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, Amsterdam, 1725, 12mo, Tom. II. Partie I. p. 43. Father Paul Sarpi's remarkable account of the origin of the Inquisition, and of the Index Expurgatorius of Venice, which was the first ever printed, Opere, Helmstadt, 1763, 4to, Tom. IV. pp. 1–67. Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, Tom. I. pp. 459–464, 470. Vogt, Catalogus Librorum Rariorum, Hamburgi, 1753, 8vo, pp. 367–369. Gayangos regards the Index printed at Valladolid in 1559 as "the first formal expurgatory Index" published in Spain, the earlier indices having been intended chiefly for the Low Countries. So much for Europe. Abroad it was worse. From 1550 a certificate was obliged to accompany *every* book, setting forth that it was *not* a prohibited book, without which certificate *no* book was permitted to be *sold* or *read* in the colonies. (Llorente, Tom. I. p. 467.) But thus far the Inquisition, in relation to the Index Expurgatorius, consulted the civil authorities, or was specially authorized by them to act. In 1640 this ceremony was no longer observed, and the Index was printed by the Inquisition alone, without any commission from the civil government. From the time when the danger of the heresy of Luther became considerable, no books arriving from Germany and France were permitted to be circulated in Spain, except by special license. Bisbe y Vidal, Tratado de Comedias, Barcelona, 1618, 12mo, f. 55.

From the official records of the Inquisition in the trial of Luis de Leon, 1572–1576, it appears that the Spanish booksellers did not venture to open the bales of books they were frequently receiving from France and elsewhere — "de Francia y de otras partes" — without an especial permission to do so from the Holy Office. (Coleccion de Documentos ineditos para la Historia de España, por Salvá y Baranda, Tom. X. 1847, p. 390, 8vo.) These sus-

The contest with Protestantism in Spain under such auspices was short. It began in earnest and in blood about 1559, and was substantially ended in 1570. At one period the new doctrine had made some progress in the monasteries and among the clergy; and though it never became formidable from the numbers it enlisted, yet many of those who joined its standard were distinguished by their learning, their rank, or their general intelligence. But the higher and more shining the mark, the more it attracted notice, and the more surely it was reached. The Inquisition had already existed seventy years, and was at the height of its power and favor. Cardinal Ximenes, one of the boldest and most far-sighted statesmen, and one of the sternest bigots the world ever saw, had for a long period united in his own person the office of Civil Administrator of Spain with that of Grand Inquisitor, and had used the extraordinary powers such a position gave him to confirm the Inquisition at home, and to spread it over the newly-discovered continent of America.[6] His successor was

Contest with Protestantism.

Cardinal Ximenes.

pected books were, no doubt, some of them Spanish; for a few tracts and treatises by Spanish Protestants, such as Valdés, Perez de Pineda, Enzinas, &c., were printed in Venice, Antwerp, and Paris, before 1600. But their number was very small. A list of them, and of nearly all the works of Spanish Protestants, published to spread the faith of their authors, can be found in the curious and interesting notice by B. B. Wiffen, prefixed to his reprint of the "Epistola Consolatoria por Juan Perez," 1848. But, from a very different source, we happen to know how these heretical books were ferreted out; for we are told that Carranza — the same person who afterwards became Archbishop of Toledo, and who was the most distinguished of the victims of the Inquisition (see *post* in this chapter) — was sent by Philip II. to the Low Countries in 1557, to inquire concerning heretical books in the Spanish language printed *out* of Spain; and, at his suggestion, all books arriving in Spain were examined before they were permitted to come into circulation. (Porreño, Dichos y Hechos de Phelipe II., ed. 1748, p. 82.) Only two years later Carranza himself was given up to the Inquisition as a heretic by Philip.

But Philip did not stop here. In conjunction with the Duke of Alva, he prepared an Index Expurgatorius, which, with a preface by Arias Montano, was printed in 1571 at the royal expense, but was given *only* to the Censors of Books, who were *forbidden to permit it to be seen by anybody else.* "Ii ipsi," says the order of Philip, "privatim, nullisque consciis, apud se Indicem Expurgatorium habebunt, quem eundem neque aliis communicabunt, neque ejus exemplum ulli dabunt," etc. This *keeping secret the very Index itself* is a refinement of tyranny, since it did not permit the person who had a forbidden book to know that it was thus forbidden till he was punished for possessing it. Another edition of this extraordinary Index was printed in 1599, filling three hundred and sixty three pages.

[6] Cardinal Ximenes was really equal to the position these extraordinary offices gave him, and exercised his great authority with sagacity and zeal, and with a confidence in the resources of his own genius that seemed to double his power. It should,

Cardinal Adrien, the favored preceptor of Charles the Fifth, who filled nearly two years the places of Grand Inquisitor and of Pope; so that, for a season, the highest ecclesiastical authority was made to minister to the power of the Inquisition in Spain, as the highest political authority had done before.[7] And now, after an interval of twenty years, had come Philip the Second, wary, inflexible, unscrupulous, at the head of an empire on which, it was boasted, the sun never set, consecrating all his own great energies and all the resources of his vast dominions to the paramount object of extirpating every form of heresy from the countries under his control, and consolidating the whole into one grand religious empire.

Cardinal Adrien.

Philip II.

Still, the Inquisition, regarded as the chief outward

however, never be forgotten that, *but for him*, the Inquisition, instead of being enlarged, as it was, twenty years after its establishment, would have been constrained within comparatively narrow limits, and probably soon overthrown. For, in 1512, when the embarrassments of the public treasury inclined Ferdinand to accept from the persecuted new converts a large sum of money, which he needed to carry on his war against Navarre, — a gift which they offered on the single and most righteous condition, that witnesses cited before the Inquisition should be examined *publicly*, — Cardinal Ximenes not only used his influence with the king to prevent him from accepting the offer, but furnished him with resources that made its acceptance unnecessary. And again, in 1517, when Charles V., young, and not without generous impulses, received, on the same just condition, from the same oppressed Christians, a still larger offer of money to defray his expenses in taking possession of his kingdom, and when he had obtained assurances of the reasonableness of granting their request from the principal universities and men of learning in Spain and in Flanders, Cardinal Ximenes interposed anew his great influence, and — not without some suppression of the truth — prevented a second time the acceptance of the offer. He, too, it was who arranged the jurisdiction of the tribunals of the Inquisition in the different provinces, settling them on deeper and more solid foundations; and, finally, it was this master spirit of his time who first carried the Inquisition beyond the limits of Spain, establishing it in Oran, which was his personal conquest, and in the Canaries and Cuba, where he made provident arrangements, by virtue of which it was subsequently extended through all Spanish America. And yet, before he wielded the power of the Inquisition, he opposed its establishment. Llorente, Hist., Chap. X., Art. 5 and 7.

Still Ximenes has always been venerated in Spain. Philip IV. endeavored to procure his beatification; and Pedro de Quintanilla, who was employed by Philip to solicit this glory at Rome, published, among other works that he prepared for the purpose, one entitled "Oranum Ximenii virtute Catholicum" (Romæ, 1658, 4to), in which he undertakes to show that, from the time of the great Cardinal's death, in 1517, to 1657, he had, from his abodes in heaven, many times intervened miraculously in the affairs of Africa to secure and extend there the conquests he had himself begun in 1499, when, as it was pretended, the miracle of Joshua stopping the sun had been repeated in order to favor his success. But see a very able and much more wise discussion of the character of Cardinal Ximenes in Havemann, Darstellungen, Göttingen, 1850, pp. 138–160.

[7] Llorente, Tom. I. p. 419.

means of driving the Lutheran doctrines from Spain, might have failed to achieve its work if the people, as well as the government, had not been its earnest allies.[8]

[8] The Protestants had little success in getting their great weapon of attack — a vernacular Bible — into Spain; little, I mean, compared with their success in Italy. The history of their attempt, however, is both interesting and important. The Spanish Bible upon which they chiefly relied is the one of 1602, which was prepared by Cypriano de Valera; but which, in fact, is a second edition, much improved, of that of Cassiodoro de Reyna, 1569, which, in its turn, had freely used for the Old Testament the Jews' Bible in Spanish, printed at Ferrara, in 1553.

Of the Jews' Bible, founded in part on a Spanish version of the Pentateuch, published at Constantinople in 1547, I have already given an account sufficient for our purpose, Period I. Chap. III. n. 25.

Of that of Cassiodoro de Reyna we know less than would be interesting. Its author was a native of Seville, and educated at the university there; but, becoming a heretic, he escaped from Spain about 1557, and went first to London, then to Basle, — where, with the aid of the Senate, he published his Bible in 1569, — and, at last, to Frankfort, where he was living in 1573; the latest date we have concerning him. (Pellicer, Bib. de Trad., Tom. II. pp. 31–39.) His Bible, a work of faithful learning, is remarkable in several respects. It distributes the books as in the Vulgate, and omits part of the Apocrypha. It is paged in three different portions, as if they were all advancing through the press at one and the same time. The first is in 1438 columns; ends with Solomon; and includes the two Apocryphal Books of Esdras, together with Tobit, Judith, and Ecclesiasticus. The second has 544 columns, and includes the rest of the Old Testament and the two Books of Maccabees. The third is in 508 columns, and includes only the New Testament. The place of publication and the printer's name are not noted in it, and so it is often indicated as the "Bear's Bible," because on the title-page a bear is represented plundering a bee-hive; but the facts that Reyna was ten years in making it, and that it was printed at Basle by Thomas Guarinus, were recorded by Reyna himself in a copy which he gave to the Library of that city in 1570, and which is still shown there. That he used the Ferrara Old Testament is fully admitted by him, and is particularly apparent in the Psalms, which, after the Jewish fashion, are divided into five books. The whole work is in large 4to.

Of Valera's Bible we know somewhat more than we do of Reyna's; but not much. Valera himself, "llamado vulgarmente *el Herege Español*," says the Index of 1667, or, as Nicolas Antonio says of him, "infame nobis semper nomen," was probably more feared and detested for his heresy than any Spaniard of his time. He was born at Seville in 1532, and, as he tells us, knew Reyna personally, and was a fellow-student with Arias Montano, the learned editor of the Antwerp Polyglott. But when he became a Protestant he of course fled, as Reyna did. His earliest resting-place seems to have been Geneva, where he translated Calvin's Institutes. Afterwards he visited England, and spent some time both at Oxford and Cambridge (Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, Tom. II., Fasti, p. 169), and finally he went to Amsterdam, where we lose sight of him just at the moment when, as he tells us, he was preparing, at the age of seventy, to return to England. In revising and rewriting the translation of Reyna, he proceeded as did the translators of our English version in the time of James I.: I mean that he sought assistance in the labors of his predecessors; — namely, in the Jews' Bible of 1553; in the New Testament of Francisco de Enzinas, Antwerp, 1543, dedicated to Charles V., but immediately suppressed; and in that of 1556, by D. Juan Perez, printed at Venice without his name; — and as Valera, moreover, enjoyed the great lights of the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglotts, — to both of which he refers with the honor they so richly deserve, — his Bible, printed at Amsterdam in 1602, and containing the Apocrypha in its place, as well as the Old and New Testaments, was prepared on the true foundations for such a work. It is, however, a large folio of nearly nine hundred pages, and, therefore, is not at all suited to the legerdemain needful for the circulation of Protestantism in Spain at that dark period, so that it seems to have been no more known there than his New Testament, which was printed separately in England in

But, on all such subjects, the current in Spain had, from the first, taken only one direction. Spaniards had contended against misbelief with so implacable a hatred, for centuries, that the spirit of that old contest had become one of the elements of their national existence; and now, having expelled the Jews, and reduced the Moors to submission, they turned themselves, with the same fervent zeal, to purify their soil from what they trusted would prove the last trace of heretical pollution. To achieve this great object, Pope Paul the Fourth, in 1558, — the same year in which Philip the Second had decreed the most odious and awful penalties of the civil government in aid of the Inquisition, — granted a brief, by which all the preceding dispositions of the Church against heretics were confirmed, and the tribunals of the Inquisition were authorized and required to proceed against all persons supposed to be infected with the new belief, even though such persons might be bishops, archbishops, or cardinals, dukes, princes, kings, or emperors; — a power which, taken in all its relations, was more formidable to the progress of intellectual improvement than had ever before been granted to any body of men, civil or ecclesiastical.[9]

Inquisition favored by the Spanish people.

The portentous authority thus given was at once freely exercised. The first public *auto de fé* of Protestants was held at Valladolid in 1559, and others followed, both there

1596, but of which, as we know, not many copies ever penetrated into the Spanish peninsula.

These few but important facts close up the history of Spanish Christian versions of the Bible for nearly two centuries; — namely, until the version of Father Scio (Valencia, 1790–1793, Folio, 10 vols.) and that of Felix Torres Amat, Madrid, 1822–1825; both, of course, according to the straitest dogmas of the Spanish Church, and neither of them intended for popular use. Indeed, by the old Index of 1667, "Regla quinta," *all* Spanish versions of the Bible, or of *any* part of it, are absolutely forbidden, and it is only by "Regla octava" of the Index of 1790 that even such versions as those of Father Scio and Torres Amat are permitted, on the ground that they are accompanied with such *authorized* notes, etc., as will prevent the suggestion of unsound opinions. Even these restrictions, however, have been in a great degree removed, as to versions made by orthodox authority, and conforming to the Vulgate. (S. T. Wallis, Glimpses of Spain in 1847, 12mo, New York, 1849, chap. 16, an acute and agreeable book.) Still, I suppose it would be difficult or impossible to circulate a *Protestant* version of the Bible in Spain. At least, Borrow found it to be so, when he made the attempt.

On the old Spanish versions of the Bible, Jewish and Christian, see Castro, Bib. Esp., Tom. I. 1781, pp. 400–536; and on the Protestant versions alone, see Pellicer, Bib. de Trad., Tom. II. pp. 31, 41, 120, and N. Antonio, Bib. Nova, Tom. I. pp. 234, 261, 756.

[9] Llorente, Tom. II. pp. 183, 184.

and elsewhere.[10] The royal family was occasionally present; several persons of rank suffered; and a general popular favor evidently followed the horrors that were perpetrated. The number of victims was not large when compared with earlier periods, seldom exceeding twenty burned at one time, and fifty or sixty subjected to cruel and degrading punishments; but many of those who suffered were, as the nature of the crimes alleged against them implied, among the leading and active minds of their age. Men of learning were particularly obnoxious to suspicion, since the cause of Protestantism appealed directly to learning for its support. Sanchez, the best classical scholar of his time in Spain, Luis de Leon, the best Hebrew critic and the most eloquent preacher, and Mariana, the chief Spanish historian, with other men of letters of inferior name and consideration, were summoned before the tribunals of the Inquisition, in order that they might at least avow their submission to its authority, even if they were not subjected to its censures.

Auto de fé of Protestants.

Men of learning persecuted.

Nor were persons of the holiest lives and the most ascetic tempers beyond the reach of its mistrust, if they but showed a tendency to inquiry. Thus, Juan de Avila, known under the title of the Apostle of Andalusia, and Luis de Granada, the devout mystic, with Teresa de Jesus and Juan de la Cruz, both of whom were afterwards canonized by the Church of Rome, all passed through its cells, or in some shape underwent its discipline. So did some of the ecclesiastics most distinguished by their rank and authority. Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, after being tormented eighteen years by its persecutions, died, at last, in craven submission to its power; and Cazalla, who had been a favorite chaplain of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, was strangled at the stake as an indulgence for an unmanly recantation, and then burnt. Even the faith of the principal personages of the kingdom was inquired into, and, at different times, proceedings sufficient, at least, to

Men of holy lives persecuted.

[10] Ibid., Tom. II. Chap. XX., XXI., and XXIV. Historia del Colegio de San Bartolomé, ec., por Vergara y el Marques de Alventos. Fol., Tom. I. 1766, p. 259.

assert its authority, were instituted in relation to Don John of Austria, and the formidable Duke of Alva;[11] proceedings, however, which must be regarded rather as matters of show than of substance, since the whole institution was connected with the government from the first, and became more and more subservient to the policy of the successive masters of the state, as its tendencies were developed in successive reigns.

Great success of the Inquisition.

The great purpose, therefore, of the government and the Inquisition may be considered as having been fulfilled in the latter part of the reign of Philip the Second,— further, at least, than such a purpose was ever fulfilled in any other Christian country, and further than it is ever likely to be again fulfilled elsewhere. The Spanish nation was then become, in the sense they themselves gave to the term, the most thoroughly religious nation in Europe; a fact signally illustrated in their own eyes a few years afterward, when it was deemed desirable to expel the remains of the Moorish race from the Peninsula, and six hundred thousand peaceable and industrious subjects were, from religious bigotry, cruelly driven out of their native country, amidst the devout exultation of the whole kingdom,— Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and others of the principal men of genius then alive, joining in the general jubilee.[12] From this time, the voice of religious dissent can hardly be said to have been heard in the land; and the Inquisition, therefore, down to its overthrow in 1808, was chiefly a political engine, much occupied about cases connected with the policy of the state, though under

Its political character.

[11] Llorente, Tom. II. Chap. XIX., XXV., and other places.

[12] See note to Chap. XL. of this Part. Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 54, and Lope de Vega, Corona Tragica, Lib. II. Obras Sueltas 1776, Tom. IV. p. 30. Velasquez painted a grand picture on this atrocious crime of state, of which an account may be found in Stirling's Artists of Spain, 1848, Vol. II. p. 599.

Sir Edmund Head, in the first chapter of his Handbook of the History of Painting, London, 12mo, 1848, after speaking of "the one Spanish Institution, the Inquisition," has these striking words: "I say the *one* Spanish Institution, because it was the single common bond and link which united into one monarchy all the scattered kingdoms and lordships making up what we call Spain." The whole of this chapter, which is on "the influence of Religion on Spanish Painting," is rich with the reflexions of a wise and philosophical spirit, familiar with the Spanish character.

the pretence that they were cases of heresy or unbelief. The great body of the Spanish people rejoiced alike in their loyalty and their orthodoxy; and the few who differed in faith from the mass of their fellow-subjects were either held in silence by their fears, or else sunk away from the surface of society the moment their disaffection was suspected.[13]

Effects of religious intolerance on Spanish literature.

The results of such extraordinary traits in the national character could not fail to be impressed upon the literature of any country, and particularly upon a literature which, like that of Spain, had always been strongly marked by the popular temperament and peculiarities. But the period was not one in which such traits could be produced with poetical effect. The ancient loyalty, which had once been so generous an element in the Spanish character and cultivation, was now infected with the ambition of universal empire, and was lavished upon princes and nobles who, like the three Philips and their ministers, were

[13] Between the suppression of the Reformation by Philip II., about 1570, and the suppression of the Inquisition in 1808, I recollect but three Spaniards of note who were converted to the Protestant faith, and who printed anything in support of their opinions. The *first* of those was Tomé Carrascon, an Augustinian monk, who escaped to England and was made a Canon of Hereford Cathedral by James I. He wrote in Spanish a treatise of 300 pp. 8vo, against Monachism, against performing the services of the church in Latin, &c., and printed it somewhere in Flanders, without date of place or year, but probably soon after 1628 (Ocios de Españoles Emigrados, Londres, Tom. I. 1824, pp. 156–161). It has, I believe, been reprinted lately in England. The *second* is Sebastian de la Enzina, who published at Amsterdam, in 1708, a revised edition of the New Testament of Cypriano de Valera (1596, see *ante*, note 8). He was minister to a congregation of Spanish merchants in that city, and belonged to the Anglican church (Castro, Biblioteca, Tom. I. pp. 499–501). The *third* was Felix Antonio de Alvarado, who was also of the Anglican church, and was minister to a congregation of Spanish merchants in London. In 1709 he published, apparently for the use of his hearers, a translation of the English Liturgy, to which he added a Treatise on Ordination; both of which, together with some Dialogues in Spanish and English for acquiring both languages, which he published in 1719, are on the Index Expurgatorius of 1790, pp. 8, 162.

But, greater than all other Spanish Protestants, and every way more important, is Joseph Blanco White, who was born at Seville in 1775; took orders in the Catholic church in 1800; and, escaping to England, in consequence of the political troubles of the time, in 1812, soon renounced the Catholic faith, and published, at different times, powerful works against it, as well as other works, to which I shall occasionally refer, because they so well illustrate the literature of his country. He died at Liverpool in 1841, and a Life of him, by J. H. Thom, in three vols. 8vo, was printed at London in 1845.

Three or four other Spaniards have since followed the example of Blanco White, but none of so much talent, or in any respect of so much consequence, as that very remarkable man.

unworthy of its homage; so that, in the Spanish historians and epic poets of this period, and even in more popular writers, like Quevedo and Calderon, we find a vainglorious admiration of their country, and a poor flattery of royalty and rank, that remind us of the old Castilian pride and deference only by showing how both had lost their dignity. And so it is with the ancient religious feeling that was so nearly akin to this loyalty. The Christian spirit, which gave an air of duty to the wildest forms of adventure throughout the country, during its long contest with the power of misbelief, was now fallen away into a low and anxious bigotry, fierce and intolerant towards everything that differed from its own sharply-defined faith, and yet so pervading and so popular, that the romances and tales of the time are full of it, and the national theatre, in more than one form, becomes its strange and grotesque monument.

Of course, the body of Spanish poetry and eloquent prose produced during this interval — the earlier part of which was the period of the greatest glory Spain ever enjoyed — was injuriously affected by so diseased a condition of the national character. That generous and manly spirit which is the breath of intellectual life to any people was restrained and stifled. Some departments of literature, such as forensic eloquence and eloquence of the pulpit, satirical poetry and elegant didactic prose, hardly appeared at all; others, like epic poetry, were strangely perverted and misdirected; while yet others, like the drama, the ballads, and the lighter forms of lyrical verse, seemed to grow exuberant and lawless from the very restraints imposed on the rest; restraints which, in fact, forced poetical genius into channels where it would otherwise have flowed much more scantily, and with much less luxuriant results.

Marks of intolerance and fear in published books.

The books that were published during the whole period on which we are now entering, and indeed for a century later, bore everywhere marks of the subjection to which the press and those who wrote for it were alike reduced. From the abject title-pages and dedications of the authors themselves, through

the crowd of certificates collected from their friends to establish the orthodoxy of works that were often as little connected with religion as fairy tales, down to the colophon, supplicating pardon for any unconscious neglect of the authority of the Church or any too free use of classical mythology, we are continually oppressed with painful proofs, not only how completely the human mind was enslaved in Spain, but how grievously it had become cramped and crippled by the chains it had so long worn.[14]

But we shall be greatly in error, if, as we notice these deep marks and strange peculiarities in Spanish literature, we suppose they were produced by the direct action either of the Inquisition or of the civil government of the country, compressing, as if with a physical power, the whole circle of society. This would have been impossible. No nation would have submitted to it; much less so high-spirited and chivalrous a nation as the Spanish in the reign of Charles the Fifth and in the greater part of that of Philip the Second. This dark work was done earlier. Its foundations were laid deep and sure in the old Castilian character. It was the result of the excess and misdirection of that very Christian zeal which fought so fervently and gloriously against the intrusion of Mohammedanism into Europe, and of that military loyalty which sustained the Spanish princes so faithfully through the whole of that terrible contest; both of them high and ennobling principles, which in Spain were more wrought into the popular character than they were in any other country.[15]

Foundation of intolerance in the popular character.

[14] The dedications of Spanish authors sometimes show this spirit in the strongest manner. To consecrate their books from censure, some of them are dedicated to the Saints, the Saviour, &c., in a manner at once absurd and revolting; and the more objectionable the book is, the more anxious the author seems to protect it in this way. Thus I have a poor prose translation of the Metamorphoses, 1664, dedicated "a la purissima Reyna de los Angeles y Hombres, Maria Santissima, &c.

[15] V. A. Huber, in a discourse delivered before the Evangelical Union, at Berlin, in 1847, maintains that the Inquisition was an *inevitable* institution, growing out of the Spanish national character, and that the position of Spain as the head of the Roman Catholic world in the sixteenth century was the only position she could then take. Of the Inquisition he says: "So viel ist gewiss. Die Inquisition war eine, im besten Sinne, volksthümliche;—eine Maasregel im Sinne ächtkatholisch castilischer nationalität." This seems to me somewhat extravagant, but it is not without foundation in truth. Über Spanische Nationalität, u. s. w. Berlin, 1852, p. 18.

Spanish submission to an unworthy despotism, and Spanish bigotry, were, therefore, not the results of the Inquisition, and the modern appliances of a corrupting monarchy; but the Inquisition and the despotism were rather the results of a misdirection of the old religious faith and loyalty. The civilization that recognized such elements presented, no doubt, much that was brilliant, poetical, and ennobling; but it was not without its darker side; for it failed to excite and cherish many of the most elevating qualities of our common nature, — those qualities which are produced in domestic life, and result in the cultivation of the arts of peace.

Contradictions in the characteristics of Spanish literature.

As we proceed, therefore, we shall find, in the full development of the Spanish character and literature, seeming contradictions, which can be reconciled only by looking back to the foundations on which they both rest. We shall find the Inquisition at the height of its power, and a free and immoral drama at the height of its popularity, — Philip the Second and his two immediate successors governing the country with the severest and most jealous despotism, while Quevedo was writing his witty and dangerous satires, and Cervantes his bold and wise Don Quixote. But the more carefully we consider such a state of things, the more we shall see that these are moral contradictions which draw after them grave moral mischiefs. The Spanish nation, and the men of genius who illustrated its best days, might be light-hearted because they did not perceive the limits within which they were confined, or did not, for a time, feel the restraints that were imposed upon them. What they gave up might be given up with cheerful hearts, and not with a sense of discouragement and degradation; it might be done in the spirit of loyalty and with the fervor of religious zeal; but it is not at all the less true that the hard limits were there, and that great sacrifices of the best elements of the national character must follow the constraint and subjection they implied.

Of this, time gave abundant proof. Only a little more than a century elapsed before the government that had

threatened the world with a universal empire was hardly able to repel invasion from abroad, or maintain the allegiance of its own subjects at home. Life — the vigorous, poetical life which had been kindled through the country in its ages of trial and adversity — was evidently passing out of the whole Spanish character. As a people, they sank away from being a first-rate power in Europe, till they became one of altogether inferior importance and consideration; and then, drawing back haughtily behind their mountains, rejected all equal intercourse with the rest of the world, in a spirit almost as exclusive and intolerant as that in which they had formerly refused intercourse with their Arab conquerors. The crude and gross wealth poured in from their American possessions sustained, indeed, for yet another century, the forms of a miserable political existence in their government; but the earnest faith, the loyalty, the dignity of the Spanish people, were gone; and little remained in their place but a weak subserviency to the unworthy masters of the state, and a low, timid bigotry in whatever related to religion. The old enthusiasm, rarely directed by wisdom from the first, and often misdirected afterwards, faded away; and the poetry of the country, which had always depended more on the state of the popular feeling than any other poetry of modern times, faded and failed with it.[16]

Decay of the Spanish national character.

[16] There is a curious book, by a monk, entitled "Las cinco Excelencias del Español que despueblan España, por el M. Fr. Benito de Peñalosa y Mondragon" (Pamplona, 1629, 4to, ff. 178), in which the author undertakes to prove that the religion which caused what he calls "the holy expulsion of the Moriscos," and crowded the convents; the pride and loyalty that filled the army, and prevented Spaniards from entering industrial or mercantile pursuits; the wealth of America, which caused so much ruinous emigration, &c., were, in fact, all of them, so many *merits* in the Spanish character, which were depopulating Spain for the glory of God in the time of Philip IV., when he wrote. This the pious monk, no doubt, believed to be both religion and patriotism.

CHAPTER II.

LOW STATE OF LETTERS ABOUT THE YEAR 1500. — INFLUENCE OF ITALY. — CONQUESTS OF CHARLES THE FIFTH. — BOSCAN. — NAVAGIERO. — ITALIAN FORMS INTRODUCED INTO SPANISH POETRY. — GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA. — HIS LIFE, WORKS, AND PERMANENT INFLUENCE.

THERE was, no doubt, a great decay of letters and good taste in Spain during the latter part of the troubled reign of John the Second, and the whole of the still more disturbed period when his successor, Henry the Fourth, sat upon the throne of Castile. The Provençal school had passed away, and its imitations in Castilian had not been successful. The earlier Italian influences, less fertile in good results than might have been anticipated, were almost forgotten. The fashion of the court, therefore, in the absence of better or more powerful impulses, ruled over everything, and a monotonous poetry, full of conceits and artifices, was all that its own artificial character could produce.

State of letters temp. Ferdinand and Isabella.

Nor was there much improvement in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. The introduction of the art of printing and the revival of a regard for classical antiquity were, indeed, foundations for a national culture such as had not before been laid; while, at the same time, the establishment of the University of Alcalá, in 1508, by Cardinal Ximenes, and the revival of that of Salamanca, with the labors of such scholars as Peter Martyr, Lucio Marineo, Antonio de Lebrixa, and Arias Barbosa, could hardly fail to exercise a favorable influence on the intellectual cultivation, if not on the poetical taste, of the country.[1] Occasionally, as we have

[1] The buildings at Alcalá were begun in 1498, and the institution was opened in 1508. (Pisa, Descripcion de Toledo, 1617, Lib. V. c. 10, p. 237.) Of Lebrixa, who did so much to introduce a knowledge of classical literature into Spain, I have

seen, proofs of the old energy appeared in such works as the "Celestina" and the "Coplas" of Manrique. The old ballads, too, and the other forms of the early popular poetry, no doubt maintained their place in the hearts of the common people. But it is not to be concealed that, among the cultivated classes, — as the Cancioneros and nearly everything that came from the press in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella sufficiently prove, — taste was at a very low ebb.

The first impulse to a better state of things came from Italy. In some respects this was unhappy; but there can be little doubt that it was inevitable. The intercourse between Italy and Spain, shortly before the accession of Charles the Fifth, had been much increased, chiefly by the conquest of Naples, but partly by other causes. Regular interchanges of ambassadors took place between the See of Rome and the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and one of them was a son of the poetical Marquis of Santillana, and another the father of Garcilasso de la Vega. The universities of Italy continued to receive large numbers of Spanish students, who still regarded the means of a generous education at home as inadequate to their wants; and Spanish poets, among whom were Juan de la Enzina and Torres Naharro, resorted there freely, and lived with consideration at Rome and Naples. In the latter city the old Spanish family of Dávalos — one of whom was the husband of that Vittoria Colonna whose poetry ranks with the Italian classics, and who herself received the homage of the magnificent verse of Michael Angelo — were among the chief patrons of letters during their time, and kept alive an intellectual union between the two countries, by which they

Italy.

already spoken (*ante*, p. 172), and must often speak again. But the first translation of an ancient classic printed in Spain was not by him. It was a version of Julius Cæsar by Diego Lopez de Toledo, 1498, in excellent old Castilian, but not very accurate — perhaps from the youth of its author, who says he was only seventeen years old when he made it. He was bred with Prince John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, and dedicates the work to him, though it was not published until after the death of that prince, which occurred Oct. 4, 1497, when he was twenty years old. As Lebrixa taught Isabella and her children, it is likely that this translation of Julius Cæsar was made under his influence.

were equally claimed and on which they reflected equal honor.[2]

But, besides these individual instances of connection between Spain and Italy, the gravest events were now drawing together the greater interests of the mass of the people in both countries, and fastening their thoughts intently upon each other.

Connection between Spain and Italy.

Naples, after the treaty of 1503 and the brilliant successes of Gonzalvo de Córdova, was delivered over to Spain, bound hand and foot, and was governed, above a century, by a succession of Spanish viceroys, each accompanied by a train of Spanish officers and dependants, among whom, not unfrequently, we find men of letters and poets, like the Argensolas and Quevedo. When Charles the Fifth ascended the throne, in 1516, it was apparent that he would at once make an effort to extend his political and military power throughout Italy. The tempting plains of Lombardy became, therefore, the theatre of the first great European contest entered into by Spain, — a grand arena, in which, as it proved, much of the fate of Europe, as well as of Italy, was to be decided by two young and passionate monarchs, burning with personal rivalship and the love of glory. In this way, from 1522, when the first war broke out between Francis the First and Charles the Fifth, to the disastrous battle of Pavia, in 1525, we may consider the whole disposable force of Spain to have been transferred to Italy, and subjected, in a remarkable degree, to the influences of Italian culture and civilization.

Nor did the connection between the two countries stop here. In 1527, Rome itself was, for a moment, added to the conquests of the Spanish crown, and the Pope became the prisoner of the Emperor, as the King of France had been before. In 1530, Charles appeared again in Italy, surrounded by a splendid Spanish

Charles V. in Italy.

[2] Ginguené, Hist. Lit. d'Italie, Paris, 1812, 8vo, Tom. IV. pp. 87–90; and more fully in Historia de Don Hernando Dávalos, Marques de Pescara, en Anvers, Juan Steelsio, 1558, 12mo; — a curious book, which was printed as early as 1555, and seems to have been written before 1546. It was the work of Pedro Valles, an Aragonese. Latassa, Bib. Nueva de Escritores Aragoneses, Pamplona, Tom. I. 4to, 1798, p. 289.

court, and at the head of a military power that left no doubt of his mastery. He at once crushed the liberties of Florence and restored the aristocracy of the Medici. He made peace with the outraged Pope. By his wisdom and moderation, he confirmed his friendly relations with the other states of Italy; and, as the seal of all his successes, he caused himself, in the presence of whatever was most august in both countries, to be solemnly crowned King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans, by the same Pope whom, three years before, he had counted among his captives.[3] Such a state of things necessarily implied a most intimate connection between Spain and Italy; and this connection was maintained down to the abdication of the Emperor, in 1555, and, indeed, long afterwards.[4]

Condition of Italy, and its influence on Spanish literature.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that Italy was now in a condition to act with all the power of a superior civilization and refinement on this large body of Spaniards, many of them the leading spirits of the Empire, who, by successive wars and negotiations, were thus kept for half a century travelling in Italy, and living at Genoa, Milan,

[3] The coronation of Charles V. at Bologna, like most of the other striking events in Spanish history, was brought upon the Spanish theatre. It is circumstantially represented in "Los dos Monarcas de Europa," by Bartolomé de Salazar y Luna. (Comedias Escogidas, Madrid, 1665, 4to, Tomo XXII.) But the play is quite too extravagant in its claims, both as respects the Emperor's humiliation and the Pope's glory, considering that Clement VII. had so lately been the Emperor's prisoner. As the ceremony is about to begin, a procession of priests enters, chanting,

In happy hour, let this child of the Church,
  Her obedient, dutiful son,
Come forth to receive, with her holiest rites,
  The crown which his valor has won,

To which the Emperor is made to reply,

And in happy hour, let *him* show his power,
  His dominion, and glorious might,
Who now sees, in the dust, a king faithful and just
  Surrender, rejoicing, his right.

But such things were common in Spain, and tended to conciliate the favor of the clergy for the theatre.

A striking proof of the progress made by the higher classes of Spaniards, about this time, in intellectual accomplishments, is to be found in the fine old Castilian translation made by Antonio Barba of a dialogue of Sepulveda, written in 1531, where, noticing this coronation of the Emperor at Bologna the preceding year, and speaking of his own intercourse with the brilliant young nobles of Spain collected there for that magnificent occasion, he says: Pero de lo que mas placer úve fue ver algunos dellos ser inclinados no solamente a las armas pero tambien a las letras, *contra la costumbre de nuestra nacion;* porque, en los tiempos passados, era cosa muy rara ver hombre Español de casa ilustre que uviesse deprendido siquiera la Lengua Latina. Dialogo llamado Democrates, Sevilla, 1541, 4to, f. 3.

[4] P. de Sandoval, Hist. del Emperador Carlos V., Amberes, 1681, folio, Lib. XII. to XVIII., but especially the last book.

and Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples. The age of Lorenzo de' Medici was already past, leaving behind it the memorials of Poliziano, Boiardo, Pulci, and Leonardo da Vinci. The age of Leo the Tenth and Clement the Seventh was contemporary, and had brought with it the yet more prevalent influences of Michael Angelo, Raffaelle, and Titian, of Machiavelli, of Berni, of Ariosto, of Bembo, and of Sannazaro; the last of whom, it is not unworthy of notice, was himself a descendant of one of those very Spanish families whom the political interests of the two countries had originally carried to Naples. It was, therefore, when Rome and Naples, Florence and the North of Italy, were in the maturity of their glory, as seats of the arts and letters, that no small part of what was most noble and cultivated in Spain was led across the Alps and awakened to a perception of such forms and creations of genius and taste as had not been attempted beyond the Pyrenees, and such as could not fail to produce their full effect on minds excited, like those of the whole Spanish people, by the glorious results of their long struggle against the Moors, and their present magnificent successes both in America and Europe.

Visible traces of the influence of Italian literature might, therefore, from general causes, soon be looked for in the Spanish; but an accident brings them to our notice somewhat earlier, perhaps, than might have been anticipated. Juan Boscan, a patrician of Barcelona, was, as he himself tells us, devoted to poetry from his youth. The city to which he belonged had early been distinguished for the number of Provençal and Catalonian Troubadours who had flourished in it. But Boscan preferred to write in the Castilian; and his defection from his native dialect became, in some sort, the seal of its fate. His earlier efforts, a few of which remain to us, are in the style of the preceding century; but at last, when, from the most distinct accounts we can obtain, he was about twenty-five years old, and when, we are assured, he had been received at court, had served in the army, and had visited foreign countries, he was induced, by an accident,

Juan Boscan.

to attempt the proper Italian measures, as they were then practised.[5]

He became, at that period, acquainted with Andrea Navagiero, who was sent, in 1524, as ambassador from Venice to Charles the Fifth, and returned home in 1528, carrying with him a dry but valuable itinerary, which was afterwards published as an account of his travels. He was a man of learning, and a poet, an orator, and a statesman, of no mean name.[6] While in Spain, he spent, during the year 1526, six months at Granada.[7] "Being with Navagiero there one day," says Boscan, "and discoursing with him about matters of wit and letters, and especially about the different forms they take in different languages, he asked me why I did not make an experiment in Castilian of sonnets and the other forms of verse used by good Italian authors; and not only spoke to me of it thus slightly, but urged me much to do it. A few days afterwards I set off for my own home; and whether it were the length and solitariness of the way I know not, but, turning over different things in my mind, I came often back upon what Navagiero had said to me. And thus I began to try this kind of verse. At first, I found it somewhat difficult; for it is of a very artful construction, and in many particulars different from ours. But afterwards it seemed to me — perhaps from the love we naturally bear to what is our own — that I began to succeed very well; and so I went on, little by little, with increasing zeal."[8]

Andrea Navagiero and his advice to Boscan.

This account is interesting and important. It is rare that any one individual has been able to exercise such an influence on the literature of a foreign nation as was exercised by Navagiero. It is still more rare, — indeed, perhaps, wholly unknown, in any case where it may have

5 The Dictionary of Torres y Amat contains a short, but sufficient, life of Boscan; and in Sedano, "Parnaso Español" (Madrid, 1768–78, 12mo, Tom. VIII. p. xxxi.), there is one somewhat more ample.

6 Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Italiana, Roma, 1784, 4to, Tom. VII., Parte I. p. 242; Parte II. p. 294; and Parte III. pp. 228–230.

7 Andrea Navagiero, Il Viaggio fatto in Spagna, etc., Vinegia, 1563, 12mo, ff. 18–30. Bayle gives an article on Navagiero's life, with discriminating praise of his scholarship and genius.

8 Letter to the Duquesa de Soma, prefixed to the Second Book of Boscan's Poems.

occurred, — that the precise mode in which it was exercised can be so exactly explained. Boscan tells us not only what he did, but what led him to do it, and how he began his work, which we find him, from this moment, following up, till he devoted himself to it entirely, and wrote in all the favorite Italian measures and forms with boldness and success. He was resisted, but he tells us Garcilasso sustained him; and from this small beginning in a slight conversation with Navagiero, at Granada, a new school was introduced into Spanish poetry, which has prevailed in it ever since, and materially influenced its character and destinies.

Boscan imitates the Italians.

Boscan felt his success. This we can see from his own account of it. But he made little effort to press his example on others; for he was a man of fortune and consideration, who led a happy life with his family at Barcelona, and hardly cared for popular reputation or influence. Occasionally, we are told, he was seen at court; and at one period he had some charge of the education of that Duke of Alva whose name, in the next reign, became so formidable. But in general he preferred a life of retirement to any of the prizes offered to ambition.

Letters were his amusement. "In what I have written," he says, "the mere writing was never my object; but rather to solace such faculties as I have, and to go less heavily through certain heavy passages of my life."[9] The range of his studies, however, was wider than this remark might seem to imply, and wider than was common in Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century, even among scholars. He translated a tragedy of Euripides, which was licensed to be published, but which never appeared in print, and is, no doubt, lost.[10] On the basis of

His works.

[9] Letter to the Duquesa de Soma.

[10] It is mentioned in the permission to publish his works granted to Boscan's widow, by Charles V., Feb. 18, 1543, and prefixed to the very rare and important edition of his works and those of his friend Garcilasso, published for the first time in the same year, at Barcelona, by Carlés Amoros; a small 4to, containing 237 leaves. This edition is said to have been at once counterfeited, and was certainly reprinted not less than six times as early as 1546, three years after its first appearance. In 1553, Alonso de Ulloa, a Spaniard, at Venice, who published many Spanish books there with prefaces of some value by himself, printed it in 18mo, very neatly, and added a few poems to those found in the first edition; particularly one, at the beginning of the volume, entitled "Conversion de Boscan," religious in its subject, and national in its form, which, however, was printed in Spain

the "Hero and Leander" of Musæus, and following perhaps the example of Trissino, he wrote, in the *versi sciolti*, or blank verse, of the Italians, a tale nearly three thousand lines long, which may still be read with pleasure, for the gentle and sweet passages it contains.[11] And in general, throughout his poetry, he shows that he was familiar with the Greek and Latin classics, and imbued, to a considerable degree, with the spirit of antiquity.

Boscan translates Castiglione.

His longest work was a translation of the Italian "Courtier" of Balthazar Castiglione, — the best book on good-breeding, as Dr. Johnson thought, two centuries afterwards, that was ever written.[12] Boscan, however, frankly says that he did not like the business of translating, which he regarded as "a low vanity, beseeming men of little knowledge;" but Gar-

as early as 1544. At the end Ulloa puts a few pages of verse, attacking the Italian forms adopted by Boscan; describing what he thus adds as by "an uncertain author." They are, however, the work of Castillejo, and are found in "Obras de Castillejo," Anvers, 1598, 18mo, f. 110, etc. Among the works printed by Ulloa is the "Dialogo de las Empresas militares y amorasas," translated by him from the Italian of Paulo Jovio, Ludovico Domenichi, and Gabriello Simeone, with some additions by himself, in 1558, when, from his Dedication, it appears that he had been twelve years in Venice employed in editing Spanish books, and making translations from the Italian. From the body of the work we learn (p. 155) that he had earlier been a servant of Cortés. In 1561, it was reprinted at Lyons. It is a curious, pleasant book of its class.

[11] Góngora, in the first two of his Burlesque Ballads, has made himself merry (Obras, Madrid, 1654, 4to, f. 104, etc.) at the expense of Boscan's "Leandro." But he has taken the same freedom with better things.

Blank verse in Spain can, I think, be traced no further back than this volume of Boscan and Garcilasso, 1543, where it occurs in the "Leandro" of Boscan, and in the gay "Epistola" of Garcilasso, beginning, "Señor Boscan, quien tanto gusto tiene" (f. clxxxviii.). Trissino is commonly regarded as its inventor in Italy, and is supposed to have first used it in his Sofonisba, dedicated to Leo X. in 1515, and printed in 1524. (Ginguené, Hist. Litt., 8vo, Tom. V. p. 124, VI. p. 19. Alacci Drammaturgia, 4to, p. 727.) Now, Trissino was at the coronation of Charles V., at Bologna, in 1530, and bore the Pope's train during the ceremony. (Ginguené, Tom. V. p. 119.) Garcilasso was also there in the suite of the Emperor, and probably knew Trissino and his poetry. But Boscan, at that period, had been writing in the Italian measures four years; so that it is likely he is to have the precedence in this form, as he has in the other forms. At any rate, the *versi sciolti* were, I think, first introduced into Spanish by Boscan and Garcilasso in 1543, as they were a little later into English by Surrey, who calls them "a strange meter." Acuña soon followed in Castilian with other examples of it; but the first really good Spanish blank verse known to me is to be found in the eclogue of "Tirsi," by Francisco de Figueroa, written about half a century after the time of Boscan, and not printed till 1626. The translation of a part of the Odyssey by Perez, in 1553, and the "Sagrada Eratos" of Alonso Carillo Laso de la Vega, which is a paraphrase of the Psalms, printed at Naples in 1657, folio, afford much longer specimens that are generally respectable. But the full rhyme is so easy in Spanish, and the *asonante* is so much easier, that blank verse, though it has been used from the middle of the sixteenth century, has been little cultivated or favored.

[12] Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. Croker, London, 1831, 8vo, Tom. II. p. 501.

cilasso de la Vega had sent him a copy of the original soon after it was published, and he made this Spanish version of it, he tells us, "at his friend's earnest request."[13] Either or both of them may have known its author in the same way Boscan knew Navagiero; for Castiglione was sent as ambassador of Clement the Seventh to Spain in 1525, and remained there till his death, which happened at Toledo, in 1529.

But, however this may have been, the Italian original of the "Courtier" was prepared for the press in Spain, and first printed in 1528;[14] soon after which Boscan must have made his translation, though it did not appear till 1534. As a version it does not profess to be very strict, for Boscan says he thought an exact fidelity to be unworthy of him;[15] but; as a Spanish composition, it is uncommonly flowing and easy. Garcilasso declares that it reads like an original work;[16] and Morales, the historian, says, "The 'Courtier' discourseth not better in Italy, where he was born, than here in Spain, where Boscan hath exhibited him so admirably well."[17] Perhaps nothing in Castilian prose of an earlier date is written in so classical and finished a style as this translation by Boscan.

With such occupations Boscan filled up his unostentatious life. He published nothing, or very little, and we have hardly a single date to record concerning him. But,

[13] The first edition of it is in black letter, Barcelona, 1534. I have one without the name of place, 4to, one hundred and forty leaves, dated 1539. Another edition appeared as early as 1549, and another in 1553; the last supposed by Antonio to have been the oldest of all. It is on the Index of 1667, p. 245, for expurgation. It was long a popular book, however, as is proved, not only by the many editions of Boscan's translation, but by the imitation of it by Luis Milan, who, in 1561, published a "Cortesano," which came to a second edition in 1565. (Rodriguez, Bib. Val. 1747, p. 308.) An ample notice of it may be found in Gayangos' translation of this work, Tom. II. p. 486.

[14] Ginguené, Hist. Lit. d'Italie, Tom. VII. pp. 544, 550.

[15] "I have no mind," he says in the Prólogo, "to be so strict in the translation of this book as to confine myself to giving it word for word. On the contrary, if anything occurs which sounds well in the original language and ill in our own, I shall not fail to change it or to suppress it." Ed. 1549, f. 2.

[16] "Every time I read it," says Garcilasso, in a letter to Doña Gerónima Palova de Almogovar, prefixed to it, "it seems to me as if it had never been written in any other language." This letter of Garcilasso is very beautiful in point of style.

[17] Morales, Discourse on the Castilian Language, Obras de Oliva, Madrid, 1787, 12mo, Tom. I. p. xli.

from the few facts that can be collected, it seems probable he was born before 1500, and we know that he died at Perpignan, in 1540, while he was there with the Duke of Alva.[18] In 1543 his poems were published at Barcelona, by his widow, under a license from the Emperor Charles the Fifth, with a Preface, in which she says her husband had partly prepared them for the press, because he feared they would be printed from some of the many imperfect copies that had gone into circulation without his consent.

Boscan's life.

They are divided into four books. The first consists of a small number of poems in what are called *coplas Españolas*, or what he himself elsewhere terms "the Castilian manner." These are his early efforts, made before his acquaintance with Navagiero. They are *villancicos*, *canciones*, and *coplas*, in the short national verses, and seem as if they might have come out of the old Cancioneros, in which, indeed, two of them are to be found.[19] Their merit is not great; but, amidst their ingenious conceits, there is sometimes a happiness and grace of expression rarely granted to the poets of the same school in that or the preceding century.

His poetical works.

Those in the old national manner.

The second and third books, constituting by far the larger part of the volume, are composed entirely of poems in the Italian measure. They consist of ninety-three sonnets and nine *canzones*; the long poem on Hero and Leander, in blank verse, already mentioned; an elegy and two didactic epistles, in *terza rima*; and a half-narrative, half-allegorical poem, in one hundred and thirty-five octave stanzas. It is not necessary to go beyond such a mere enumeration of the contents of these two books to learn that, at least so far as their forms are concerned, they have nothing to do with the elder national Castilian poetry. The sonnets and the *canzones* especially are obvious imitations of Petrarch, as we can see in the case of the two beginning "Gentil

Those in the Italian manner.

[18] Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España por Salvá y Baranda, 8vo, Tom. XVI. 1850, p. 161.

[19] Cancionero General, 1535, f. 153.

Señora mia," and "Claros y frescos rios," which are largely indebted to two of the most beautiful and best-known *canzoni* of the lover of Laura.[20] In most of these poems, however, and amidst a good deal of hardness of manner, a Spanish tone and spirit are perceptible, which rescue them, in a great degree, from the imputation of being copies. Boscan's colors are here laid on with a bolder hand than those of his Italian master, and there is an absence of that delicate and exact finish, both in language and style, which, however charming in his models, would hardly be possible in the most skilful Spanish imitations.

The elegy, which is merely entitled "Capitolo," has more conceits and learning in it than become its subject, and approaches nearer to Boscan's first manner than any of his later poems. It is addressed to his lady-love; but, notwithstanding its defects, it contains long passages of tenderness and simple beauty that will always be read with pleasure. Of the two epistles, the first is poor and affected; but that addressed to the old statesman, poet, and soldier, Diego de Mendoza, is much in the tone and manner of Horace, — acute, genial, and full of philosophy.

But the most agreeable and original of Boscan's works is the last of them all, — "The Allegory." It opens with a gorgeous description of the Court of Love, and with the truly Spanish idea of a corresponding and opposing Court of Jealousy; but almost the whole of the rest consists of an account of the embassy of two messengers from the first of these courts to two ladies of Barcelona who had refused to come beneath its empire, and to persuade whom to submission a speech of the ambassador is given that fills nearly half the poem, and ends it somewhat abruptly. No doubt the whole was intended as a compliment to the two ladies, in which the story is of little consequence. But it is a pleasing and airy trifle, in which its author has sometimes happily hit the tone of Ariosto,

[20] Petrarca, Vita di Madonna Laura, Canz. 9 and 14. But Boscan's imitations of them are marred by a good many conceits. Some of his sonnets, however, are free from this fault, and are natural and tender.

and at other times reminds us of the Island of Love in the "Lusiad," though Boscan preceded Camoens by many years. Occasionally, too, he has a moral delicacy, more refined than Petrarch's, though perhaps suggested by that of the great Italian; such a delicacy as he shows in the following stanza, and two or three preceding and following it, in which the ambassador of Love exhorts the two ladies of Barcelona to submit to his authority, by urging on them the happiness of a union founded in a genuine sympathy of tastes and feeling:

For is it not a happiness most pure,
  That two fond hearts can thus together melt,
And each the other's sorrows all endure,
  While still their joys as those of one are felt;
Even causeless anger of support secure,
  And pardons causeless in one spirit dealt;
That so their loves, though fickle all and strange,
May, in their thousand changes, still together change?[21]

Boscan might, probably, have done more for the literature of his country than he did. His poetical talents were not, indeed, of the highest order; but he perceived the degradation into which Spanish poetry had fallen, and was persuaded that the way to raise it again was to give it an ideal character and classical forms such as it had not yet known. But, to accomplish this, he adopted a standard not formed on the intimations of the national genius. He took for his models foreign masters, who, though more advanced than any he could find at home, were yet entitled to supremacy in no literature but their own, and could never constitute a safe foundation whereon to build a great and permanent school of Spanish poetry. Entire success, therefore, was impossible to him. He was able to establish in Spain the Italian eleven-syllable and iambic versification; the sonnet and *canzone*, as settled by Petrarch; Dante's *terza rima*;[22] and

Results of Boscan's influence.

[21] Y no es gusto tambien assi entenderos,
  Que podays siēpre entrambos conformaros:
Entrambos en un punto entrísteceros,
  Y en otro punto entrambos alegraros:
Y juntos sin razon embraueceros,
  Y sin razon tambien luego amanssaros:
Y que os hagan, en fin, vuestros amores
Igualmente mudar de mil colores?

Obras de Boscan, Barcelona, 1543, 4to, f. clx.

[22] Pedro Fernandez de Villegas (born 1453, died 1525), Archdeacon of Burgos,

Boccaccio's and Ariosto's flowing octaves; — all in better taste than anything among the poets of his time and country, and all of them important additions to the forms of verse before known in Spain. But he could go no further. The original and essential spirit of Italian poetry could no more be transplanted to Castile or Catalonia than to Germany or England.

But, whatever were his purposes and plans for the advancement of the literature of his country, Boscan lived long enough to see them fulfilled, so far as they were ever destined to be; for he had a friend who coöperated with him in all of them from the first, and who, with a happier genius, easily surpassed him, and carried the best forms of Italian verse to a height they never afterwards reached in Spanish poetry. This friend was Garcilasso de la Vega, who yet died so young that Boscan survived him several years.

Garcilasso de la Vega.

Garcilasso was descended from an ancient family in the North of Spain, who traced back their ancestry to the age of the Cid, and who, from century to century, had been distinguished by holding some of the highest places in the government of Castile.[23] A poetical tradition says, that one of his forefathers obtained the name of "Vega" or Plain, and the motto of "Ave Maria" for his family arms, from the circumstance that, during one of the sieges of Granada, he slew outright, before the face

who, in 1515, published a translation of the "Inferno" of Dante (see *ante*, p. 370, n.), says, in his Introduction, that he at first endeavored to make his version in *terza rima*, "which manner of writing," he goes on, "is not in use among us, and appeared to me so ungraceful, that I gave it up." This was about fifteen years before Boscan wrote in it with success; perhaps a little earlier, for it is dedicated to Doña Juana de Aragon, the natural daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, a lady of much literary cultivation, who died before it was completed.

A pleasant specimen of *terza rima*, in Spanish, is be found in the "Rissa y Planto de Democrito y Heraclito traduzido de Ytaliano por Alonso de Lobera" (Valladolid, 4to, 1554). It is a translation from the Italian of Antonio Fileremo Fregoso (Tiraboschi, Storia, 4to, Tom. VI., Parte ii. p. 175), who lived as late as 1515, and the verse is managed with considerable skill. A sonnet of Jorge Montemayor is prefixed to it, and it is ended with a Letter of Approbation by Alexio Venegas. Lobera was one of the many chaplains of Charles V.

[23] The best life of Garcilasso is in the "Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España por Salvá y Baranda" (8vo, Madrid, Tom. XVI. 1850). It is is written by Don Eustaquio Navarrete, chiefly from materials collected by his learned father, Don Martin, and is an important contribution to Spanish literary history. A play on some of the adventures of Garcilasso's life was produced on the theatre of Madrid in 1840, by Don Gregorio Romero y Larrañaga.

of both armies, a Moorish champion who had publicly insulted the Christian faith by dragging a banner inscribed with "Ave Maria" at his horse's heels,—a tradition faithfully preserved in a fine old ballad, and forming the catastrophe of one of Lope de Vega's plays.[24] But whether all this be true or not, Garcilasso bore a name honored on both sides of his house; for his mother was daughter and sole heir of Fernan Perez de Guzman, and his father was the ambassador of the Catholic sovereigns at Rome in relation to the troublesome affairs of Naples.

He was born at Toledo in 1503, and seems to have been educated there until he reached an age suitable for bearing arms.[25] Then, as became his years and pretensions, he was sent to court, and, when only seventeen, received a place in the body-guard of the young Emperor;[26]—a favor as well as an honor, because his brother Pedro was already among the insurgent *comuneros*, and was subsequently compelled to escape from the kingdom as an outlawed rebel. Indeed, Garcilasso's earliest military employment appears to have been in this melancholy and disastrous war, in which he fought bravely, and on one occasion—at Olías—received a wound in the face.[27]

His life.

In 1526 he was married to a lady attached to the household of Eleanor, sister of Charles V., then the widow of Manuel the Great of Portugal. But his place, at this period, was generally near the person of the Emperor, whom he accompanied to Italy, and whose gorgeous and

[24] The story and the ballad are found in Hita, "Guerras Civiles de Granada" (Barcelona, 1737, 12mo, Tom. I. cap. 17), and in Lope de Vega's "Cerco de Santa Fé" (Comedias, Tom. I., Valladolid, 1604, 4to). But the tradition, I think, is not true. Oviedo directly contradicts it, when giving an account of the family of the poet's father; and, as he knew them, his authority is perhaps decisive. (Quinquagenas, Batalla I. Quin. iii. Diálogo 43, MS.) But, besides this, Lord Holland (Life of Lope, London, 1817, 8vo, Vol. I. p. 2) gives good reasons against the authenticity of the story, which Wiffen (Works of Garcilasso, London, 1823, 8vo, pp. 100 and 384) answers as well as he can, but not effectually. It is really a pity it cannot be made out to be true, it is so poetically appropriate.

[25] Herrera ed. Garcilasso, 1580, p. 14.

[26] He was made a *contino*; that is, one of a guard of one hundred noblemen, instituted in the time of John II., and so called because some portion of it was supposed to be *continually* near the royal person. Documentos Ineditos, Tom. XVI. pp. 19, 201.

[27] Sandoval, Hist. del Emperador, Lib. V.,—the MS. Dialogue of Oviedo recently referred to;—and Documentos, Tom. XVI. pp. 147, sqq.

solemn coronation at Bologna, in 1530, he witnessed; receiving an addition to his income as a reward for his services before he returned to Spain. About the same time, however, Queen Eleanor became the wife of Francis I. of France, and, from his previous relations to her court, Garcilasso was soon despatched to Paris in order to obtain information concerning the state of things, not only in the capital, but on the frontiers, where the ill-healed wounds of the defeat and captivity of Francis threatened to break out afresh. But his mission must have been short; for in 1531 he was again in Italy, where the Emperor was so desirous to retain him near his person, or in his immediate service, that he refused to give him an office in Toledo, which would have united him again to his family, and insured him the repose he loved.

Before the year was out, however, he had new occasion to regret that his petition had not been granted. The Duke of Alva, — in whose education Boscan had borne a part, and who already gave token of his coming greatness — desired to have Garcilasso as a companion in a journey which, for political purposes, he was about to make to Vienna. His wish was granted. But, just at that moment, a nephew of the young poet, not without his uncle's assent, was secretly married to a lady of the Empress' court, who was of a high family and of fortunes much above his own. This marriage — which was never consummated — caused no little anger among the friends of the lady, who was of tender years; and it brought upon Garcilasso, in consequence of his privity, the displeasure of the Emperor. At the urgent request of the Duke, he was, indeed, permitted to continue his journey through Paris to Vienna; but after he arrived there he was thrown into prison on an island in the Danube, where he wrote the melancholy lines on his own desolation and on the beauty of the surrounding scenery which pass as the third *Cancion* in his works.[28]

But his confinement was not a long one. As early as

[28] Documentos Ined., Tom. XVI. pp. 203, 23, 150, 24, 205, 28-29, 208, 35-36, 221. Garcilasso, ed. Herrera, 1580, pp. 234, 239, note, and Documentos, *ut supra*, pp. 208-222.

June of 1532, he was released, and went with Pedro de Toledo, the father of the Duke of Alva, to Naples, where that nobleman had just received the great place of Viceroy.[29] Garcilasso evidently enjoyed the favor of his new patron from the first; for, both in 1533 and 1534, he was sent on business of public importance from Naples to Barcelona. A more severe service, however, awaited him. In 1535 he went with the expedition to Tunis, when Charles V. undertook to crush the Barbary Powers by a single blow; and received two severe wounds in a brilliant affair under the walls of the city, where he had for a companion in glory Diego de Mendoza, the future historian of Granada, and where the party to which they both belonged had the honor, at a moment when they were nearly overwhelmed by the enemy, to be rescued by the Emperor in person.[30]

Garcilasso's return to Italy is poetically recorded in an Elegy written at the foot of Mount Ætna.[31] That he eagerly hastened to Naples is hardly to be doubted, for the chivalry of Spain was collected there. The Emperor's daughter was about to be married to the Duke of Florence. In the shows and festivities that followed Charles tilted publicly, and fought in the bull-fights dressed in a Moorish costume. It was, says Giannone, one of the most brilliant periods of the annals of Naples; the great potentates of Italy being collected there in person or by their ambassadors, to do honor to the Emperor. It was, too, no doubt, the most brilliant period in the life of Garcilasso; the one where he was surrounded with whatever would be most welcome to a spirit like his, and the one in which he most especially enjoyed the favor of his great master.[32]

In the spring of 1536 he was sent to Milan and Genoa on a confidential mission of importance connected with

[29] Probably during this residence at Naples he wrote the Epistle to Boscan, in *versi sciolti*, already referred to. It is in Herrera's edition, p. 378.

[30] Documentos, *ut supra*, pp. 54, 56, 59, 235, sqq.

[31] Elegia Segunda.

[32] Documentos, *ut sup.*, pp. 68–70, and Giannone's History of Naples, Lib. XXXII. as cited there. The whole of that historian's account of the Viceroyalty of Pedro de Toledo is worth reading, and shows how much, according to the testimony of one of the ablest Neapolitan writers, he did for Naples, by the wisdom and munificence of his public works.

the expedition into Provence, which had already been projected and arranged.[33] The expedition itself followed; disastrous to all — to Garcilasso, fatal. He was with the Emperor. The army had already passed through the discouragement and dangers of the unavailing siege of Marseilles, and was fortunate enough not to be pursued in its retreat by the cautious Constable de Montmorency. But, near to Frejus, a small castle in the village of Muy, defended by fifty of the neighboring peasantry, offered a serious annoyance to the further passage of the army. The Emperor commanded the slight obstacle to be swept from his path; Garcilasso advanced gladly to execute the order. He knew that the eyes of the Emperor, and, indeed, of the whole army, were upon him; and, in the true spirit of knighthood, he was the first to mount the wall, in which a breach had already been made. But a well-directed stone precipitated him into the ditch below. The wound, which was in the head, proved mortal, and he died at Nice twenty-one days afterwards, on the 14th of October, 1536, much mourned by the Emperor, the Duke of Alva, and all the principal personages of the army. His untimely fate, which called forth expressions of sincere sorrow from Boscan, Bembo, and Urrea, is recorded by Mariana, Sandoval, and other leading historians of Spain, among the notable events of the period; and the Emperor, we are told, basely avenged the fate of his favored officer by putting to death all the survivors of the fifty peasants, who had yet done no more than bravely defend their homes against a foreign invader.[34]

[33] Documentos, *ut sup.*, pp. 77, 240, 166–170, and Garcilasso, ed. Herrera, pp. 18, 21, etc.

[34] Garcilasso, ed. Herrera, p. 15. Sandoval, Lib. XXIII. § 12. Mariana, *ad ann.* 1536. Sismondi, Hist. des Français, Tom. XVI. 1833, p. 522. Documentos, *ut sup.*, 83–87, 177. Çapata, in his "Carlos Famoso" (Valencia, 1565, 4to, Canto 41), states the number of peasants in the tower at thirteen, — meaning, I suppose, the number who survived the assault, — and says that Don Luis de la Cueva, who executed the imperial order for their death, wished to spare some of them. He adds, that Garcilasso was without defensive armor when he advanced to the tower, and that his friends vainly endeavored to prevent his rashness. Puerto-Carrero, who subsequently married his daughter, and who furnished Herrera with materials for the notes to his edition of Garcilasso, was nearest to him when he fell, and among those who most promptly sprang to his assistance was Urrea, afterwards the translator of Ariosto. His body was carried to Spain, and buried, as was that of his wife, in his native city, Toledo. See a Cancion of Gongora (Obras, 1654, f. 48 b.), where he says that every stone in Toledo is a monument to him. —

In a life so short, and so crowded with cares and adventures, we should hardly expect to find leisure for poetry. But, as he describes himself in his third Eclogue, Garcilasso seems to have hurried through the world,

Now seizing on the sword, and now the pen ;[35]

so that he still left a small collection of poems, which the faithful widow of Boscan, finding among her husband's papers, published at the end of his works as a Fourth Book, and has thus rescued what would otherwise probably have been lost. Their character is singular, considering the circumstances under which they were written; for, instead of betraying any of the spirit that governed the main course of their author's adventurous life and brought him to an early grave, they are remarkable for their gentleness and melancholy, and their best portions are in a pastoral tone, breathing the very sweetness of the fabulous ages of Arcadia. When he wrote most of them we have no means of determining with exactness. But, with the exception of three or four trifles that appear mingled with other similar trifles in the first book of Boscan's works, all Garcilasso's poems are in the Italian forms, which we know were first adopted, with his coöperation, in 1526; so that we must, at any rate, place them in the ten years between this date and that of his death.

Garcilasso's poetical works.

He follows Boscan.

They consist of thirty-seven sonnets, five *canzoni*, two elegies, an epistle in *versi sciolti* less grave than the rest of his poetry, and three pastorals; the pastorals constituting more than half of all the verse he wrote. The air of the whole is Italian. He has imitated Petrarch, Bembo, Ariosto, and especially Sannazaro, to whom he has once or twice been indebted for pages together; turning, how-

It may be worth notice that a son of Garcilasso, who bore his father's name, perished rashly, as he did, in a fight with the French. It was in 1555, and he was only twenty-five years old.

Liagno, in his "Kritische Bemerkungen über Kastilische Literatur" (II^tes. Heft, 8vo, Aachen, 1830, p. 108), says that in 1535 an edition of Virgil, with the commentary of Servius, was published at Naples by direction of Garcilasso, and that it was dedicated to him by Scipio Capicius.

35 Tomando ora la espada, ora la pluma; a verse afterwards borrowed by Ercilla, and used in his "Araucana." It is equally applicable to both poets.

ever, from time to time, reverently to the greater ancient masters, Virgil and Theocritus, and acknowledging their supremacy. Where the Italian tone most prevails, something of the poetical spirit which should sustain him is lost. But, after all, Garcilasso was a poet of no common genius. We see it sometimes even in the strictest of his imitations; but it reveals itself much more distinctly when, as in the first Eclogue, he uses as servants the masters to whom he elsewhere devotes himself, and writes only like a Spaniard, warm with the peculiar national spirit of his country.

This first Eclogue is, in truth, the best of his works. It is beautiful in the simplicity of its structure, and beautiful in its poetical execution. It was probably written at Naples. It opens with an address to the father of the famous Duke of Alva, then viceroy of that principality, calling upon him, in the most artless manner, to listen to the complaints of two shepherds, the first mourning the faithlessness of a mistress, and the other the death of one. Salicio, who represents Garcilasso, then begins; and when he has entirely finished, but not before, he is answered by Nemoroso, whose name indicates that he represents Boscan.[36] The whole closes naturally and gracefully, with a description of the approach of evening. It is, therefore, not properly a dialogue, any more than the eighth Eclogue of Virgil. On the contrary, except the lines at the opening and the conclusion, it might be regarded as two separate elegies, in which the pastoral tone is uncommonly well preserved, and each of which, by its divisions and arrangements, is made to resemble an Italian *canzone*. An air of freshness, and even originality, is thus given to the structure of the entire pastoral, while, at the same time, the melancholy but glowing passion that breathes through it renders it in a high degree poetical.

His first Eclogue.

In the first part, where Salicio laments the unfaithful-

[36] I am aware that Herrera, in his notes to the poetry of Garcilasso, says that Garcilasso intended to represent Don Antonio de Fonseca under the name of Nemoroso. But nearly everybody else supposes he meant that name for Boscan, taking it from *Bosque* and *Nemus*; a very obvious conceit. Among the rest, Cervantes is of this opinion. (Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 67.)

ness of his mistress, there is a happy preservation of the air of pastoral life by a constant and yet not forced allusion to natural scenery and rural objects, as in the following passage:

For thee, the silence of the shady wood
I loved; for thee, the secret mountain-top,
Which dwells apart, glad in its solitude;
For thee, I loved the verdant grass, the wind
That breathed so fresh and cool, the lily pale,
The blushing rose, and all the fragrant treasures
Of the opening spring! But, O! how far
From all I thought, from all I trusted, amidst
Loving scenes like these, was that dark falsehood
That lay hid within thy treacherous heart![37]

The other division of the Eclogue contains passages that remind us both of Milton's "Lycidas" and of the ancients whom Milton imitated. Thus, in the following lines, where the opening idea is taken from a well-known passage in the Odyssey, the conclusion is not unworthy of the thought that precedes it, and adds a new charm to what so many poets since Homer had rendered familiar:[38]

And as the nightingale that hides herself
Amidst the sheltering leaves, and sorrows there,
Because the unfeeling hind, with cruel craft,
Hath stole away her unfledged offspring dear, —
Stole them from out the nest that was their home,
While she was absent from the bough she loved, —
And pours her grief in sweetest melody,
Filling the air with passionate complaint,
Amidst the silence of the gloomy night,
Calling on heaven and heaven's pure stars
To witness her great wrong; — so I am yielded up
To misery, and mourn, in vain, that Death
Should thrust his hand into my inmost heart,

[37] Por ti el silencio de la selva umbrosa,
Por ti la esquividad y apartimiento
Del solitario monte me agradaba:
Por ti la verde hierba, el fresco viento,
El blanco lirio y colorada rosa,
Y dulce primavera deseaba.
Ay! quanto me engañaba,
Ay! quan diferente era,
Y quan de otra manera
Lo que en tu falso pecho se escondia.

Obras de Garcilasso de la Vega, ed. Azara, Madrid, 1765, 12mo, p. 5.

Something of the same idea and turn of phrase occurs in Mendoza's Epistle to Boscan, which will be noticed hereafter.

[38] Odyss. T. 518–524. Moschus, too, has it, and Virgil; but it is more to the present purpose to say that it is found in Boscan's "Leandro."

And bear away, as from its nest and home,
The love I cherished with unceasing care! [39]

Garcilasso's versification is uncommonly sweet, and well suited to the tender and sad character of his poetry. In his second Eclogue, he has tried the singular experiment of making the rhyme often, not between the ends of two lines, but between the end of one and the middle of the next. It was not, however, successful. Cervantes has imitated it, and so have one or two others; but wherever the rhyme is quite obvious the effect is not good, and where it is little noticed the lines take rather the character of blank verse.[40] In general,

His versification.

[39] Qual suele el ruyseñor, con triste canto,
Quexarse entre las hojas escondido,
Del duro labrador, que cautamente
Le despojo su caro y dulce nido
De los tiernos hijuelos, entre tanto
Que del amado ramo estaua ausente;
Y aquel dolor que siente,
Con diferencia tanta,
Por la dulce garganta
Despide, y a su canto el ayre suena;
Y la callada noche no refrena
Su lamentable oficio y sus querellas,
Trayendo de su pena
El cielo por testigo y las estrellas:

Desta manera suelto yo la rienda
A mi dolor, y así me quejo en vano
De la dureza de la muerte ayrada:
Ella en mi cora,on metyó la mano,
Y d' alli me lleuó mi dulçe prenda,
Que aquel era su nido y su morada.

Obras de Garcilasso de la Vega, ed. Azara, 1765, p. 14.

[40] For example:

Albanio, si tu mal comunic*á*ras
Con otro, que pens*á*ras, que tu *pé*na
Juzgara como *agé*na, o que este fuego, etc.

I know of no earlier instance of this precise rhyme, which is quite different from the lawless rhymes that sometimes broke the verses of the Minnesingers and Troubadours. Cervantes used it, nearly a century afterwards, in his "Cancion de Grisóstomo" (Don Quixote, Parte I. c. 14), and Pellicer, in his commentary on the passage, regards Cervantes as the inventor of it. Perhaps Garcilasso's rhymes had escaped all notice; for they are not the subject of remark by his learned commentators. In English, instances of this peculiarity may be found occasionally amidst the riotous waste of rhymes in Southey's "Curse of Kehama," and in Italian they occur in Alfieri's "Saul," Act III. sc. 4. I do not remember to have seen them again in Spanish except in some *décimas* of Pedro de Salas, printed in 1638, and in the second *jornada* of the "Pretendiente al Reves" of Tirso de Molina, 1634. No doubt they occur elsewhere, but they are rare, I think.

Southey, speaking of these rhymes, as he used them in his "Kehama," calls them "crypto-rhymes," and says he "went upon the system of rhyming to the ear, regardless of the eye;" adding, "If I do not greatly deceive myself, it unites the advantage of rhyme with the strength and freedom of blank verse in a manner peculiar to itself." He does not seem to be aware that they had been practised by anybody before him, but it is evident that he thought them important. (See his letters to Walter Savage Landor, May 20, 1808, and to Ebenezer Elliott, Feb. 7, 1811, in his Life by his Son.)

August Fuchs, on the contrary, in his learned and curious treatise, "Die Romanischen Sprachen in ihrem Verhältnisse zum Lateinischen" (Halle, 1849, 8vo, pp. 254–255), attempts to trace such rhymes to the poems of Homer, and to show that they were understood by the Greeks; but, of course, he fails. His general discussion about rhyme, however, is well worth reading (pp. 249–295), and I especially concur in his remark (p. 250) that "it lays so deep in human nature and in human language, that it is as little worth while to discuss the origin of rhyme as the origin of singing or dancing." All nations have shown a tendency to it in alliteration or otherwise;

however, Garcilasso's harmony can hardly be improved; at least, not without injuring his versification in particulars yet more important.

His poems had a great success from the moment they appeared. There was a grace and an elegance about them of which Boscan may in part have set the example, but which Boscan was never able to reach. The Spaniards who came back from Rome and Naples were delighted to find at home what had so much charmed them in their campaigns and wanderings in Italy; and Garcilasso's poems were proudly reprinted wherever the Spanish arms and influence extended. They received, too, other honors. In less than half a century from their first appearance, Francisco Sanchez, commonly called "El Brocense," the most learned Spaniard of his age, added a commentary to them which has still some value. A little later, Herrera, the lyric poet, published them, with a series of notes yet more ample, in which, amidst much that is useless, interesting details may be found, for which he was indebted to Puerto-Carrero, the poet's son-in-law. And, early in the next century, Tamayo de Vârgas again encumbered the whole with a new mass of unprofitable learning.[41] Such distinctions, however,

His great success and fame.

but the modern languages, as they were forming and formed, demanded it from their very nature, being without the *quantity* that prevailed in the Greek and Latin, and regulated their verse. In the modern languages, therefore, above all others, rhyme has been developed in its most various forms, among which the crypto-rhyme, as Southey has named it, is one of the more recondite and curious. Dr. Julius says the German *minnesingers* and *meistersingers* had it.

41 Francisco Sanchez — who was named at home El Brocense, because he was born at Las Brozas in Estremadura, but is known elsewhere as Sanctius, the author of the "Minerva," and other works of learning — published his edition of Garcilasso at Salamanca, 1574, 18mo; a modest work, which has been printed often since. This was followed at Seville, in 1580, by the elaborate edition of Herrera, in 8vo, filling nearly seven hundred pages, chiefly with its commentary, which is so cumbersome that it has never been reprinted, though it contains a good deal important, both to the history of Garcilasso, and to the elucidation of the earlier Spanish literature. Tamayo de Vârgas was not satisfied with either of them, and published a commentary of his own at Madrid, in 1622, 18mo, but it is of little worth. Perhaps the most agreeable edition of Garcilasso is one published, without its editor's name, in 1765, by the Chevalier Joseph Nicolas de Azara, long the ambassador of Spain at Rome, and at the head of what was most distinguished in the intellectual society of that capital. In English Garcilasso was made known by J. H. Wiffen, who, in 1823, published at London, in 8vo, a translation of all his works, prefixing a Life, and the Essay on Spanish poetry which Quintana prefixed to his collection, in 1807, and which had, in substance, appeared before the Romancero of Fernandez, in 1796; but

constituted, even when they were fresh, little of Garcilasso's real glory, which rested on the safer foundations of a genuine and general regard. His poetry, from the first, sunk deep into the hearts of his countrymen. His sonnets were heard everywhere; his eclogues were acted like popular dramas.[42] The greatest geniuses of his nation express for him a reverence they show to none of their predecessors. Lope de Vega imitates him in every possible way; Cervantes praises him more than he does any other poet, and cites him oftener.[43] And thus Garcilasso has come down to us enjoying a general national admiration such as is given to hardly any other Spanish poet, and to none that lived before his time.

That it would have been better for himself and for the literature of his country if he had drawn more from the elements of the earlier national character, and imitated

the translation is constrained, and fails in the harmony that so much distinguishes the original, and the Life is heavy, and not always accurate in its statement of facts.

The cumbrous commentary of Herrera was attacked by no less a person than Luis Enriquez, Admiral of Castile, in a letter addressed to Herrera himself, under the name of Pètre Jacopin, written with much spirit, and some acuteness and wit. It complains successfully of Herrera for being hypercritical, but sins in the same direction itself; and, if it have little value now, it is at least a fair specimen of the æsthetics of its age. It has never been printed. Tamayo de Várgas, in the notes to his edition of Garcilasso (1622, f. 86), speaks of it as well known in his time; but Sedano, in his Parnaso, 1774 (Tom. VIII. f. xli.), gives as a reason for not publishing it that the only copy he knew was incomplete. I have one, however, divided into forty-six *Observaciones*, and filling seventy-one pages in folio, the conclusion of which indicates that nothing is wanting. N. Antonio (Bib. Nov., Tom. I. p. 690) attributes Petre Jacopin to the Grand Constable of Castile, Juan Fernandez de Velasco, who died in 1613; but I think he is mistaken, for the author seems to have been alive when Tamayo de Várgas wrote, in 1622. Some persons have attributed it to *Pedro* Fernandez de Velasco, another Constable; but this is certainly a mistake.

42 Don Quixote (Parte II. c. 58), after leaving the Duke and Duchess, finds a party about to represent one of Garcilasso's Eclogues, at a sort of *fête champêtre*.

43 I notice that the allusions to Garcilasso by Cervantes are chiefly in the latter part of his life; namely, in the second part of his Don Quixote, in his Comedias, his Novelas, and his "Persiles y Sigismunda," as if his admiration were the result of his matured judgment. More than once he calls him "the prince of Spanish poets;" but this title, which can be traced back to Herrera, and has been continued down to our own times, has, perhaps, rarely been taken literally.

One proof of Garcilasso's great popularity is to be found in the perversion of his absolutely secular poetry to religious purposes, by Juan de Andosilla Larramendi, who, in 1628, printed a volume of verse on the Crucifixion, entitled "Christo nuestro Señor en la Cruz," — a mere *cento* from Garcilasso, of which a specimen may be found in Baena, Hijos de Madrid, Tom. III. p. 201. This, however, was not, I believe, the only instance of such absurdity in relation to Garcilasso. A similar or nearly similar work was published by Sebastian de Cordoba Sazedo, in 1577. But it included Boscan as well as Garcilasso. An account of it can be found in the Spanish translation of this book, Tom. II. p. 488.

less the great Italian masters he justly admired, can hardly be doubted. It would have given a freer and more generous movement to his poetical genius, and opened to him a range of subjects and forms of composition, from which, by rejecting the example of the national poets that had gone before him, he excluded himself.[44] But he deliberately decided otherwise; and his great success, added to that of Boscan, introduced into Spain an Italian school of poetry which has been an important part of Spanish literature ever since.[45]

His influence in Spanish literature.

[44] How decidedly Garcilasso rejected the Spanish poetry written before his time can be seen, not only by his own example, but by his letter prefixed to Boscan's translation of Castiglione, where he says that he holds it to be a great benefit to the Spanish language to translate into it things really worthy to be read; "for," he adds, "I know not what ill luck has always followed us, but hardly anybody has written anything in our tongue worthy of that trouble." It may be noted, on the other hand, that scarcely a word or phrase used by Garcilasso has ceased to be accounted pure Castilian; — a remark that can be extended, I think, to no writer so early. His language lives as he does, and, in no small degree, *because* his success has consecrated it. The word *desbañar*, in his second Eclogue, is, perhaps, the only exception to this remark.

[45] Eleven years after the publication of the works of Boscan and Garcilasso, Hernando de Hozes, in the Preface to his "Triunfos de Petrarca" (Medina del Campo, 1554, 4to), says, with much truth: "Since Garcilasso de la Vega and Juan Boscan introduced Tuscan measures into our Spanish language, everything earlier, written or translated, in the forms of verse then used in Spain, has so much lost reputation that few now care to read it, though, as we all know, some of it is of great value." If this opinion had continued to prevail, Spanish literature would not have become what it now is.

CHAPTER III.

IMITATIONS OF THE ITALIAN MANNER. — ACUÑA. — CETINA. — OPPOSITION TO IT. — CASTILLEJO. — ANTONIO DE VILLEGAS. — SILVESTRE. — DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING IT. — ARGOTE DE MOLINA. — MONTALVO. — LOPE DE VEGA. — ITS FINAL SUCCESS.

THE example set by Boscan and Garcilasso was so well suited to the spirit and demands of the age, that it became as much a fashion at the court of Charles the Fifth to write in the Italian manner as it did to travel in Italy, or make a military campaign there. Among those who earliest adopted the forms of Italian verse was Fernando de Acuña, a gentleman belonging to a noble Portuguese family, but born in Madrid, and writing only in Spanish. He served in Flanders, in Italy, and in Africa; and, after the conquest of Tunis, in 1535, a mutiny having occurred in its garrison, he was sent there by the Emperor, with unlimited authority to punish or to pardon those implicated in it; a difficult mission, whose duties he fulfilled with great discretion, and with an honorable generosity.

Fernando de Acuña.

In other respects, too, Acuña was treated with peculiar confidence. Charles the Fifth — as we learn from the familiar correspondence of Van Male, a poor scholar and gentleman who slept often in his bed-chamber and nursed him in his infirmities — amused the fretfulness of a premature old age, under which his proud spirit constantly chafed, by making a translation into Spanish prose of a French poem then much in vogue and favor, — the "Chevalier Délibéré." Its author, Olivier de la Marche, was long attached to the service of Mary of Burgundy, the Emperor's grandmother, and had set forth, in the Chevalier Délibéré, an allegorical show of the events in the life of her father, so flattering as to

Charles V. an author.

render his picture an object of general admiration at the time when Charles was educated at her brilliant court.[1] But the great Emperor, though his prose version of the pleasant reading of his youth is said to have been prepared with more skill and success than might have been anticipated from his imperfect training for such a task, felt that he was unable to give it the easy dress he desired it should wear in Castilian verse. This labor, therefore, in the plenitude of his authority, he assigned to Acuña; confiding to him the manuscript he had prepared in great secrecy, and requiring him to cast it into a more appropriate and agreeable form.

Acuña was well fitted for the delicate duty assigned to him. As a courtier, skilled in the humors of the palace, he omitted several passages that would be little interesting to his master, and inserted others that would be more so, — particularly several relating to Ferdinand and Isabella, and to Philip, Charles' father. As a poet, he turned the Emperor's prose into the old double *quintillas* with a purity and richness of idiom rare in any period of Spanish literature, and some portion of the merit of which has, perhaps justly, been attributed by Van Male to the Imperial version out of which it was constructed. The poem thus prepared — making three hundred and seventy-nine stanzas of ten short lines each — was then secretly given by Charles, as if it were a present worthy of a munificent sovereign, to Van Male, the poor servant, who records the facts relating to it; and then, forbidding any notice of himself in the Preface, the Emperor ordered an edition of it so large that the unhappy scholar trembled at the pecuniary risks he was to run on account of the bounty he had received.

The Cavallero Determinado.

The "Cavallero Determinado," as it was called in the version of Acuña, was, however, more successful than Van Male supposed it would be; and, partly from the interest the master of so many kingdoms must have felt in a work in which his secret share was considerable; partly from the ingenuity of the allegory, which is due in general to La Marche; and partly from

[1] Goujet, Bibliothèque Française, Paris, 1745, 12mo, Tom. IX. pp. 372–380.

the fluency and grace of the versification, which must be wholly Acuña's, it became very popular; seven editions of it being called for in the course of half a century.[2]

But, notwithstanding the success of the Cavallero Determinado, Acuña wrote hardly anything else in the old national style and manner. His shorter poems, filling a small volume, are, with one or two inconsiderable exceptions, in the Italian measures, and sometimes are direct imitations of Boscan and Garcilasso. They are almost all written in good taste, and with a classical finish, especially "The Contest of Ajax with

Acuña's poetical works.

[2] It is something like the well-known German poem "Theuerdank," which was devoted to the adventures of Maximilian I. up to the time when he married Mary of Burgundy; and, like that, owes some of its reputation to the bold engravings with which its successive editions were ornamented. One of the best of the Cavallero Determinado is the Plantiniana, Anvers, 1591, 8vo. The account of the part — earlier unsuspected — borne by the Emperor in the composition of the Cavallero Determinado is found on pp. 15 and 16 of the "Lettres sur la Vie Intérieure de l'Empereur Charles Quint, par Guillaume Van Male, Gentilhomme de sa Chambre, publiées pour la première fois par le Baron de Reiffenberg, Bruxelles, Société des Bibliophiles Belgiques, à Bruxelles, 1843," 4to; a very curious collection of thirty-one Latin letters, that often contain strange details of the infirmities of the Emperor from 1550 to 1555. Their author, Van Male, or Malinæus, as he was called in Latin, and Malinez in Spanish, was one of the needy Flemings who sought favor at the court of Charles V. Being ill treated by the Duke of Alva, who was his first patron; by Avila y Zuñiga, whose Commentaries he translated into Latin, in order to purchase his regard; and by the Emperor, to whom he rendered many kind and faithful services, he was, like many others who had come to Spain with similar hopes, glad to return to Flanders as poor as he came. He died in 1561. He was an accomplished and simple-hearted scholar, and deserved a better fate than to be rewarded for his devotion to the Imperial humors by a present of Acuña's manuscript, which Avila had the malice to assure the Emperor would be well worth five hundred gold crowns to the suffering man of letters; — a remark to which the Emperor replied by saying, "William will come rightfully by the money; he has sweat hard at the work," — "Bono jure fructus ille ad Gulielmum redeat; ut qui plurimum in illo opere sudârit." Of the Emperor's personal share in the version of the Chevalier Délibéré Van Male gives the following account (Jan. 13, 1551): — "Cæsar maturat editionem libri, cui titulus erat Gallicus, — Le Chevalier Délibéré. Hunc per otium *a seipso traductum* tradidit Ferdinando Acunæ, Saxonis custodi, ut ab eo aptaretur ad numeros rithmi Hispanici; quæ res cecidit felicissimè. *Cæsari, sine dubio, debetur primaria traductionis industria, cùm non solùm linguam, sed et carmen et vocum significantiam mirè expressit,*" etc. Epist. vi.

A version of the Chevalier Délibéré was also made by Gerónimo de Urrea, and was printed in 1555. I have never seen it.

The taste of Charles V., it should in justice be added, was, like that of his immediate successors, decidedly for painting rather than poetry; and his patronage of Titian was honorable to him, if that of Van Male was not. It is one of the few touching circumstances connected with his history, that he carried into his doubtful retreat at Yuste two pictures of the great master to whom he had so often done homage; and that he ordered one of them, the "Gloria," to follow his body, wherever it should be buried; a direction which was obeyed, when his remains were carried to the Escorial, in 1574. See the interesting account of Yuste in Ford's Handbook, 1845, p. 551. The Caballero Determinado was first published in 1552.

Ulysses," where, in tolerable blank verse, Acuña has imitated the severe simplicity of Homer. He was known, too, in Italy, and his translation of a part of Boiardo's "Orlando Innamorato" was praised there; but his miscellanies and his sonnets found more favor at home. He died at Granada, it is said, in 1580, while prosecuting a claim he had inherited to a Spanish title; but his poems were not printed till 1591, when, like those of Boscan, with which they may be fairly ranked, they were published by the pious care of his widow.[3]

Gutierre de Cetina.

Less fortunate in this respect than Acuña was Gutierre de Cetina, another Spaniard of the same period and school, since no attempt has ever been made to collect his poems. The few that remain to us, however, — his madrigals, sonnets, and other short pieces, — have much merit. Sometimes they take an Anacreontic tone; but the better specimens are rather marked by sweetness, like the following madrigal:

Eyes, that have still serenely shone,
And still for gentleness been praised,
Why thus in anger are ye raised,
When turned on me, and me alone?
The more ye tenderly and gently beam,
The more to all ye winning seem; —
But yet, — O, yet, — dear eyes, serene and sweet,
Turn on me still, whate'er the glance I meet![4]

Like many others of his countrymen, Cetina was a soldier, and fought bravely in Italy, in Flanders, and at Tunis. Afterwards he visited Mexico, where he had a brother in an important public office; but he died, at last, in Seville, his native city, about the year 1560. He was an imitator of Garcilasso, even more than of the Italians who were Garcilasso's models.[5]

[3] The second edition of Acuña's Poesias is that of Madrid, 1804, 12mo. His life is in Baena, "Hijos de Madrid," Tom. II. p. 387; Tom. IV. p. 403.

[4] Ojos claros serenos,
Si de dulce mirar sois alabados,
Porqué, si me mirais, mirais ayrados?
Si quanto mas piadosos,
Mas bellos pareceis á quien os mira,
Porqué a mí solo me mirais con ira?
Ojos claros serenos,
Ya que asi me mirais, miradme al menos.

Sedano, Parnaso Español, Tom. VII. p. 75.

[5] A few of Cetina's poems are inserted by Herrera in his notes to Garcilasso, 1580, pp. 77, 92, 190, 204, 216, etc.; and a few

But an Italian school was not introduced into Spanish literature without a contest. We cannot, perhaps, tell who first broke ground against it, as an unprofitable and unjustifiable innovation; but Christóval de Castillejo, a gentleman of Ciudad Rodrigo, was the most efficient of its early opponents. He was attached, from the age of fifteen, to the person of Ferdinand, the younger brother of Charles the Fifth, and subsequently Emperor of Germany; passing the latter part of his life in Austria, as secretary to that prince, and dying at Vienna in 1556, about sixty-six years old. But wherever he lived Castillejo wrote verses, and showed no favor to the new school. He attacked it in many ways, but chiefly by imitating the old masters in their *villancicos*, *canciones*, *glosas*, and the other forms and measures they adopted, though with a purer and better taste than they had generally shown.

Christóval de Castillejo.

Some of his poetry was written as early as 1540 and 1541; and, except the religious portion, which fills the latter part of the third and last of the three books into which his works are divided, it has generally a fresh and youthful air. Facility and gayety are, perhaps, its most prominent, though certainly not its highest characteristics. Some of his love-verses are remarkable for their tenderness and grace, especially those

His poetical works.

more by Sedano in the "Parnaso Español," Tom. VII. pp. 75, 370; Tom. VIII. pp. 96, 216; Tom. IX. p. 134. A collection of them may be found in the Biblioteca of Ribadeneyra, Tom. XXXII. 1854. The little we know of him is in Sismondi, Lit. Esp., Sevilla, 1841, Tom. I. p. 381. Probably he died young. (Conde Lucanor, 1575, ff. 93, 94.) The poems of Cetina were, in 1776, extant in a MS. in the library of the Duke of Arcos, at Madrid. (Obras Sueltas de Lope de Vega, Madrid, 1776, 4to, Tom. I., Prólogo, p. ii. note.) It is much to be desired that they should be sought out and published.

Another author of the period, who wrote in the Italian manner with less success, indeed, than Cetina, Mendoza, &c., but with more of the spirit of a partisan, was Diego Ramirez Pagan, a native of Murcia, who published at Valencia, in 1562, a volume entitled "Floresta de varia Poesia," of which a notice may be found in the Spanish translation of this History, Tom. II. pp. 492–499.

In a sonnet by Castillejo, found in his attack on the Italian school (Obras, 1598, f. 114, a), he speaks of Luis de Haro as one of the four persons who had most contributed to the success of that school in Spain. A few of his poems are to be found in the unique copy of the Cancionero of 1554, already noticed (see *ante*, Period I. Chap. XXIII. note 8), and I think Castillejo intended to refer to the same Cancionero when he speaks of these four persons, all of whom figure in it. But I know no poems of Luis de Haro anywhere else, and those recorded here do not justify Castillejo in giving him a place with Boscan, Garci lasso, and Mendoza.

addressed to "Anna," who was of the Schaumburg family; but he shows the force and bent of his talent rather when he deals with practical life, as he does in his bitter discussion concerning the court; in a dialogue between his pen and himself; in a poem on Woman; and in a letter to a friend, asking counsel about a love affair; all of which are full of living sketches of the national manners and feelings. Next to these, perhaps, some of his more fanciful pieces, such as his "Transformation of a Drunkard into a Mosquito," are the most characteristic of his light-hearted nature.

He constantly attacks the Italian school.

But on every occasion where he finds an opening, or can make one, he attacks the imitators of the Italians, whom he contemptuously calls "Petrarquistas." Once, he devotes to them a regular satire, which he addresses "to those who give up the Castilian measures and follow the Italian," calling out Boscan and Garcilasso by name, and summoning Juan de Mena, Sanchez de Badajoz, Naharro, and others of the elder poets, to make merry with him, at the expense of the innovators. Almost everywhere he shows a lively temperament, and sometimes indulges himself in a freer tone than was thought beseeming at the time when he lived; in consequence of which, his poetry, though much circulated in manuscript, was forbidden by the Inquisition; so that all we now possess of it is an expurgated selection, which, by a sort of special favor, was exempted from censure, and permitted to be printed in 1573.[6]

[6] Almost all the little that is known of Castillejo is to be found in his Poems, the publication of which was first permitted to Juan Lopez de Velasco. Antonio says that Castillejo died about 1596, in which case he must have been very old; especially if, as Moratin thinks, he was born in 1494! (L. F. Moratin, Obras, Tom. I. Parte I. pp. 154–156). His works were well published at Antwerp, by Bellero, in 1598, 18mo, and in Madrid, by Sanchez, in 1600, 18mo, and they form the twelfth and thirteenth volumes of the Collection of Fernandez (Madrid, 1792, 12mo), besides which I have seen editions cited of 1582, 1615, etc. His dramas are lost; even the "Costanza," which Moratin saw in the Escurial, could not be found there in 1844, when I caused a search to be made for it.

Since this note first appeared in 1849, Mr. F. Wolf, of Vienna, has done me the favor to send me a notice he has published of a grave in the Neukloster Kirche in the Wiener Neustadt, with this inscription: "Obiit 12. Junii, anno 1550, Viennæ, clarissimus à Conciliis et Secretis intimis Serenissimi Ferdinandi Romanorum et Germaniæ Regis, Christophorus Castillegius, natione Hispanus, vir sanè sua aetate numeris omnibus solutis." There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that Castillejo never returned to Spain, as has been always sup-

Another of those who maintained the doctrines and wrote in the measures of the old school was Antonio de Villegas, whose poems, though written before 1551, were not printed till 1565. The Prólogo, addressed to the book, with instructions how it should bear itself in the world, reminds us sometimes of "The Soul's Errand," but is more easy and less poetical. The best poems of the volume are, indeed, of this sort, light and gay; rather running into pretty quaintnesses than giving token of deep feeling. The longer among them, like those on Pyramus and Thisbe, and on the quarrel between Ulysses and Ajax, are the least interesting. But the shorter pieces are, many of them, very agreeable. One to the Duke of Sesa, the descendant of Gonzalvo of Córdova, and addressed to him as he was going to Italy, where Cervantes served under his leading, is fortunate, from its allusion to his great ancestor. It begins thus:

Antonio de Villegas.

Go forth to Italy, great chief!
It is thy fated land,
Sown thick with deeds of brave emprise
By that ancestral hand
Which cast its seeds so widely there,
That, as thou marchest on,
The very soil will start afresh,
Teeming with glories won;
While round thy form, like myriad suns,
Shall shine a halo's flame,
Enkindled from the dazzling light
Of thy great father's fame.

More characteristic than this, however, because less heroic and grave, are eighteen *décimas*, or ten-line poems, called "Comparaciones," because each ends with a com-

posed, after he went to Vienna. But there is a difficulty in the way concerning the date of his death there; for it seems certain that Castillejo was alive Oct. 22, 1553. By a slight error, however, in cutting the grave-stone, which Mr. Wolf has ingeniously pointed out, this difficulty is removed, and we may be almost quite sure that Castillejo died at Vienna 12 June, 1556. See the "Märtz Heft" of the Sittings of the Imperial Academy, 1849, where the whole discussion is of consequence to the knowledge of the poet's life. Castillejo's poem in praise of Vienna, addressed to a friend who asked him "Why he liked it so well?" is in the Obras de Castillejo, 1598, f. 159, and belongs to the case. Some of his poems that were expurgated by Velasco in 1573 have since been published entire; but undoubtedly many are wholly lost, though some may, perhaps, still exist in MS. and be recovered.

parison; the whole being preceded by a longer composition in the same style, addressing them all to his lady-love. The following may serve as a specimen of their peculiar tone and measure:

Lady! so used my soul is grown
To serve thee always in pure truth,
That, drawn to thee, and thee alone,
My joys come thronging; and my youth
No grief can jar, save when thou grievest its tone.
But though my faithful soul be thus in part
Untuned, when dissonance it feels in thee,
Still, still to thine turns back my trembling heart,
As jars the well-tuned string in sympathy
With that which trembles at the tuner's art.[7]

Gregorio Silvestre, a Portuguese, who came in his childhood to Spain, and died there in 1570, was another of those who wrote according to the earlier modes of composition. He was a friend of Torres de Naharro, of Garci Sanchez de Badajoz, and of Heredia; and, for some time, imitated Castillejo in speaking lightly of Boscan and Garcilasso. But, as the Italian manner prevailed more and more, he yielded somewhat to the fashion; and, in his latter years, wrote sonnets, and *ottava* and *terza rima*, adding to their forms a careful finish not then enough valued in Spain.[8] All his poetry, notwithstanding the accident of his foreign birth, is written in pure and idiomatic Castilian; but the best of it is

Gregorio Silvestre.

[7] *Comparacion.*

Señora, estan ya tan diestras
En serviros mis porfias,
Que acuden como a sus muestras
Sola a vos mis alegrias,
Y mis sañas a las vuestras.
Y aunque en parte se destempla
Mi estado de vuestro estado,
Mi ser al vuestro contempla,
Como instrumento templado
Al otro con quien se templa.
f. 87.

These poems are in a small volume of miscellanies, published at Medina del Campo, called "Inventario de Obras, por Antonio de Villegas, Vezino de la Villa de Medina del Campo," 1565, 4to. The copy I use is of another, and, I believe, the only other edition, Medina del Campo, 1577, 12mo. Like other poets who deal in prettinesses, Villegas repeats himself occasionally, because he so much admires his own conceits. Thus, the idea in the little *décima* translated in the text is also in a pastoral — half poetry, half prose — in the same volume. "Assi como dos instrumentos bien templados tocando las cuerdas del uno se tocan y suenan las del otro ellas mismas; assi yo en viendo este triste, me assoné con el," etc. (f. 14, b). It should be noticed that the license to print the Inventario, dated 1551, shows it to have been written as early as that period.

[8] He is much praised for this in a poetical epistle of Luis Barahona de Soto, printed with Silvestre's works, Granada, 1599, 12mo, f. 330.

in the older style, — "the old rhymes," as he called them, — in which, apparently, he felt more freedom than he did in the manner he subsequently adopted. His Glosses seem to have been most regarded by himself and his friends; and, if the nature of the composition itself had been more elevated, they might still deserve the praise they at first received, for he shows great facility and ingenuity in their construction.[9]

His longer narrative poems — those on Daphne and Apollo, and on Pyramus and Thisbe, as well as one he called "The Residence of Love" — are not without merit, though they are among the less fortunate of his efforts. But his *canciones* are to be ranked with the very best in the language; full of the old true-hearted simplicity of feeling, and yet not without an artifice in their turns of expression, which, far from interfering with their point and effect, adds to both. Thus, one of them begins:

> Your locks are all of gold, my lady,
> And of gold each priceless hair;
> But the heart is all of steel, my lady,
> That sees them without despair.

While, a little further on, he gives to the same idea a quaint turn, or answer, such as he delighted to make:

> Not of gold would be your hair, dear lady,
> No, not of gold so fair;
> But the fine, rich gold itself, dear lady,
> That gold would be your hair.[10]

Each is followed by a sort of gloss, or variation of the original air, which again is not without its appropriate merit.

Silvestre was much connected with the poets of his time; not only those of the old school, but those of the Italian, like Diego de Mendoza, Hernando de Acuña,

[9] The best are his glosses on the Paternoster, f. 284, and the Ave Maria, f. 289.

[10] Señora, vuestros cabellos
De oro son,
Y de azero el coracon,
Que no se muere pomellos.
Obras, Granada, 1599, 12mo, f. 69.

No quieren ser de oro, no,
Señora, vuestros cabellos,
Quel oro quiere ser dellos.
Ibid., f. 71.

George of Montemayor, and Luis Barahona de Soto. Their poems, in fact, are sometimes found mingled with his own, and their spirit, we see, had a controlling influence over his. But whether, in return, he produced much effect on them, or on his times, may be doubted. He seems to have passed his life quietly in Granada, of whose noble cathedral he was the principal musician, and where he was much valued, as a member of society, for his wit and kindly nature. But when he died, at the age of fifty, his poetry was known only in manuscript; and after it was collected and published by his friend, Pedro de Caceres, twelve years later, it produced little sensation. He belonged, in truth, to both schools, and was therefore thoroughly admired by neither.[11]

Contest on the Italian school.

The discussion between the two, however, soon became a formal one. Argote de Molina naturally brought it into his Discourse on Spanish poetry in 1575,[12] and Montalvo introduced it into his Pastoral, where it little belongs, but where, under assumed names, Cervantes, Ercilla, Castillejo, Silvestre, and Montalvo[13] himself, give their opinions in favor of the old school. This was in 1582. In 1599 Lope de Vega defended the same side in the Preface to his "San Isidro."[14] But the question was then substantially decided. Five or six long epics, including the "Araucana," had already been written in the Italian *ottava rima;* as many pastorals, in imitation of Sannazaro's; and thousands of verses in the shape of sonnets, *canzoni*, and the other forms of Italian poetry, a large portion of which had found much favor.

[11] There were five editions of the poetry of Silvestre; — four at Granada, 1582, 1588, 1592, and 1599; and one at Lisbon, 1592, with a very good life of him by his editor, to which occasional additions are made, though, on the whole, it is merely abridged, by Barbosa, Tom. II. p. 419. Luis Barahona de Soto, the friend of Silvestre, speaks of him pleasantly in several of his poetical epistles, and Lope de Vega praises him in the second Silva of his "Laurel de Apolo." His poems are divided into four books, and fill three hundred and eighty-seven leaves in the edition of 1599, 18mo. He wrote, also, religious dramas for his cathedral, which are lost. One single word is ordered by the Index of 1667 (p. 465) to be expurgated from his works!

[12] The Discourse follows the first edition of the "Conde Lucanor," 1575, and is strongly in favor of the old Spanish verse. Argote de Molina wrote poetry himself; but such as he has given us in his "Noblesa" is of little value.

[13] Pastor de Filida, Parts IV. and VI.

[14] Obras Sueltas, Madrid, 1777, Tom. XI. pp. xxviii.–xxx.

Even Lope de Vega, therefore, who is quite decided in his opinion, and wrote his poem of "San Isidro" in the old popular *redondillas*, fell in with the prevailing fashion, so that, perhaps, in the end, nobody did more than himself to confirm the Italian measures and manner. From this time, therefore, the success of the new school may be considered certain and settled; nor has it ever since been displaced or superseded as an important division of Spanish literature.

CHAPTER IV.

DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA. — HIS FAMILY. — HIS LAZARILLO DE TÓRMES, AND ITS IMITATIONS. — HIS PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS AND PRIVATE STUDIES. — HIS RETIREMENT FROM AFFAIRS. — HIS POEMS AND MISCELLANIES. — HIS HISTORY OF THE REBELLION OF THE MOORS. — HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

AMONG those who did most to decide the question in favor of the introduction and establishment of the Italian measures in Spanish literature was one whose rank and social position gave him great authority, and whose genius, cultivation, and adventures, point alike to his connection with the period we have just gone over, and with that on which we are now entering. This person was Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a scholar and a soldier, a poet and a diplomatist, a statesman and an historian, — a man who rose to great consideration in whatever he undertook, and one who was not of a temper to be satisfied with moderate success, wherever he might choose to make an effort.[1]

High position of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.

He was born in Granada, in 1503, and his ancestry was perhaps the most illustrious in Spain, if we except the descendants of those who had sat on the thrones of its different kingdoms. Lope de Vega, who turns aside in one of his plays to boast that it was so, adds that, in his time, the Mendozas counted three-and-twenty generations of the highest nobility and public service.[2] But it is more important for our present purpose

His birth and family.

[1] Lives of Mendoza are to be found in Antonio, "Bibliotheca Nova," and in the edition of the "Guerra de Granada," Valencia, 1776, 4to; — the last of which was written by Ignacio Lopez de Ayala, the learned Professor of poetry at Madrid. Cerdá, in Vossii Rhetorices, Matriti, 1781, 8vo, App., p. 189, note.

[2] Toma
Veinte y tres generaciones
La prosapia de Mendoça.
No hay linage en toda España,
De quien conozca
Tan notable antiguedad.
De padre á hijos se nombran,
Sin interrumpir la linea,
Tan excelentes personas,
Y de tanta calidad.

to notice that the three immediate ancestors of the distinguished statesman now before us might well have served as examples to form his young character; for he was the third in direct descent from the Marquis of Santillana, the poet and wit of the court of John the Second; his grandfather was the able ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella, in their troublesome affairs with the See of Rome; and his father, after commanding with distinguished honor in the last great overthrow of the Moors, was made governor of the unquiet city of Granada not long after its surrender.

Diego, however, had five brothers older than himself; and, therefore, notwithstanding the power of his family, he was originally destined for the Church, in order to give him more easily the position and income that should sustain his great name with becoming dignity. But his character could not be bent in that direction. He acquired, indeed, much knowledge suited to further his ecclesiastical advancement, both at home, where he learned to speak the Arabic with fluency, and at Salamanca, where he studied Latin, Greek, philosophy, and canon and civil law, with success. But it is evident that he indulged a decided preference for what was more intimately connected with political affairs and elegant literature; and if, as is commonly supposed, he wrote while at the University, or soon afterwards, his "Lazarillo de Tórmes," it is equally plain that he preferred such a literature as had no relation to theology or the Church.

His education.

The Lazarillo is a work of genius, unlike anything that

Que fuera nombrarlas todas
Contar estrellas al cielo,
Y á la mar arenas y ondas:
Desde el señor de Vizcaya,
Llamado Zuria, consta
Que tiene origen su sangre.

For three-and-twenty generations past
Hath the Mendozas' name been nobly great.
In all the realm of Spain no other race
Can claim such notable antiquity;
For, reckoning down from sire to son, they boast,
Without a break in that long, glorious line,
So many men of might, men known to fame,
And of such noble and grave attributes,
That the attempt to count them all were vain
As would be his who sought to count the stars,
Or the wide sea's unnumbered waves and sands.
Their noble blood goes back to Zuria,
The lord of all Biscay.

Arauco Domado, Acto III., Comedias, Tom. XX. 4to, 1629, f. 95.

Gaspar de Avila, in the first act of his "Governador Prudente" (Comedias Escogidas, Madrid, 4to, Tomo XXI., 1664), gives even a more minute genealogy of the Mendozas than that of Lope de Vega; so famous were they in verse as well as in history.

had preceded it. It is the autobiography of a boy — "little Lazarus" — born in a mill on the banks of the Tórmes, near Salamanca, and sent out by his base and brutal mother as the leader of a blind beggar; the lowest place in the social condition, perhaps, that could then be found in Spain. But such as it is, Lazarillo makes the best or the worst of it. With an inexhaustible fund of good-humor and great quickness of parts, he learns, at once, the cunning and profligacy that qualify him to rise to still greater frauds and a yet wider range of adventures and crimes in the service successively of a priest, a gentleman starving on his own pride, a friar, a seller of indulgences, a chaplain, and an alguazil, until, at last, from the most disgraceful motives, he settles down as a married man; and then the story terminates without reaching any proper conclusion, and without intimating that any is to follow.

His Lazarillo de Tórmes.

Its object is — under the character of a servant with an acuteness that is never at fault, and so small a stock of honesty and truth, that neither of them stands in the way of his success — to give a pungent satire on all classes of society, whose condition Lazarillo well comprehends, because he sees them in undress and behind the scenes. It is written in a very bold, rich, and idiomatic Castilian style, that reminds us of the "Celestina;" and some of its sketches are among the most fresh and spirited that can be found in the whole class of prose works of fiction; so spirited, indeed, and so free, that two of them — those of the friar and the seller of dispensations — were soon put under the ban of the Church, and cut out of the editions that were permitted to be printed under its authority. The whole work is short; but its easy, gay temper, its happy adaptation to Spanish life and manners, and the contrast of the light, good-humored, flexible audacity of Lazarillo himself — a perfectly original conception — with the solemn and unyielding dignity of the old Castilian character, gave it from the first a great popularity. From 1553, when the earliest edition appeared of which we have any knowledge, it was often reprinted, both at home and abroad, and has been more or less a favorite in all lan-

guages down to our own time; becoming the foundation for a class of fictions essentially national, which, under the name of the *gusto picaresco*, or the style of the rogues, is as well known as any other department of Spanish literature, and one which the "Gil Blas" of Le Sage has made famous throughout the world.[3]

Its imitations.

Like other books enjoying a wide reputation, the Lazarillo provoked many imitations. A continuation of it, under the title of "The Second Part of Lazarillo de Tórmes," soon appeared, longer than the original, and beginning where the fiction of Mendoza leaves off. But it is without merit, except for an occasional quaintness or witticism. It represents Lazarillo as going upon the expedition undertaken by Charles the Fifth against Algiers, in 1541, and as being in one of the vessels that foundered in a storm, which did much towards disconcerting the whole enterprise. From this point, however, Lazarillo's story becomes a tissue of absurdities.

[3] The first edition of Lazarillo known to bibliographers is the one printed anonymously at Antwerp in 1553; but it was reprinted the next year at Burgos. The number of editions of it during the sixteenth century, in the Low Countries, in Italy, and in Spain, is great; but those printed in Spain, beginning with the one of Lopez de Velasco, Madrid, 1573, 18mo, are expurgated of the passages most offensive to the clergy by an order of the Inquisition; an order renewed in the Index Expurgatorius, 1667. Indeed, I do not know how the chapter on the seller of indulgences could have been written by any but a Protestant, after the Reformation was so far advanced as it then was. Mendoza does not seem ever to have acknowledged himself to be the author of Lazarillo de Tórmes. In fact, Father Siguenza, in his ample and interesting History of the order of St. Jerome, would have us think it was written by Juan de Ortéga, one of the favorites of Charles V., in his Cloister Life at Yuste. What is remarkable, Siguenza, though a churchman, does justice to the merits of Lazarillo. His words, speaking of Ortéga, are as follows: "Dizen que, siendo estudiante en Salamanca, mancebo, como tenia un ingenio tan galan y fresco, hizo aquel librillo que anda por ahi, llamado Lazarillo de Tórmes, mostrando en un sugeto tan humilde la propiedad de la lengua Castellana y el decoro de las personas, que introduce con tan singular artificio y donayre, que merece ser leydo de los que tienen buen gusto. El indicio desto fue, averle hallado el borrador en la celda de su propria mano escrito." Libro I. cap. 34. But it seems impossible that it should have been written by an ecclesiastic; not, indeed, on account of its immoral tone, but on account of its attacks on the church. Of a translation of Lazarillo into English, reported by Lowndes (art. *Lazarillo*) as the work of David Rowland, 1586, and probably the same praised in the Retrospective Review, Vol. II. p. 133, above twenty editions are known. Of a translation by James Blakeston, which seems to me better, I have a copy, dated London, 1670, 18mo.

Boileau, it is said (Bolæana, Amsterdam, 1742, 12mo, p. 41), had once a project of writing a Romance on the life of Diogenes, the Cynic, "de la plus parfaite *gueserie*," as he called it; and he fancied that he should have made it "beaucoup plus plaisante et *plus originale* que celle de Lazarille de Tormes et de Guzman d'Alfarache." It may be doubted whether his success would have equalled his anticipations.

He sinks to the bottom of the ocean, and creeps into a cave, where he is metamorphosed into a tunny-fish; and the greater part of the work consists of an account of his glory and happiness in the kingdom of the tunnies. At last, he is caught in a seine, and, in the agony of his fear of death, returns, by an effort of his own will, to the human form; after which he finds his way back to Salamanca, and is living there when he prepares this strange account of his adventures."[4]

A further imitation, but not a proper continuation, under the name of "The Lazarillo of Manzanares," in which the state of society at Madrid is satirized, was attempted by Juan Cortés de Tolosa, and was first printed in 1620. But it produced no effect at the time, and has been long forgotten. Nor was a much better fate reserved for yet another Second Part of the genuine Lazarillo, which was written by Juan de Luna, a teacher of Spanish at Paris, and appeared there the same year the Lazarillo de Manzanares appeared at Madrid. It is, however, more in the spirit of the original work. It exhibits Lazarillo again as a servant to different kinds of masters, and as gentleman-usher of a poor, proud lady of rank; after which he retires from the world, and, becoming a religious recluse, writes this account of himself, which, though not equal to the free and vigorous sketches of the work it professes to complete, is by no means without value, especially for its style.[5]

The author of the Lazarillo de Tórmes, who, we are told, took the "Amadis" and the "Celestina" for his

[4] This continuation was printed at Antwerp in 1555, as "La Segunda Parte de Lazarillo de Tórmes," but probably appeared earlier in Spain. A translation of this anonymous second part by Blakestone follows his translation of the first part mentioned in the last note, but he has erroneously attributed the original to Juan de Luna, whose second part is to be noticed immediately. The anonymous original can be found, with Mendoza's Lazarillo and the Lazarillo of Luna, in the third volume of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1846, with a good prefatory notice on all three.

[5] Antonio, Bib. Nov., Tom. I. pp. 680 and 728. Juan de Luna is called "H. de Luna" on the title-page of his Lazarillo, —why, I do not know. A collection of seven dialogues, noted by Gayangos for the purity of their Castilian, appeared in London 1591, Paris 1619, and Brussels 1612, 1675; bearing in the Paris edition the name of Juan de Luna, who only added to them five more dialogues, making them twelve in the whole; and in Brussels bearing the name of Cesar Oudin, both of the last being teachers of Spanish. Whether Oudin wrote the first seven, is not known. See the Spanish translation of this History, Tom. III. p. 559.

travelling companions and by-reading,[6] was, as we have intimated, not a person to devote himself to the Church; and we soon hear of him serving as a soldier in the great Spanish armies in Italy; a circumstance to which, in his old age, he alludes with evident pride and pleasure. At those seasons, however, when the troops were unoccupied, we know that he gladly listened to the lectures of the famous professors of Bologna, Padua, and Rome, and added largely to his already large stores of elegant knowledge.

Mendoza a soldier.

A character so strongly marked would naturally attract the notice of a monarch vigilant and clear-sighted, like Charles the Fifth; and as early as 1538 Mendoza was made his ambassador to the republic of Venice, then one of the leading powers of Europe. But there, too, though much busied with grave negotiations, he loved to be familiar with men of letters. The Aldi were then at the height of their reputation, and he assisted and patronized them. Paulus Manutius dedicated to him an edition of the philosophical works of Cicero, acknowledging his skill as a critic and praising his Latinity, though, at the same time, he says that Mendoza rather exhorted the young to study philosophy and science in their native languages; — a proof of liberality rare in an age when the admiration for the ancients led a great number of classical scholars to treat whatever was modern and vernacular with contempt. At one period, he gave himself up to the pursuit of Greek and Latin literature with a zeal such as Petrarch had shown long before him. He sent to Thessaly and the famous convent of Mount Athos, to collect Greek manuscripts. Josephus was first printed complete from his library, and so were some of the Fathers of the Church. And when, on one occasion, he had done so great a favor to the Sultan Soliman that he was invited to demand any return from that monarch's gratitude, the only reward he would consent to receive for himself was a present

Mendoza a diplomatist.

[6] Francisco de Portugal, in his "Arte de Galanteria" (Lisboa, 1670, 4to, p. 49), says, that, when Mendoza went ambassador to Rome, he took no books with him for travelling companions but "Amadis de Gaula" and the "Celestina."

of some Greek manuscripts, which, as he said, amply repaid all his services.[7]

But, in the midst of studies so well suited to his taste and character, the Emperor called him away to more important duties. He was made military governor of Siena, and required to hold both the Pope and the Florentines in check; a duty which he fulfilled, though not without peril to his life. Somewhat later he was sent to the great Council of Trent, known as a political no less than an ecclesiastical congress, in order to sustain the Imperial interests there; and succeeded, by the exercise of a degree of firmness, address, and eloquence, which would alone have made him one of the most considerable persons in the Spanish monarchy. While at the Council, however, in consequence of the urgency of affairs, he was despatched, as a special Imperial plenipotentiary, to Rome, in 1547, for the bold purpose of confronting and overawing the Pope in his own capital. And in this, too, he succeeded; rebuking Julius the Third in open council, and so establishing his own consideration, as well as that of his country, that for six years afterwards he is to be looked upon as the head of the Imperial party throughout Italy, and almost as a viceroy governing that country, or a large part of it, for the Emperor, by his talents and firmness. But at last he grew weary of this great labor and burden; and the Emperor himself having changed his system and determined to conciliate Europe before he should abdicate, Mendoza returned to Spain in 1554.[8]

Mendoza at the Council of Trent.

[7] Mendoza, long after his death, was accused of having purloined from the public Library in Venice manuscripts, which he subsequently gave to the Escurial (Morhofii Polyhistor Literarius, Lib. I. cap. iv. § 22, ed. Fabricii, Lubecæ, 1732, 4to, Tom. I. p. 32). But Father Andres (Cartas Familiares, Madrid, 1790, Tom. III. pp. 54, sqq.) has successfully defended him from this dishonoring imputation. The truth is, that Mendoza caused copies to be made for himself of many *copies* of old MSS. given by Cardinal Bessarion to the public Library of Venice; and as these *second* copies, executed with Chinese fidelity, transcribed the certificate of the first, stating that they were made by order of Cardinal Bessarion, it seemed as if his (the Cardinal's) manuscripts had been carried to the Escurial. But, on inquiry, by Father Andres, they were *all* found in their proper places at Venice.

[8] Mendoza's success as an ambassador passed into a proverb. Nearly a century afterwards, Salas Barbadillo, in one of his tales, says of a *chevalier d'industrie*, "According to his own account, he was an ambassador to Rome, and as much of one as that wise and great knight, Diego de Mendoza, was in his time." Cavallero Puntual, Segunda Parte, Madrid, 1619, 12mo, f. 5.

The next year Philip the Second ascended the throne. His policy, however, little resembled that of his father, and Mendoza was not one of those who were well suited to the changed state of things. In consequence of this, he seldom came to court, and was not at all favored by the severe master who now ruled him, as he ruled all the other great men of his kingdom, with a hard and anxious tyranny.[9] One instance of his displeasure against Mendoza, and of the harsh treatment that followed it, is sufficiently remarkable. The ambassador, who, though sixty-four years of age when the event occurred, had lost little of the fire of his youth, fell into a passionate dispute with a courtier in the palace itself. The latter drew a dagger, and Mendoza wrested it from him and threw it out of the balcony where they were standing; — some accounts adding, that he afterwards threw out the courtier himself.[10] Such a quarrel would certainly be accounted an affront to the royal dignity anywhere; but in the eyes of the formal and strict Philip the Second it was all but a mortal offence. He chose to have Mendoza regarded as a madman, and as such exiled him from his court; an injustice against which the old man struggled in vain for some time, and then yielded himself up to it with loyal dignity.

Philip II. and Mendoza.

His amusement during some portion of his exile was — singular as it may seem in one so old — to write poetry.[11] But the occupation had long been familiar to him. In the first edition of the works of Boscan we have an epistle from Mendoza to that poet, evidently written when he was young; besides which, several of his shorter pieces contain internal proof that they were composed in Italy. But, notwithstanding he had

Mendoza's poetical works.

[9] Mendoza seems to have been treated harshly by Philip II. about some money matters relating to his accounts for work done on the castle of Siena, when he was governor there. (Navarrete, Vida de Cervantes, Madrid, 1819, 8vo, p. 441.)

[10] A letter from Mendoza himself, dated 20 Sep., 1579, giving good reasons and precedents why he should not be treated with rigor, leaves little doubt that the front of his offending was the struggle in the palace for the dagger. He speaks of himself in a true Castilian tone. "Un hombre," he says, "de tan conocidos abuelos como yo y con nota de que se hable ya en las esquinas." It is in the Spanish translation of this History (Tom. II. pp. 501–504).

[11] One of his poems is "A Letter in *Redondillas*, being under Arrest." (Obras, 1610, f. 72.)

been so long in Venice and Rome, and notwithstanding Boscan must have been among his earliest friends, he does not belong entirely to the Italian school of poetry; for, though he has often imitated and fully sanctioned the Italian measures, he also often gave himself up to the old *redondillas* and *quintillas*, and to the national tone of feeling and reflection appropriate to these ancient forms of Castilian verse.[12]

The truth is, Mendoza had studied the ancients with a zeal and success that had so far imbued his mind with their character and temper, as in some measure to keep out all undue modern influences. The first part of the Epistle to Boscan, already alluded to, though written in flowing *terza rima*, sounds almost like a translation of the Epistle of Horace to Numicius, and yet it is not even a servile imitation; while the latter part is absolutely Spanish, and gives such a description of domestic life as never entered the imagination of antiquity.[13] The Hymn in honor of Cardinal Espinosa, one of the most finished of his poems, is said to have been written after five days' constant reading of Pindar, but is nevertheless full of the old Castilian spirit;[14] and his second *cancion*, though quite in the Italian measure, shows the turns of Horace more than of Petrarch.[15] Still, it is not to be concealed that Mendoza gave the decisive influence of his example to the new forms introduced by Boscan and Garcilasso;—a fact plain from the manner in which that example is appealed to by

[12] There is but one edition of the poetry of Mendoza. It was published by Juan Diaz Hidalgo at Madrid, with a sonnet of Cervantes prefixed to it, in 1610, 4to; and is a rare and important book, but is full of typographical errors. In the address "Al Lector," we are told that his lighter works are not published, as unbecoming his dignity; and if a sonnet, printed for the first time by Sedano (Parnaso Español, Tom. VIII. p. 120), is to be regarded as a specimen of those that were suppressed, we have no reason to complain.

There is in the Royal Library at Paris, MS. No. 8293, a collection of the poetry of Mendoza, which has been supposed to contain notes in his own handwriting, and which is more ample than the published volume. (Ochoa, Catálogo, Paris, 1844, 4to, p. 532.)

[13] This epistle was printed, during Mendoza's lifetime, in the first edition of Boscan's Works (ed. 1543, f. 129); and is to be found in the Poetical Works of Mendoza himself (f. 9), in Sedano, Faber, etc. The earliest *printed* work of Mendoza that I have seen is a *cancion* in the Cancionero General of 1535, f. 99, b.

[14] The Hymn to Cardinal Espinosa is in the Poetical Works of Mendoza, f. 143. See also Sedano, Tom. IV. (Indice, p. ii.), for its history.

[15] Obras, f. 99.

many of the poets of his time, and especially by Gregorio Silvestre, and Christóval de Mesa.[16] In both styles, however, he succeeded. There is, perhaps, more richness of thought in the specimens he has given us in the Italian measures than in the others; yet it can hardly be doubted that his heart was in what he wrote upon the old popular foundations. Some of his *letrillas*, as they would now be called, though they bore different names in his time, are quite charming;[17] and, in many parts of the second division of his poems, which is larger than that devoted to the Italian measures, there is a light and idle humor, well fitted to his subjects, and such as might have been anticipated from the author of the "Lazarillo" rather than from the Imperial representative at the Council of Trent and the Papal court. Indeed, some of his verses were so free that it was thought inexpedient to print them.

The same spirit is apparent in two prose letters, or rather essays thrown into the shape of letters, that have been attributed to him. The first professes to come from a person seeking employment at court, and gives an account of the whole class of *Catariberas*, or low courtiers, who, in soiled clothes and with base, fawning manners, daily besieged the doors and walks of the President of the Council of Castile, in order to solicit some one of the multitudinous humble offices in his gift. The other is addressed to Pedro de Salazar, ridiculing a book he had published on the wars of the Emperor in Germany, in which, as Mendoza declares, the author took more credit to himself personally than he deserved. Both — whether his or not — are written with idiomatic humor, and a native buoyancy and gayety of spirit, which seem to have lain at the bottom of his character, and to have broken forth, from time to time, during his whole life, notwith-

Mendoza's prose works.

16 See the sonnet to Mendoza, in Silvestre's Poesias (1599, f. 333), in which he says, —

> De vuestro ingenio y invencion
> Piensa hacer industria por do pueda
> Subir la tosca rima a perfeccion;

and the epistle of Mesa to the Count de Castro, in Mesa, Rimas, Madrid, 1611, 12mo, f. 158, —

> Acompaño a Boscan y Garcilasso
> El inclito Don Diego de Mendoza, etc.

17 The one called a *Villancico* (Obras, f. 117) is a specimen of the best of the gay *letrillas*.

standing the severe employments which for so many years filled and burdened his thoughts.[18]

The tendency of his mind, however, as he grew old, was naturally to graver subjects; and, finding there was no hope of his being recalled to court, he established himself in unambitious retirement at Granada, his native city. But his spirit was not one that would easily sink into inactivity; and, if it had been, he had not chosen a home that would encourage such a disposition. For it was a spot, not only full of romantic recollections, but intimately associated with the glory of his own family, — one where he had spent much of his youth, and become familiar with those remains and ruins of the Moorish power which bore witness to days when the plain of Granada was the seat of one of the most luxurious and splendid of the Mohammedan dynasties. Here, therefore, he naturally turned to the early studies of his half-Arabian education, and, arranging his library of precious Arabic manuscripts, devoted himself to the literature and history of his native city, until, at last, apparently from want of other occupation, he determined to write a part of its annals.

His old age at Granada.

The portion he chose was one very recent; that of the rebellion raised by the Moors in 1568–1570, when they

[18] These two letters are printed in that rude and ill-digested collection called the "Seminario Erudito," Madrid, 1789, 4to; the first in Tom. XVIII., and the second in Tom. XXIV. Pellicer, however, says that the latter is taken from a very imperfect copy (ed. Don Quixote, Parte I. c. 1, note); and, from some extracts of Clemencin (ed. Don Quixote, Tom. I. p. 5), I infer that the other must be so likewise. But the letter to Salazar is reprinted with care in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tomo XXXVI. 1855. The *Catariberas*, so vehemently attacked in the first of them, seem to have sunk still lower afterwards, and become a sort of jackals to the lawyers. See the "Soldado Pindaro" of Gonçalo de Cespedes y Meneses (Lisboa, 1626, 4to, f. 37, b), where they are treated with the cruellest satire. But Don B. José Gallardo, in his "Criticon" (1835, No. 3), shows, I think, satisfactorily, that the letter on the *Catariberas* was written by Eugenio de Salazar y Alarcon, giving at the same time a more correct copy of it.

Some of Mendoza's private letters are to be found in Dormer, Progresos de la Historia de Aragon (fol. 1680), and others in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Tom. XXI. 1852, pp. xxiv. ec.); but the greater part are unpublished, and must be sought in the National Library at Madrid, and in the Library of the Academy of History. They should be looked up, for those that we have give an appetite for more. To what we possess of him may now be added a small, pleasant work, written in 1547, entitled Dialogo entre Caronte y el anima de Pedro Luis Farnesio hijo del Papa Paulo III. It is noticed by Gayangos in his translation (Tom. II. 506), and is published for the first time in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Tomo XXXVI. 1855.

were no longer able to endure the oppression of Philip the Second; and it is much to Mendoza's honor that, with sympathies entirely Spanish, he has yet done the hated enemies of his faith and people such generous justice, that his book could not be published till many years after his own death, — not, indeed, till the unhappy Moors themselves had been finally expelled from Spain. His means for writing such a work were remarkable. His father, as we have noticed, had been a general in the conquering army of 1492, to which the story of this rebellion necessarily often recurs, and had afterwards been governor of Granada. One of his nephews had commanded the troops in this very war. And now, after peace was restored by the submission of the rebels, the old statesman, as he stood amidst the trophies and ruins of the conflict, soon learned from eye-witnesses and partisans whatever of interest had happened on either side that he had not himself seen. Familiar, therefore, with everything of which he speaks, there is a freshness and power in his sketches that carry us at once into the midst of the scenes and events he describes, and make us sympathize in details too minute to be always interesting, if they were not always marked with the impress of a living reality.[19]

His Guerra de Granada.

But, though his history springs, as it were, vigorously from the very soil to which it relates, it is a sedulous and well-considered imitation of the ancient masters, and entirely unlike the chronicling spirit of the preceding period. The genius of antiquity, indeed, is impressed on its very first sentence.

He imitates the ancients.

"My purpose," says the old soldier, "is to record that war of Granada which the Catholic King of Spain,

[19] The first edition of the "Guerra de Granada" is of Madrid, 1610, 4to; but it is incomplete, and, in the edition of Lisbon, 1627, which is better printed than the first one, the omission at the end of Book III. is boldly supplied by Joaõ Silva, Count Portalegre, — "vere purpuram auctoris purpuræ attexens," says Antonio, with courtly flattery. But the true conclusion of the book was found, and the first complete editions are one of 1730 and the beautiful one by Monfort (Valencia, 1776, 4to); since which there have been several others; among the rest, one in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Tom. XXI. 1852), which is worth consulting (p. 110, note), on the subject of the omissions.

Don Philip the Second, son of the unconquered Emperor Don Charles, maintained in the kingdom of Granada, against the newly-converted rebels; a part whereof I saw, and a part heard from persons who carried it on by their arms and by their counsels."

Sallust was undoubtedly Mendoza's model. Like the War against Catiline, the War of the Moorish Insurrection is a small work, and like that, too, its style is generally rich and bold. But sometimes long passages are evidently imitated from Tacitus, whose vigor and severity the wise diplomatist seems to approach more nearly than he does the exuberant style of his prevalent master. Some of these imitations are as happy, perhaps, as any that can be produced from the class to which they belong; for they are often no less unconstrained than if they were quite original. Take, for instance, the following passage, which has often been noticed for its spirit and feeling, but which is partly a translation from the account given by Tacitus, in his most effective and condensed manner, of the visit made by Germanicus and his army to the spot where lay, unburied, the remains of the three legions of Varus, in the forests of Germany, and of the funeral honors that army paid to the memory of their fallen and almost forgotten countrymen; — the circumstance described by the Spanish historian being so remarkably similar to that given in the Annals of Tacitus, that the imitation becomes perfectly natural.[20]

The episode of Alonso de Aguilar.

During a rebellion of the Moors in 1500–1501, it was thought of consequence to destroy a fort in the mountains that lay towards Málaga. The service was dangerous, and none came forward to undertake it, until Don Alonso de Aguilar, one of the principal nobles in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, offered himself for the enterprise. His attempt, as had been foreseen, failed, and hardly a man survived to relate the details of the disaster; but Aguilar's enthusiasm and self-devotion created a great sensation at the time, and

[20] The passage in Tacitus is Annales, Lib. I. c. 61, 62; and the imitation in Mendoza is Book IV. ed. 1776, pp. 300–302.

were afterwards recorded in more than one of the old ballads of the country.[21]

At the period, however, when Mendoza touches on this unhappy defeat, nearly seventy years had elapsed, and the bones of both Spaniards and Moors still lay whitening on the spot where they had fallen. The war between the two races was again renewed by the insurrection of the conquered; a military expedition was again undertaken into the same mountains; and the Duke of Arcos, its leader, was a lineal descendant of some who had fallen there, and intimately connected with the family of Don Alonso de Aguilar himself. While, therefore, the troops for this expedition were collecting, the Duke, from a natural curiosity and interest in what so nearly concerned him, took a small body of soldiers and visited the melancholy spot.

"The Duke left Casares," says Mendoza, "examining and securing the passes of the mountains as he went; a needful providence, on account of the little certainty there is of success in all military adventures. They then began to ascend the range of heights where it was said the bodies had remained unburied, melancholy and loathsome alike to the sight and the memory.[22] For there were among those who now visited it both kinsmen and descendants of the slain, or men who knew by report whatever related to the sad scene. And first they came to the spot where the vanguard had stopped with its leader, in consequence of the darkness of the night; a broad opening between the foot of the mountain and the Moorish fortress, without defence of any sort but such as was afforded by the nature of the place. Here lay human skulls and the bones of horses, heaped confusedly together or scattered about, just as they had chanced to fall, mingled with fragments of arms and bridles and the rich trappings of the cavalry.[23]

[21] The accounts may be found in Mariana (Lib. XXVII. c. 5), and at the end of Hita, "Guerras de Granada," where two of the ballads are inserted.

[22] "Incedunt," says Tacitus, "mœstos locos, visuque ac memoriâ deformes."

[23] "Medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disjecta vel aggerata; adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora."

Further on, they found the fort of the enemy, of which there were now only a few low remains, nearly levelled with the surface of the soil. And then they went forward talking about the places where officers, leaders, and common soldiers, had perished together; relating how and where those who survived had been saved, among whom were the Count of Ureña and Pedro de Aguilar, elder son of Don Alonso; speaking of the spot where Don Alonso had retired and defended himself between two rocks; the wound the Moorish captain first gave him on the head, and then another in the breast as he fell; the words he uttered as they closed in the fight, 'I am Don Alonso,' and the answer of the chieftain as he struck him down, 'You are Don Alonso, but I am the chieftain of Benastepár;' and of the wounds Don Alonso gave, which were not fatal, as were those he received. They remembered, too, how friends and enemies had alike mourned his fate; and now, on that same spot, the same sorrow was renewed by the soldiers, — a race sparing of its gratitude, except in tears. The general commanded a service to be performed for the dead; and the soldiers present offered up prayers that they might rest in peace, uncertain whether they interceded for their kinsmen or for their enemies, — a feeling which increased their rage, and the eagerness they felt for finding those upon whom they could now take vengeance."[24]

There are several instances like this, in the course of the work, that show how well pleased Mendoza was to step aside into an episode and indulge himself in appropriate ornaments of his subject. The main direction of his story, however, is never unnaturally deviated from; and wherever he goes, he is almost always powerful and effective. Take, for example, the following speech of El Zaguer, one of the principal conspirators, exciting his countrymen to break out into open rebellion, by exposing to them the long series of affronts and cruelties they had suffered from their Spanish

Speech of a Moorish chief.

[24] "Igitur Romanus, qui aderat, exercitus, sextum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes, ut conjunctos ut consanguineos, auctâ in hostem irâ, mœsti simul et infensi condebant."

a violent illness, of which he died in April, 1575, seventy-two years old.[27]

On whatever side we regard the character of Mendoza, we feel sure that he was an extraordinary man; but the combination of his powers is, after all, what is most to be wondered at. In all of them, however, and especially in the union of a life of military adventure and active interest in affairs with a sincere love of learning and elegant letters, he showed himself to be a genuine Spaniard; — the elements of greatness which his various fortunes had thus unfolded within him being all among the elements of Spanish national poetry and eloquence, in their best age and most generous development. The loyal old knight, therefore, may well stand forward with those who, first in the order of time, as well as of merit, are to constitute that final school of Spanish literature which was built on the safe foundations of the national genius and character, and can, therefore, never be shaken by the floods or convulsions of the ages that may come after it.

His character.

[27] Pleasant glimpses of the occupations and character of Mendoza, during the last two years of his life, may be found in several letters he wrote to Zurita, the historian, which are preserved in Dormer, "Progresos de la Historia de Aragon" (Zaragoza, 1680, folio, pp. 501, etc.). The way in which he announces his intention of giving his books to the Escurial Library, in a letter, dated at Granada, 1 Dec., 1573, is very characteristic: "I keep collecting my books and sending them to Alcalá, because the late Doctor Velasco wrote me word that his Majesty would be pleased to see them, and perhaps put them in the Escurial. And I think he is right; for, as it is the most sumptuous building of ancient or modern times that I have seen, so I think that nothing should be wanting in it, and that it ought to contain the most sumptuous library in the world." In another, a few months only before his death, he says, "I go on dusting my books and examining them, to see whether they are injured by the rats, and am well pleased to find them in good condition. Strange authors there are among them, of whom I have no recollection; and I wonder I have learned so little, when I find how much I have read." (Letter of Nov. 18, 1574.) The above strong phrase about the Escurial recalls one by Mariana (De Rege, 1599, p. 340) still stronger and more striking; — "insana atque regia substructio ejus templi quod a Laurentio Martyre nomen habet." Both show how completely this sombre and magnificent mass of building was in harmony with the national character in the time of Philip II. It was begun in 1563, for one hundred Hieronymite monks.

END OF VOL. I.




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